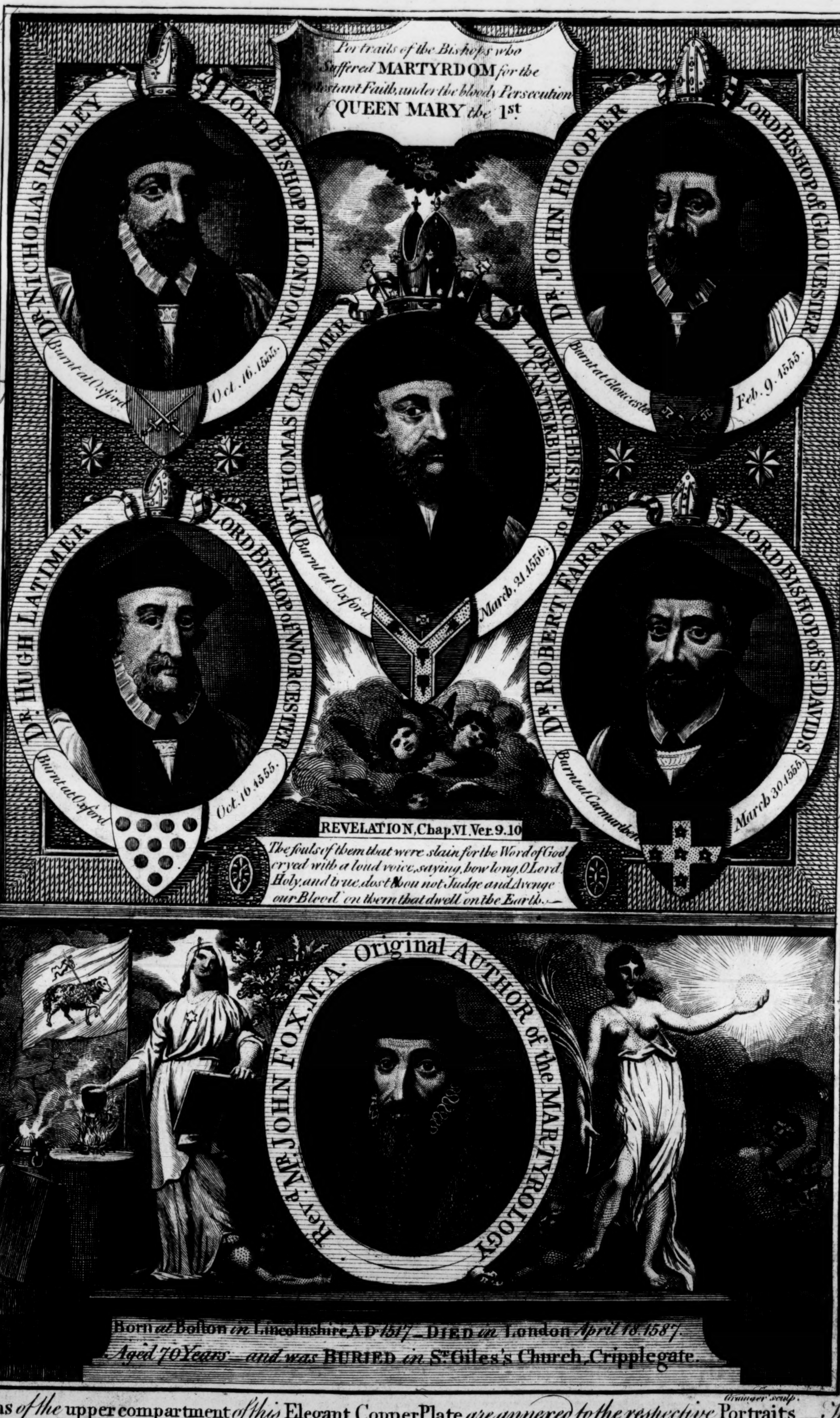
Portraits of the Bishops who
Suffered MARTYRDOM for the
Protestant Faith, under the bloody Persecution
of QUEEN MARY the 1st
Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY
LORD BISHOP of LONDON
Burnt at Oxford
Oct. 16. 1555.
Dr. JOHN HOOPER
LORD BISHOP of GLOUCESTER
Burnt at Gloucester
Feb. 9. 1555.
Dr. THOMAS CRANMER
LORD ARCH-BISHOP of CANTERBURY
Burnt at Oxford
March. 21. 1556.
Dr. HUGH LATIMER
LORD BISHOP of WORCESTER
Burnt at Oxford
Oct. 16. 1555.
Dr. ROBERT FARRAR
LORD BISHOP of St. DAVIDS
Burnt at Carmarthen
March 30. 1555.
REVELATION, Chap. VI. Ver. 9. 10
The souls of them that were slain for the Word of God
cryed with a loud voice, saying, how long, O Lord,
Holy, and true, dost thou not Judge and Avenge
our Blood on them that dwell on the Earth.
Revd. Mr. JOHN FOX, M.A. Original AUTHOR of the MARTYROLOGY
Born at Bolton in Lincolnshire A.D. 1517 — DIED in London April 18. 1587.
Aged 70 Years — and was BURIED in St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate.
Grainger sculp.

Face 4. B.

Explanations of the upper compartment of this Elegant Copper Plate are annexed to the respective Portraits — The lower Division contains an excellent Likeneſs of Mr. JOHN FOX, supported by Religion & Truth, the Former of whom treading on Idolatry & Superſtition, is emblematically offering the acceptable sacrifice of a Contrite Heart, while the Latter is trampling on Hypocriſy, dispelling the Clouds of Priestcraft, & bringing to light the abominable Persecutions, Tyrannies & Cruelties of the Romish Churc

E Libris J. Macella 1821.

THE
NEW AND COMPLETE
BOOK of MARTYRS,
OR, AN
Univerſal Hiſtory of Martyrdom:
BEING
FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS,

Reviſed and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

CONTAINING

Not only a New, Copious, Complete, Univerſal and Authentic Account of the Lives, Actions, Characters, Trials, Religious Principles, Sufferings, Tortures, and Triumphant Deaths, of the

ENGLISH PROTESTANT MARTYRS,

In the REIGN of QUEEN MARY the FIRST,

But alſo a Genuine, Full, and Circumſtantial Hiſtory of all the many dreadful and cruel PERSECUTIONS againſt the CHURCH of CHRIST, in all Parts of the World, by Papiſts, Pagans, Jews, Turks, and Others,

From the very EARLIEST AGES of the CHURCH, to the PRESENT PERIOD.

Comprehending the Life, Meritorious Sufferings, and Martyrdom of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, with the Martyrdoms of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Diſciples, and other Primitive Martyrs.—And including the TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS, under the ROMAN EMPERORS, and many other Particulars under the following General Heads:

An Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Perſecutions in Perſia, under Sapores: and the Perſecutions under the Arian Vandals.—The horrid Perſecutions under the Papacy; particularly the Martyrdoms of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes in France.—The Perſecutions in Germany and Poland.—The Cruelties exerciſed in Bohemia and Luſatia.—The Martyrdoms in Italy.—The ſhocking Barbarities practiſed by the Inquiſitions of Spain, Portugal, Goa, &c. and the Popiſh Perſecutions of the Proteſtants during the Maſſacre of Paris.—A full Account of all the Engliſh Martyrdoms, particularly thoſe in the Times of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary I. wherein are amply diſplayed all the Butcheries, Tortures, and Cruelties exerciſed by the Roman Catholics againſt the Proteſtants, in the Reign of that tyrannical King and bloody Queen.—The Perſecutions of the Quakers, &c.—Perſecutions in the Weſt of England by JUDGE JEFFREYS.—Perſecutions in Holland, Flanders, Scotland, &c.—The bloody Iriſh Maſſacre.—The great Spaniſh Invaſion.—The dreadful Fire of London.—The ſhocking Gunpowder Plot.—The horrid Conſpiracies in 1678.—The barbarous Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and the Deſigns of Perkins, Friend, and Fenwick, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of Popery, and the Extirpation of Proteſtantiſm.—The Martyrdoms of the Miſſionaries in China.—The Perſecutions in the Eaſt-Indies.—The Barbarities exerciſed in America.—The Cruelties practiſed on the Chriſtians of Abyſſinia and Georgia.—The late Perſecutions in France againſt the Calas Family.—Alſo the final Eſtabliſhment of the Reformed Religion in the various Proteſtant Countries.—With a great Number of other Cruelties exerciſed againſt the Chriſtian Martyrs, not related in any other Work of the Kind.

Together with the MARTYRDOMS of

The FAITHFUL and VIRTUOUS in the firſt Ages of the World; the Perſecutions of the Maccabees by the Greeks; of the Hebrews by the Egyptians; and of the Children of Iſrael by the Philiſtines, and other barbarous Nations.

Throughout this Work will be interſperſed Accounts of ſeveral ſingular Judgments againſt Perſecutors, a great Variety of Original ANECDOTES, the Letters which paſſed between the Martyrs, Letters from Biſhop BONNER, and other Papiſts, to the Magiſtrates, &c. concerning the Methods of Indictment and Treatment, Tranſlations of Popiſh Bulls, and other Deeds of Deſtruction, levelled againſt the Proteſtants, in England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. &c. ſuitable Notes and practical Reflections adapted to the various Subjects, and many curious LIVES and MEMOIRS; to which will be added, an Account of the Life and Death of the original Author, the Rev. Mr. JOHN FOX.

THE WHOLE FORMING AT ONCE

A General Chriſtian Martyrology, and Complete Hiſtory of Perſecutions.

A Work Calculated to promote the Proteſtant Religion, and expel Romiſh Superſtition, and, by giving a pious and Chriſtian Turn to the Mind, be of general Uſe and Advantage to Mankind.

THE WHOLE ORIGINALLY COMPOSED

By the Rev. Mr. JOHN FOX, M. A. formerly of Magdalen College, Oxford,

And PREBENDARY in the CHURCH of SALISBURY; And

NOW Reviſed, Corrected and Improved, with many neceſſary additional Articles relating to the Acts and Monuments of the Church, not to be found in any other Publication of this Sort, and written in a clear intelligible Stile, free from that Obſcurity of Language, and Tedioufneſs of Diction, as well as that imperfect Brevity and Conciſeneſs, which have been ſo much complained of in former Works of this kind.

By PAUL WRIGHT, D. D. F. S. A.

Vicar of Oakley and Rector of Snoreham in Eſſex, late of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge; and Author of the Complete BRITISH FAMILY BIBLE, and of the New and Complete LIFE of Our Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, elegantly printed in Folio: both of which Works (with the inimitable Sets of fine Copper-Plates) have met with univerſal Approbation, as the beſt and moſt perfectly complete Works of the Kind, for the Uſe of all Chriſtian Families.

Embelliſhed with a great Variety of COPPER-PLATES, *repreſenting the various Modes of cruelly torturing the Chriſtian Martyrs for their Conſtancy.*

LONDON:
Printed for ALEX. HOGG & Co. at the KING'S-ARMS, No. 16, PATERNOSTER-ROW.
By M. ALLEN, Paternoſter-Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

WE can with Truth affirm, that the *Acts* and *Monuments* of the *Glorious* PROTESTANT MARTYRS is a Work worthy of a Place in the Hearts as well as Libraries of All ſerious CHRISTIANS. FOX's COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS has been long Recommended by Proteſtant Divines of every Denomination; and among the public Teſtimonies which have appeared from Time to Time, in favour of this valuable Work, are the names of a *Toplady*, a *Whitfield*, a *Weſley*, a *Madan*, a *Hill*, a *Ryland*, and many other Miniſters of the Goſpel, extracts from whoſe Letters are printed on the other ſide.

The Lives and Sufferings of the Holy Martyrs may be conſidered, by every candid Perſon, as a ſtrong *preſumptive Evidence* for the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion; for it is impoſſible that ſo many thouſands, of both ſexes, of all ranks and profeſſions, rich and poor, learned and ſimple, ſhould at ſuch diſtant times and places have conſpired, as it were, againſt their own lives, to eſtabliſh a faith, of whoſe truth they were not *full convinced*. The greateſt enemies to Chriſtianity cannot deny but that there have been thouſands, among the ſufferers for the truth of Chriſt's Doctrine, who were very competent judges of the degree of evidence offered in ſupport of it, and ſufficiently independent to be influenced either by rewards or threats. Many of them were alſo ſufficiently learned to inquire into the ſtability of the Scripture proofs brought to prove Jeſns Chriſt to be actually the expected ſaviour of mankind, which entirely ſets aſide the adverſary s plea againſt ſome few, who they ſay were ignorant weak people, who took their faith upon the credit of others. We know, on the contrary, from the following hiſtory, that men of the ſtrongeſt ſenſe, and brighteſt parts, were converts to chriſtianity; and having once believed from conviction, ariſing from a fair examination of its internal and external evidence, were too honeſt and impartial to deny what they had openly profeſſed to believe.

There is a wide difference between an intemperate, miſguided zeal, which ruſhes into perils without ſufficient reaſon, and that calm and ſteady courage which meets danger with temper, when unavoidable. Our Saviour himſelf gave an example of this prudential conduct, by oftentimes retiring from imminent danger: and he gave it as a charge to his firſt followers, "When they perſecute you in one city, flee to another." So that the Holy Martyrs, thoſe brave men who unavoidably ſealed the teſtimony of the Goſpel with their blood, following their bleſſed maſter's advice, cannot be ranked with raſh and hot-headed zealots.

The progreſs of Popery has ſo greatly increaſed of late, that there is now an abſolute neceſſity for uſing every effort to ſuppreſs ſuch dangerous and contagious principles, and to exert ourſelves, and carry into execution every means that can be concerted for promoting the cauſe of Proteſtantiſm; and ſurely nothing can be a better means to ſtem the torrent of Popery, than a publication of the following work.

From the tenets of the Holy Martyrs we may acquire the principles of the chriſtian religion, from their morals we may learn how to live, from their fortitude how to ſuffer, and from their deaths how to die.

Let us therefore, take example, in various ſtations of life, from the integrity and reſolution of theſe departed brethren in Chriſt; and as a noble conduct is praiſe-worthy, let us be ready, in whatever ſenſe our Lord requires a ſacrifice, to *go and do likewiſe*.

We think it needleſs here to give a tedious detail of all the particulars, which will be contained in this important undertaking; but it may be neceſſary to obſerve to our Readers, that this work will not (like ſeveral imperfect publications on the ſubject) be a trifling ſummary of mere names—not an inaccurate index or lifeleſs *abridgement*—not a crude indigeſted compendium—but a full and *complete edition* of FOX's ORIGINAL BOOK of MARTYRS, including the CHRISTIAN MARTYROLOGY, from the moſt early age of perſecution to the *preſent time*; and containing a diſplay, and fuller account than has hitherto been publiſhed in any book of the kind, of the *Lives*, *Religious Principles*, *Cruel Perſecutions*, *Sufferings*, *Tortures*, and *Triumphant Deaths*, of all thoſe faithful *Chriſtians* and godly *Martyrs*, whoſe conſtancy was tried for the truth of the Goſpel, and who have ſealed their faith in our moſt holy religion with their *Blood*.

This work is well calculated to ſerve the *Proteſtant Cauſe*. It will teach us how to conquer ſin, our grand perſecutor; to make our appetites and paſſions *Martyrs to our Duty*, and hence we may learn, that there is not any thing ſo difficult, but we may overcome through divine help. We have the ſame cauſe, the ſame Lord and Maſter on our ſide, the ſame recompence of reward to encourage us; and having ſo great a *cloud of witneſſes*, let us preſs forward, and the ſame heaven will be our portion for ever.

PROTESTANT FAMILIES! read, value, and recommend this *Book of Martyrs* to your friends and connections; which, next to the Bible, will be the moſt valuable legacy you can leave to your children; for herein you will find exhibited not only the characters of the beſt men, but thoſe noble principles which enabled them to brave the ſevereſt tortures which *Popiſh Cruelty* and *Pagan Barbarity* could invent. We here ſee thoſe mournful tragedies that have been acted in our own country, upon our own countrymen; and here, as in a glaſs, we ſee, refined from all corruptions of popery, &c. that pure religion of Jeſus Chriſt, which we are in duty bound to propagate, and leave uncorrupted to our deareſt poſterity.

In theſe MONUMEFTS of our illuſtrious Martyrs, we behold diſplayed, as they are in the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the eſtabliſhed Church, thoſe eſſential, fundamental principles, to which the Church was reformed, and for which her glorious Martyrs were burned. We here meet with a moſt valuable general hiſtory of the Church; and will hence be convinced, how much it is our duty to check, by ſuch a publication, the infidelity and the immoralities of the preſent age.

MINISTERS of GOD's HOLY WORD! wiſh this publication ſucceſs in the name of the Lord. What doctrine has Popery not corrupted? What branch of worſhip has Popery not peryerted and defiled? What law of God has Popery not trampled on and deſpiſed? Call to mind the horrid ſcenes exhibited by her bloody perpetrators of cruelty. In this New and Complete BOOK of MARTYRS, you will find them faithfully related. Aſſiſt then, we entreat you, it's diffuſion; that ſo, by our united efforts, it may prove mighty, through God, to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant faith; and to prevent the leaſt encroachments of thoſe erroneous ſentiments, and thoſe human inventions, that were artfully framed only to enſlave us in time, and deceive us for eternity.

PAUL WRIGHT, Editor.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THIS WORK.

TO THE PRINTER AND PUBLISHER.

SIR,

IT was a ſaying of the famous Dr. South, that "Popery is not only the worſt religion, but the greateſt evil that can poſſibly come into any country." The contents of the following ſheets furniſh us with ample proof of this. The Acts and Monuments of the Christian MARTYRS, written by JOHN FOX, a man of rare and excellent endowments, both natural and acquired, I moſt heartily recommend to perſons of both ſexes, and of every condition in life. As the author lived at the time when the bloody ſcenes herein related were exhibited, and his integrity, learning and piety, are equalled by few, (by none exceeded) the credibility of his teſtimony can be called in queſtion only by thoſe, whoſe intereſt or principles lead them to eſpouſe and promote the cauſe of Popery.

Lock Chapel. MARTIN MADAN.

SIR,

IT gives me unſpeakable pleaſure, to find, that you deſign to republiſh Fox's *Martyrology*, which I conſider as a faithful and judicious compendium of the moſt valuable and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory extant in our language, and a work eminently calculated to diſplay, and to guard us againſt the principles and the ſpirit of Popery;—to perpetuate the holy lives, and faithful teſtimonies and the triumphant deaths of thoſe evangelical worthys, who reſiſted error, even unto blood;—to exalt the ſtandard of Christ;—to exhibit the loving-kindneſs of the Holy Ghost, who gave ſuch grace and power unto men; and to ſtand as the beſt commentary on thoſe ineſtimable truths, which (through the good hand of God upon us) ſtill continue to ſhine in the *Liturgy*, *Articles*, and *Homilies*, of our Established Church.

I wiſh this performance much ſucceſs, in the name of the Lord. May its diffuſion be very extenſive, and its uſefulneſs very great. May it prove mighty, through God, to make the Proteſtant Churches in general, and our own National Church in particular, *remember* from whence *they are fallen*: ſtir them up to doctrinal and practical *repentance*; and bring them back to their *firſt* principles, and to their *firſt* works!—With this Prayer, breathed from the inmoſt of my heart, I remain, Sir,

Your affectionate well-wiſher.

Orange-Street, Leiceſter-Square. AUGUSTUS MONTAGUE TOPLADY.

SIR,

I AM glad to hear you propoſe re-printing FOX'S BOOK of MARTYRS: it will, no doubt, be received with great acceptance, and very chearfully encouraged by all who have any ſenſe of the excellency and glory of that religion, for which the noble worthies of which it ſpeaks, ſuffered and died. It has ever been eſteemed one of the moſt invaluable treaſures of human production: it is its own beſt recommendation; and it need only be known in order to be admired by all who are happily poſſeſſed of the power and ſpirit of the religion of the bleſſed Jeſus. I pray God it may be the means of increaſing the highly-favoured number; and am,

Your humble Servant,

South-Street, Groſvenor-Square. CHARLES DE COETLOGON.

SIR,

AS I think the BOOK of MARTYRS ſhould be in every body's hands, it gives me pleaſure to hear of its being re-publiſhing. I truſt it will be the means of reviving that ſpirit of genuine Chriſtianity which inſpired the noble Martyrs in theſe lands, and of uniting the hearts of God's children in theſe deciſive times, to the ſupport of their one common cauſe, and in love to one another.

If you think my name can in the leaſt promote the reading of that valuable work, you are welcome to make uſe of it; and I am, Sir, Your very humble Servant,

Swallow-Street. JOHN TROTTER.

SIR,

THE BOOK of MARTYRS was well calculated to ſerve the Proteſtant cauſe, againſt the Superstition and Cruelty of the Church of Rome. The Editor deſerves the thanks of all ſerious Proteſtants, for his labour in making ſo valuable a book eaſily attainable. Your humble Servant,

Fetter-Lane. JAMES WEBB.

SIR,

I Heartily join in recommending FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS to the peruſal of every Proteſtant family and all Engliſh readers.

Eagle-Street, Red-Lion-Square. ANDREW GIFFORD.

SIR,

THE exceeding great value I entertain for the doctrines of the Reformation makes me eſteem the preſent general departure from them, a circumſtance not a little to be lamented: I therefore moſt heartily concur with the other reſpectable Gentlemen, whoſe names you have ſent me, in Recommending the BOOK of MARTYRS; in which not only the characters of the beſt of men are moſt excellently ſet forth, but alſo thoſe noble principles which enabled them with ſuch uncommon patience to bear the utmoſt barbarity which tyranny and Popery could invent. I am, Sir, your friend and ſervant,

ROWLAND HILL.

SIR,

NO book in the world is ſo well adapted to diſplay the cruel and blood-thirſty ſpirit of Popery in the moſt ſtriking light as the BOOK of MARTYRS: and this part eſpecially is ſuited to an Engliſh reader: he is not here led up to the times of Nero, of Diocleſian, or to the martyrdom of Polycarp, Ignatius, Cyprian, but he is ſhewn the bloody tragedies acted in his own country, and upon his own countrymen: here you ſee that great and amiable ſervant of God, lord Cobham, hung up by the waiſt, over a dreadful fire, and roaſted alive! Here you ſee an Hooper burned at Glouceſter, in ſo cruel a manner, that his ribs fly open, and you behold his heart beating with life, in the midſt of the flames.—Here you ſee that neither the accurate learning of a Ridley, the godly ſimplicity of a Latimer, nor the diſtinguiſhed benevolence of a Cranmer, can be any protection from the outrageous fury of Popery. I am, Sir, your ſincere friend and ſervant,

Northampton. JOHN RYLAND.

SIR,

HISTORY being calculated to catch the attention of perſons of all ranks, many, who cannot without ſome reluctance ſit down to read other ſerious publications, will, we truſt, eaſily be prevailed upon to read that uſeful and intereſting HISTORY contained in FOX's BOOK of MARTYRS; and as the attentive peruſal of it cannot fail being followed with good effect, I therefore feel a peculiar pleaſure in recommending the ſame to ſober, ſenſible and religious perſons of every deſcription.

Jewin-Street Chapel,
LONDON.

T. PRIESTLEY,
Author of the Evangelical Explanation of the Bible.

London: Printed (by Aſſignment from V. Griffith, Succeſſor to H. Trapp) for Alex. Hogg, at No. 16, *Paternoſter-Row.*

THE NEW AND COMPLETE
BOOK of MARTYRS,
OR, AN
Univerſal Hiſtory of Martyrdom:
BEING
FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS,
Reviſed and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING

A New, Copious, Complete, and Univerſal Hiſtory of the Lives, Acts, Monuments, Trials,
Perſecutions, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths of the

PROTESTANT MARTYRS,

During the Reign of MARY the FIRST, commonly called, on Account of her Superſtition, Bigotry, and
Perſecuting Spirit, BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

INTRODUCTION:

Being a Preliminary Diſcourſe, giving an Account of the principal Errors, Rites, Ceremonies, and
Superſtitious Practices, of the ROMISH CHURCH.

BEFORE we enter upon thoſe bloody tragedies that were acted in England during the tyrannical reign of queen Mary, we think it neceſſary, eſpecially for the information of the younger part of our readers, to give an account of the main errors, ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and human inventions, of the Romiſh church; in abhorrence of which, the firſt Reformers and bleſſed Martyrs, who made the ſacred ſcriptures their ſole guide, ſeparated from that church, and reſiſting popiſh idolatry, even unto death, ſealed the ſacred truths of the everlaſting goſpel with their precious blood. To attempt a formal refutation of the various abſurdities belonging to the Roman Catholic religion, would be foreign to the deſign of this work, and afford little entertainment; we ſhall however ſelect thoſe that are more material, and prove that they are mere effects of human invention, by contraſting them with paſſages taken from the word of God, the only true rule by which we can poſſibly judge in all matters of revealed religion. The Romiſh church affirms, that out of her communion there is no ſalvation; yet they receive, profeſs, and teach, as the true catholic faith, the following ſtrange, unſcriptural, and inhuman maxims, tenets, and carnal obſervances.

TRADITIONS.] The church of Rome having deprived the laity of the Bible, ſubſtitutes in it's ſtead apoſtolical and eccleſiaſtical traditions; and obliges her diſciples to admit for truth whatever ſhe teaches them: but what do the holy ſcriptures ſay? "Why do ye tranſgreſs the commandment of God by your traditions?" Matt. xv. 3. 9. &c. They alſo command us "to call no man maſter (in ſpiritual concerns); to try the ſpirits; and to beware of falſe teachers."

PRAYERS and DIVINE SERVICE in LATIN.] The Roman Catholics will not interpret the ſcriptures, otherwiſe than according to the ſenſe of holy Mother Church, and the pretended unanimous conſent of the fathers: they aſſert alſo, that the ſcriptures ought not to be read publicly, nor indifferently by all; and that the common people may be enſlaved by groſs ignorance, they perform public worſhip in an unknown tongue, contrary to the rule laid down by the apoſtle, "That all things ſhould be don to edification." St. Paul ſays, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my ſpirit prayeth, but my underſtanding is unfruitful." And, writing to Timothy, he reminds him, that "from a child haſt thou known the ſcriptures, which are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation, through faith, which is in Chriſt Jeſus."

SEVEN SACRAMENTS.] Two only were inſtituted by Chriſt, to which the Romiſh church has added five more, making in all ſeven, neceſſary to ſalvation, namely, the Euchariſt, Baptiſm, Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony. To thoſe two which Chriſt inſtituted, ſhe has added a mixture of her own inventions; for in the ſacrament of baptiſm, ſhe uſes ſalt, oil, or ſpittle; and in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, the laity have only the bread adminiſtered to them; and even not that, after the manner ordained by Chriſt, who broke the bread and gave it to his diſciples; inſtead of which, the church of Rome adminiſters to her members not bread, but a wafer, and that not broke, but put whole by the prieſt into the mouths of the communicants. Theſe wafers are ſmaller than thoſe made for the prieſts, who, with them, drink the ſacramental wine alone, to which the reſt of the congregation have as good a right, from the inſtitution of our bleſſed Lord, who ſaid, "Drink ye all of this," &c. Matt. xxvi. 27.

The Mass.] Roman Catholics believe it to be a true, proper, and propitiatory ſacrifice, and therefore calls it the Sacrament of the Altar; whereas the death of Chriſt was a full and complete ſacrifice, "in which he hath, by one offering, perfected for ever them that are ſanctified. He himſelf is a prieſt for ever; who, being raiſed from the dead, dieth no more; and who through the eternal Spirit, offered himſelf without ſpot to God." See St. Paul's epiſtle to the Hebrews, Chap. ix. and x. It was on account of this groſs abſurdity, and the irreligious application of it, that our firſt reformers ſuffered, and ſo many were put to death in the reign of queen Mary.

Transubstantiation.] Roman Catholics profeſs, that in the moſt holy ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, there is really, and ſubſtantially, the body and blood, together with the ſoul and divinity of Chriſt; and that the whole ſubſtance of the bread is turned into his body, and the whole ſubſtance of the wine into his blood; which converſion, ſo contradictory to our ſenſes, they call Tranſubſtantiation, but at the ſame time they affirm, that under either kind or ſpecies only, one whole, entire Chriſt, and the true ſacrament is received. But why are thoſe words, "This is my body," to be taken in a literal ſenſe, any more than thoſe concerning the cup? Our Saviour ſays, "I am the true vine; I am the door." St. Paul ſays, "Our fathers drank of the rock that followed them, and that rock was Chriſt;" and, writing to the Corinthians, he affirms, that "he had fed them with milk." Can theſe paſſages be taken literally? Why then muſt we be forced to interpret our Saviour's words in a literal ſenſe, when the meaning is both clearer and more natural, when taken in a figurative one? "Take, eat; thus, in like manner, ſhall my body be broken for you, for the remiſſion of ſins. This cup repreſents the ſigning of the New Teſtament with my blood; and as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come," 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.

Purgatory.] This, they ſay, is a certain place, in which, as in a priſon, after death, thoſe ſouls, by the prayers of the faithful, are purged, which in this life could not be fully cleanſed; no, not by the blood of Chriſt: and notwithſtanding it is aſſerted in the ſcriptures, that "if we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs," 1 John i. 9. This place of purgatory is in the power of the pope, who diſpenſes the indulgence, and directs the treaſury of his merits, by which the pains are mitigated, and the deliverance haſtened. For the tormented ſufferers, in this ideal inquiſition, his monks and friars ſay maſſes, all of whom muſt be paid for their trouble; becauſe, No penny, no pater-noſter; by which bubble the church of Rome amaſſes great wealth.

Idolatrous and Creature-Worship.] In all the Romiſh worſhip, the bleſſed virgin is a principal object of adoration. She is ſtiled queen of Heaven, lady of the world, the only hope of ſinners, queen of angels, patroneſs of men, advocate for ſinners, mother of mercies; under which titles they deſire her, by the power of a mother, to command her Son. In ſome prayers, they invoke God to bring them to heaven by the merits and mediation of the virgin Mary and all her ſaints, and that they may enjoy perpetual ſoundneſs both of body and mind, by her glorious interceſſion. Hence it might be imagined by a papiſt, that the ſacred writings were full of encomiums on this pretended mother of God; whereas, on the contrary, we do not find Chriſt in any part of ſcripture called the Son of Mary, nor that he at any time calls her mother; and when the woman cried, "Bleſſed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that thou haſt ſucked;" "Yea, (returns our Lord) rather bleſſed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." Nor does our Saviour own any relation but that of a diſciple; for when his mother and brethren ſtood without, deſiring to ſpeak with him, Jeſus anſwered, "Who are my mother and my brethren?" And looking round upon his diſciples, he ſaith, "Behold my mother and my brethren; for whoſoever ſhall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the ſame is my brother, ſiſter, and mother." Of the like ſtrain are alſo their prayers to other ſaints and angels, by which they derogate from the honour of our Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, and transfer his offices to others; though the Scriptures expreſsly aſſert, there is but one mediator between God and man, who is ſufficently able to deliver and ſave, to the uttermoſt, all who by faith come unto him. Nor muſt we omit under this head the idolatry of the maſs, in the elevation of the hoſt, to which the poor deluded people kneel down, and which they, whatever their artful prieſts pretend to the contrary, ſolemnly adore and worſhip, agreeable to an expreſs article of their creed, and the command of one of their popes, who enjoins that the hoſt is to be worſhipped *in Latera*, whereby the ſecond commandment is infringed, which the Romiſh church have endeavoured as much as poſſible to ſuppreſs, and in many of their little manuals they leave it quite out.

Papal Sovereignty.] This is politically ſupported by a pretended Infallibility; Auricular Confeſſion, founded upon the prieſt's power to forgive ſins; Indulgences; Pretended Relics; Penance; Pardons; Strings of Beads, for Ave-Marys, and Paternoſters; Celibacy; Merits and Works of Supererogation; Reſtrictions; Monkiſh Auſterities; Religious Vows and Orders; Palms; Candles; decorated Images; Incenſe; Holy Water, or (as Mr. Fox in the preface to his third volume, more properly calls it) Conjuring Water; Chriſtening of Bells; hallowed Flowers and Branches; Agnus Dei; Oblations; Conſecrations; with a variety of other devices, tricks, and impoſitions; to which may be added certain

Ludicrous Forms and Ceremonies.] At the feaſt of Chriſtmas, in commemoration of the nativity of our bleſſed Lord, Roman Catholics have exhibited in their churches a cradle, with an image of an infant in it, which is rocked with great ſeeming devotion; and on Good-Friday they have the figure of our Saviour on the croſs, and then they perform the ſervice which they call the Tenebreſs; having abundance of lighted candles, all of which they extinguiſh one by one, hereby celebrating the darkneſs at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion: after which the body is taken down from the croſs and put into a ſepulchre, and men ſtand to watch it; with more of the ſame childiſh mummery that might be related, as if the Son of God came down from heaven to furniſh men with a ſubject for dramatic repreſentation.

Strange and Cruel Maxims.] Papiſts hold, that heretics (for ſo they call the proteſtants) may not be termed children, or kindred.

By the hereſy of the father, the child is freed from all obligations of natural obedience.

When a chriſtian king becomes an heretic, his ſubjects are forthwith freed from their allegiance.

It is not lawful for chriſtians to tolerate any king, who draweth his ſubjects into hereſy.

They ought to endeavour to depoſe him, and ſet up another in his place.

They ought to expel him the kingdom as the enemy of Chriſt. This is the undoubted judgment of the moſt learned, and agreeable to apoſtolic truth.

Faith is not to be kept with heretics, and papiſts may have a diſpenſation, for the breach of oaths, or any ſecret practices againſt them, for the good of the Romiſh church; and it is lawful to torture, burn their bodies, or otherways kill them, for the good of their ſouls.

Now the above ſcheme of popery, if duly attended to, will convince every unprejudiced mind, that a mixture of paganiſm and judaiſm, abſurdity and idolatry, run throughout the whole, and that it is a crafty deſign to eſtabliſh a dominion over the conſciences, perſons, and properties, of it's deluded profeſſors; yet all theſe falſe doctrines, and irreligious practices, the wretched ſlaves of papal tyranny are obliged to ſwallow down; and to doubt of one ſingle iota is, according to the prieſt, damnable; for, ſays a Roman Catholic, at the cloſe of his creed,

I

I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apoſtolic Roman church to be the mother and miſtreſs of all churches; and I promiſe and ſwear true obedience to the pope of Rome who is Chriſt's vicar, and ſucceſſor to St. Peter, the prince of the apoſtles.

I alſo, without doubt, receive and profeſs all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the ſacred canons and councils, eſpecially by the holy ſynod of Trent; and all things contrary to them, with all hereſies, condemned, rejected, and curſed by the church, I likewiſe reject, condemn, and curſe.

Laſtly. This true Catholic Faith, without which no man can be ſaved, which at preſent I freely hold and profeſs, I will (by God's help) conſtantly retain and confeſs, entire and inviolable, to my lateſt breath, and take care, to the utmoſt of my power, that the ſame ſhall be taught, held, and profeſſed by all under me, and whoſe care ſhall belong to me in my office; ſo help me God, and the holy Evangeliſts.

Having thus given an account of the notorious corruptions and abuſes which the Romiſh church has introduced into her complex ſyſtem of abſurdities and idolatries, we proceed to give a full and faithful diſplay of the intolerant, cruel, and dreadful bloody ſpirit of popery, as exemplified in the perſecutions, ſufferings, and maryrdoms, of the perſevering, holy, conſtant, and now bleſſed martyrs. Our general deſign is, to open the eyes of the lukewarm, to confirm weak and unlearned chriſtians in their moſt holy faith, and to guard all who profeſs the faith of Chriſt; from the ſtratagems of thoſe, who ſeek to draw them from the ſimplicity and truth of the everlaſting goſpel; and we ſubmit the whole to the judgment of the candid reader, imploring that divine bleſſing, which is neceſſary to crown our labours, and every ſpiritual attempt, with ſuch ſucceſs, as may redound to the glory of God, and the eternal welfare of all our fellow Chriſtians.

CHAP. I.

The ACCESSION *of* QUEEN MARY, *and the various* ALTERATIONS *in* RELIGION, TROUBLES *in the* STATE, *and* PERSECUTIONS *in the* CHURCH, *that happened in* ENGLAND, *after her* CORONATION, *and in the Firſt Year of her* REIGN.

THE Roman Catholics aſſert, (and what will they not ſay to colour over their inhuman practices, and bloody deeds?) "That all thoſe who ſuffered death, during the reign of Queen Mary, had been adjudged guilty of high treaſon, in conſequence of their having ſtood up in defence of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown." To diſprove this is no difficult matter, ſeeing every one, converſant in hiſtory, muſt know, that thoſe who are tried on the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward I. Chap. 26, are to be hanged and quartered; but with what aſſurance can even a Papiſt affirm, that ever a man in England was burned for high treaſon? We admit, that ſome few ſuffered death in the ordinary way of proceſs at common law, for their adherence to lady Jane; but none of thoſe were burned. Why, if they were traitors, take them before the biſhops, who have no power to judge in criminal caſes? Nay, allowing the biſhops to have had power to judge, yet their own bloody ſtatute did not give them power to execute; otherwiſe, why were they obliged to certify to the chancellor, that the accuſed perſon was a heretic, before they could obtain a warrant for his execution? The proceedings againſt the martyrs are ſtill extant, and they were carried on directly according to the forms preſcribed by their own ſtatute. We thought it neceſſary to premiſe thus much, that our Britiſh youth may not be led away by popiſh inſinuations; for if you will but conſider, they will be convinced, that the popiſh aſſertion is falſe. There was not one of thoſe who were burned in England, ever accuſed of high treaſon, much leſs were they tried at common law. And this ſhould teach young perſons to value a hiſtory of tranſactions in their own country, particularly of their Bleſſed Martyrs, in order that they may be able to detect the falſhoods advanced by Romiſh prieſts, and their numerous emiſſaries. Having ſaid thus much, by way of caution, we ſhall, without farther preface, enter upon the narrative, which, as we have promiſed, ſhall be a NEW and COMPLETE HISTORY of the Acts and Monuments of our glorious Martyrs.

During the time that king Edward VI. was afflicted by a long illneſs, a marriage was provided, concluded, and ſolemnized in the month of May, between the lord Guildford, ſon to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, daughter of the duke of Suffolk; whoſe mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's ſecond ſiſter, who was firſt married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles, duke of Suffolk. The marriage being conſummated, and the king growing every day worſe, he was prevailed upon to ſet aſide, by his laſt will and teſtament, his two ſiſters, Mary and Elizabeth, and to leave his crown to lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter.

To this order ſubſcribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the lord mayor and city of London, and almoſt all the judges and principal lawyers of the realm, except juſtice Hales of Kent, a true proteſtant, and upright judge, who, having given his conſent to the lady Mary's being queen, would upon no account therefore ſubſcribe to the lady Jane. How he was rewarded for his integrity by Mary, will be ſeen in the ſequel. But the objections made by others in the realm againſt lady Mary's reigning were, becauſe they feared ſhe would marry with a foreigner, and by that means entangle the crown; and it was generally believed, that ſhe would bring in the pope, and quite alter the religion, uſed both in the days of her father king Henry, and in thoſe of her brother Edward VI. which afterwards came to paſs.

What gave riſe to this conjecture, was the great ſtubbornneſs ſhe ſhewed and declared in her brother's days, as evidently appears from thoſe letters that paſſed between her, king Edward, and the council. Not long after this, through the violence of his illneſs, that moſt hopeful prince, Edward VI. departed this life; immediately after whoſe death, lady Jane Gray was, by the conſent of the nobles, proclaimed queen, in London and other popular cities, and was there ſo acknowledged and called.

There was little difference in age between this young lady, and king Edward; but as to learning and knowledge of the languages, ſhe was not only equal, but ſuperior to him, having had the advantage of a man of moſt excellent learning for her tutor; and had her fortune been equal to her fine wit and education, no doubt ſhe would have been comparable, not only to the moſt eminent among women, but even to men of the Univerſity, who had taken ſeveral degrees there in the ſchools.

In the mean time, while thoſe things were upon the anvil, and working in London, lady Mary, having received advice of her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council in the ſtile and manner following.

The Lady Mary's Letter to the Lords of the Council, claiming the Crown upon her Brother's Deceaſe.

My Lords,

WE greet you well, and have received ſure advertiſement, that our deareſt brother the king, our late ſovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy, which news how woeful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure we muſt and do humbly ſubmit us and our wills. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to wit, now after his majeſty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the teſtament and laſt will of our deareſt father, beſides other circumſtances advancing our right, you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our ſaid father, and the king our ſaid brother, and the ſubjects of this realm; ſo that we verily truſt, that there is no good true ſubject that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourſelves cauſed, and, as God ſhall aid and ſtrengthen us, ſhall cauſe our right and title in this behalf to be publiſhed and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weighty a matter ſeemeth ſtrange, that our ſaid brother dying upon Thurſday at night laſt paſt, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we conſider your wiſdoms and prudence to be ſuch, that having eſtſoons [quickly] amongſt you debated, pondered, and well weighed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your own eſtate, the commonwealth and all our honours, we ſhall and may conceive great hope and truſt, with much aſſurance in your loyalty and ſervice, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worſt; and that ye will, like noblemen, work the beſt. Neverthelesſ, we are not ignorant of your conſultations, to undo the proviſions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and proviſions forcible, wherewith ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear ſome evil. But be it that ſome conſideration politic, or whatſoever thing elſe hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all theſe your doings in gracious part, being alſo right ready to remit and fully pardon the ſame, and that freely to eſchew bloodſhed and vengeance againſt all thoſe that can or will intend the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as appertaineth, and that we ſhall not be inforced to uſe the ſervice of other our true ſubjects and friends, which, in this our juſt and right cauſe, God, in whom our whole affiance is, ſhall ſend us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the ſurety of our perſon only employ yourſelves, and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cauſe our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wiſdom ſhall ſeem good, and as to this caſe appertaineth, not failing hereof, as our very truſt is in you. And this our letter, ſigned with our hand, ſhall be your ſufficient warrant on this behalf. Given under our ſignet, at our manor of Kening-hall, the 9th of July, 1553."

To this Letter of the Lady Mary, the Lords of the Council returned the following Anſwer.

MADAM, we have received your letters, the 9th of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed titles which you judge yourſelf to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For anſwer whereof, this is to advertiſe you, that foraſmuch as our ſovereign lady queen Jane is, after the death of our ſovereign lord king Edward VI. a prince of moſt noble memory, inveſted and poſſeſſed with the juſt and right title to the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of ancient laws of this realm, but alſo by our late ſovereign lord's letters patent, ſigned with his own hand, and ſealed with the great ſeal of England, in preſence of the moſt part of the nobles, counſellors, judges, with divers other grave and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: we muſt therefore, as of moſt bound duty and allegiance, aſſent unto her ſaid grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithful ſubjects cannot) fall into grievous and unſpeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no leſs do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you alſo, to advertiſe you, that foraſmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII. and the lady Katherine your mother, was neceſſary to be had both by the everlaſting laws of God, and alſo by the eccleſiaſtical laws, and by the moſt part of the noble and learned univerſities of Chriſtendom, and confirmed alſo by the ſundry acts of parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you juſtly made illegitimate, and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame, you will upon juſt conſideration hereof, and of divers other cauſes lawful to be alledged for the ſame, and for the juſt inheritance of the right line and goodly order taken by the late king our ſovereign lord king Edward VI. and agreed upon by the nobles and great perſonages aforeſaid, ſurceaſe by any pretence to vex and moleſt any of our ſovereign lady queen Jane her ſubjects, from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace: aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpect ſhew yourſelf quiet and obedient (as you ought), you ſhall find us all and ſeveral ready to do you any ſervice that we with duty may, and glad with your quietneſs to preſerve the common ſtate of this realm, wherein you may be otherwiſe grievous unto us, to yourſelf, and to them. And thus we bid you moſt heartily well to fare.

From the Tower of London, in this 9th of July, 1553.

"Your ladyſhip's friends, ſhewing yourſelf an obedient ſubject,

Thomas Canterbury
The Marquis of Wincheſter
John Bedford
Wm. Northampton
Tho. Ely Chancellor.
Northumberland
Henry Suffolk
Henry Arundel
Shrewſbury
Pembroke
Cobham
R. Rich
Huntington
Darcy
Cheyney
R. Cotton
John Gates
W. Peter
W. Cecil
John Cheek
John Maſon
Edward North
R. Bowes."

All theſe perſons, except the duke of Northumberland, and Sir John Gates, were afterwards by a ſpecial or general pardon diſcharged.

Lady Mary, after having received the above anſwer, and perceiving thereby the lords' minds, made haſte privately out of London, relying chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and not deſtitute altogether of ſecret advertiſements from ſome of the nobles. When the council heard of her ſudden departure, and reſolute conduct, and perceiving that things went not according to their late expectations, they gathered ſpeedily a body of troops together, and fixed upon the duke of Suffolk, for their general; but afterwards changing their minds, they thought it beſt to let the duke of Suffolk keep the Tower where lord Guildford and lady Jane then lodged, and to ſend the duke of Northumberland, with ſeveral other lords and gentlemen. In which expedition, notwithſtanding the guards were very unwilling to march at firſt, yet, through the perſuaſion and importunity of the lord treaſurer Cholmey, and others, they were at laſt induced to aſſiſt the duke, and to ſet forward with him.

Theſe things thus agreed upon, the duke marched from London after the beſt manner, having both his times and journey preſcribed him by the council, that he might not do any thing but upon warrant. In the mean time lady Mary, fatigued with travelling up and down, and conſidering where to fix moſt for her advantage, withdrew at length into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where, on account of his having ſubdued the rebels in her brother's reign, ſhe underſtood the name of Northumberland was very much hated; and procuring to herſelf aid and aſſiſtance, on every ſide, as ſhe could, ſhe kept herſelf cloſe for a time within Fremingham caſtle.

At this place firſt reſorted to her the men of Suffolk, who being among the number of the moſt zealous reformers, promiſed her their ſupport, but with this ſtipulation, that Mary ſhould not attempt to alter that religion which, by laws and orders publicly enacted, was eſtabliſhed in her brother king Edward's days, and which had been generally received by the conſent of the whole realm. With this condition ſhe readily complied, and knowing that faith is not to be kept with heretics, ſhe ſcrupled not to promiſe them faithfully, upon the word of a queen, that no innovation ſhould be made in religion; which promiſe had ſhe as religiouſly kept, as they did willingly engage to protect and preſerve her, at the expence of their lives, ſhe had acted worthy of her high deſcent, and made her reign more ſtable through future tranquillity; for let a king or queen, or any private perſon, be ever ſo powerful, yet breach of promiſe is an ill ſupporter of peace and quietneſs, fear worſe, cruelty worſt of all.

However, lady Mary, thus powerfully guarded and faithfully aſſiſted, for the preſent, vanquiſhed the duke, and all lady Jane's adherents. In conſideration whereof, when the Suffolk proteſtants afterwards reminded their moſt gracious queen Mary of her promiſe, ſhe made them the following ſevere and ungrateful reply: "Forasmuch (ſaid ſhe) as you, being but the members, deſire to rule your head, you ſhall one day well perceive, that members muſt obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the ſame." And with a view of ſtriking greater terror into others, a certain gentleman, near Windham ſide, named Dobbe, for advertiſing her by a humble petition of her promiſe, was puniſhed with ſtanding three times in the pillory. Many others were likewiſe impriſoned, for having delivered her books and ſupplications, collected out of the ſcriptures, thereby exhorting her to continue in the true reformed religion then eſtabliſhed.

But to return to the duke of Northumberland, who, having his warrant under the broad ſeal, proceeded on his march; but his ſhort journeys, aſſigned him by commiſſion, and the tedious delays in his rout, added an increaſing ſtrength to lady Mary's cauſe, eſpecially as, at this time, the hearts of the people began to be much inclined to her; which, when the council at London perceived, and underſtood how the common people began to withdraw from them to her, as did alſo ſeveral of the nobility, they forthwith changed their meaſures, and proclaimed for queen lady Mary, eldeſt daughter to Henry VIII. appointed by parliament to ſucceed, king Edward dying without iſſue. As to the duke of Northumberland, he was left deſtitute and forſaken at Cambridge. Upon this he proclaimed Mary queen; yet this piece of policy did him no ſervice; for he was arreſted, as were likewiſe ſome of his ſons, and the earl of Huntington, with a few others; who were all ſent to the Tower, as traitors to the crown.

Thus was lady Mary ſeated on the throne of England, who, to a diſagreeable perſon and weak mind, had united bigotry, ſuperſtition, and cruelty. She ſeems to have inherited more of her mother's, than her father's qualities. Henry was fiery, rough, and ungovernable; but Catherine, with a ſevere and implacable rancour againſt proteſtants, aſſumed the character of a ſaint. It was the ſame with her daughter Mary, as appears from a letter in her own hand writing, now in the Britiſh Muſeum. In this letter, which is addreſſed to biſhop Gardiner, ſhe declares her fixed intention of burning every proteſtant; and it contains an inſinuation, that, as ſoon as circumſtances would permit, ſhe would reſtore back to the church the lands that had been taken from the convents. This was the ſtrongeſt inſtance of her weakneſs that ſhe could ſhew; for the convents had been demoliſhed, except a few of their churches; and the rents were in the hands of the firſt nobility, who, rather than part with them, would have overturned the government, both in church and ſtate. But reaſon and bigotry cannot accord. That narrowneſs of ſpirit, which always diſtinguiſhes a weak mind from one that has been enlarged by education, pervaded all the actions of this princeſs. Unacquainted with the conſtitution of the country, and a ſlave to ſuperſtition, Mary thought to domineer over the rights of private judgment, and to trample on the privileges of mankind.

No ſooner had this queen, by the Suffolk proteſtants, the ſword of authority put into her hand, than ſhe began to employ it againſt thoſe who had ſupported the title of lady Jane Gray. This devoted victim remained with her huſband, lord Guildford, almoſt five months in the Tower, waiting her pleaſure. But the duke of Northumberland, within a month after his confinement there, was condemned, brought to the ſcaffold, and beheaded, notwithſtanding a promiſe made him of his life, if he would but renounce his religion and hear maſs; which he not only did, but alſo exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith. The Papiſts immediately publiſhed and ſpread abroad his recantation: but the duke, in conſequence of his crimes ariſing from a forſaken ambition, died unpitied; nay, he was inſulted on the ſcaffold by thoſe who remembered in what manner he had acted to their beloved Somerſet. It may be proper to obſerve, this duke of Northumberland was not of the great Percy family, which at that time was under a cloud; but he was the grandſon of that Dudley, who was executed in the year 1509, for having acted inconſiſtent with the common law.

The execution of this nobleman was followed with that of ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir John Gates; the former of whom confeſſed his faith in the reformed religion, and lamented that he had not lived more conformably thereto. Queen Mary having begun her reign with the blood of theſe men, and with hearing maſs in the Tower, and having alſo releaſed from thence Stephen Gardiner; were ſufficient indications to the proteſtant part of the nation, that ſhe would not perform what ſhe had promiſed the Suffolk men; and beſides theſe ill omens, there were other things, which every day more and more diſcomforted the people, and which plainly declared the queen to bear no good will to the reformation. Gardiner was not only releaſed, but made lord chancellor, and biſhop of Wincheſter, by turning out Dr. Poynet; Bonner was made biſhop of London, by diſplacing good Dr. Ridley; Dr. Day was promoted to the biſhopric of Durham, by putting out Scory; Dr. Tonſtal to the biſhopric of Chicheſter; Dr. Heath to that of Worceſter; Hooper was committed to the fleet; and Dr. Veſie was made biſhop of Exeter, by diſplacing Miles Coverlade: all which changes, and tranſactions, being particularly noted, occaſioned great heavineſs to all good men, and, on the other hand, great rejoicing to the wicked. In which diſcord of minds, and diverſity of affections, there was now to be ſeen a miſerable proſpect of things throughout the whole nation; for they who could diſſemble, cared not how matters went; but ſuch as were conſcientious, and had any regard to the truth, perceived fires to be already kindled, and which would be the deſtruction of many a ſincere chriſtian; which indeed afterwards came to paſs. Mary having thus laid the foundation of her bloody reign, removed to Hampton-court from the Tower, and cauſed a parliament to be ſummoned, againſt the 10th of October next enſuing, of which more hereafter.

Amongſt the biſhops who were removed, we noticed Dr. Ridley, biſhop of London, a learned and pious prelate, who in the time of queen Jane, by order of the council, preached a ſermon at Paul's Croſs, declaring therein his opinion concerning the lady Mary, and diſſuading them by alledging the inconveniences that might ariſe by admitting her to the crown, propheſying, as it were, before that, which afterwards came to paſs, namely that ſhe would bring in a foreign power to reign over them, and ſubvert the chriſtian religion then happily eſtabliſhed; ſhewing moreover, that, the lady Mary being in his dioceſe, he, according to his duty, as being then her ordinary, had done his endeavours to reform her to this religion, and notwithſtanding in all other points of civility ſhe ſhewed herſelf gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, ſhe appeared perverſe and obſtinate; that he could perceive no other hopes of her, but that ſhe would diſturb and overturn all that had been planted and confirmed with ſo much induſtry in the reign of her brother king Edward. Soon after this ſermon was preached, the lady Mary was proclaimed queen, whereupon Dr. Ridley forthwith repaired to ſalute her at Fremingham Caſtle, where he met with cold entertainment, and being deprived of all his dignity, was ſent back upon a lame halting horſe to the Tower.

The Sunday following Mr. Rogers preached, diſcourſing very learnedly on the goſpel for the day: whereupon queen Mary, perceiving things not to go forward according to her mind, forthwith deviſed and conſulted with her council how to bring about by other means, what by open law ſhe could not well accompliſh; and accordingly directed forth a prohibition by proclamation that no man ſhould preach or read openly the word of God in churches, with ſeveral other things contained in the proclamation.

The Tumult at Paul's Croſs, occaſioned by Mr. Bourn's Sermon.

Near this period, or not long before, Mr. Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, and who was afterwards made biſhop of Bath, being appointed by Bonner, then biſhop of London, to preach at Paul's Croſs, he took occaſion, from the goſpel of the day, to ſpeak largely in juſtification of Bonner, who was then preſent, by ſaying, that Bonner, four years ago, had preached from the ſame text, and in the ſame place, for which he was moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into that moſt vile dungeon the Marſhalſea, where he was confined during king Edward's reign. His words had ſuch an ill effect upon the hearers, as to cauſe them to murmur and ſtir in ſuch a ſort, that the mayor and aldermen then preſent feared much an uproar; indeed, ſo great was the popular reſentment, that one hurled a dagger at Mr. Bourn, but who the perſon was could not be then aſcertained, though he was afterwards diſcovered. In ſhort, the tumult became ſo violent, that the preacher was ſilenced, broke off his diſcourſe, and durſt no more appear in that place; for the matter of his diſcourſe tended much to the diſpraiſe of king Edward, which the people could in no wiſe endure. Then Mr. Bradford, being in the pulpit, ſtood forth, at the requeſt of Mr. Bourn's brother, and ſpoke ſo mildly and effectually to the people, that with a few words he pacified them. This done, he and Mr. Rogers conducted Mr. Bourn betwixt them to the Grammar-ſchool door, where they left him ſafe; for which prudent and humane conduct, they were both, ſhortly after, rewarded with long impriſonment, and at laſt with fire in Smithfield.

While the parliament was employed in paving the way for the introduction of popiſh ſuperſtition, the clergy alſo had, after their uſual manner, a convocation at St. Paul's church, London, where the queen appointed a diſputation to be held, on the 18th of October. In this convocation, Mr. John Harpſfield, batchelor of divinity, preached a ſermon to the clergy; after which, for the ſake of order, they proceeded to the choice of a prolocutor or ſpeaker. To this office, Dr. Weſton, dean of Weſtminſter, was appointed by unanimous conſent, and preſented to the biſhops, Mr. Pie, dean of Wincheſter, and Mr. Wimbiſley, archdeacon of London, delivering at the ſame time an oration. Dr. Weſton then made his gratulatory ſpeech to the houſe, and was anſwered with another by biſhop Bonner. They next entered upon the diſputation, concerning the matter of the ſacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, at his laſt ſupper with his diſciples, which diſputation continued ſix days ſucceſſively, wherein Dr. Weſton was chief on the ſide of popery, who behaved himſelf outrageouſly in taunting and checking; inſomuch, that they who diſputed on the other ſide, in defence of the doctrines of the reformation, were compelled, ſome to fly, ſome to deny, ſome to die; but in the judgment of moſt men who heard the debate, they had the better in point of argument, as may appear by the report of the ſaid diſputation, a true copy, and faithful account whereof, will be the ſubject of our next chapter.

C H A P. II.

Account of a Public Theological Disputation, *maintained in the* Convocation-House, *at* St. Paul's, London, *and appointed by the Queen's Special Command, October 18th,* 1553.

THE Report. Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be ſpread abroad of the diſputation had in the convocation houſe; to the intent that all men may know the things therein done and ſaid, he that was preſent hath, at requeſt, thoroughly deſcribed what was ſaid therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in queſtion.

The Firſt, Second, and Third Days Act.

The ſubject for debate firſt ſtated by the Prolocutor, in his addreſs to the Convocation.

On Wedneſday, October 18, the prolocutor, Dr. Weſton, certified the houſe, it was the queen's pleaſure, that the learned men there aſſembled ſhould debate matters of religion, and for that end conſtitute laws, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. And becauſe (ſaid he) there was a book lately publiſhed, called the Catechiſm (which he produced) bearing the name of this ſynod, and yet put forth without your conſents, as I have learned, being a book very peſtiferous, and full of hereſies, and likewiſe an abominable book of Common Prayer; I thought it beſt, therefore, firſt to begin with the articles of the Catechiſm, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, for confirming the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, and alſo tranſubſtantiation: wherefore, it ſhall be lawful, on Friday next enſuing, for all men freely to ſpeak their conſciences in theſe matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully juſtified therein.

On the 20th of October, when it was expected they ſhould have entered into diſputation of the queſtions propoſed, the prolocutor exhibiting two bills to the houſe, the one for the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, and the other concerning the catechiſm, that it was not publiſhed by the conſent of that houſe. Whereunto the whole houſe accordingly aſſented, except ſix, viz. the dean of Rocheſter, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Wincheſter, archdeacon of Hereford, archdeacon of Stow, and one more. Mr. Philpot ſpoke concerning the articles of the Catechiſm, but when he ſaw his allegations were to no purpoſe, he made it his requeſt to the prolocutor, that there might be an equality of perſons concerned in this diſputation, he deſired that the prolocutor would intercede with the lords, that ſome of thoſe men that were learned, and occaſioned the publiſhing of the catechiſm aforeſaid, might be admitted into the houſe to ſhew their learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame, and that Dr. Ridley and Mr. Rogers, with two or three more, might have the liberty of being preſent at this diſputation, and aſſociating with them.

This requeſt was thought reaſonable, and was propoſed to the biſhops, who returned this anſwer; That it was out of their power to call ſuch perſons to the houſe, ſince ſome of them were priſoners; but they ſaid, they would petition the council in this behalf, and in caſe any of them were abſent that ought to be of the houſe, they were for their being admitted. After this, it was ſignified unto the prolocutor, that the lord great maſter and the earl of Devonſhire would be preſent at the diſputations, and therefore he deferred the ſame till Monday, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

At the time appointed the prolocutor made a proteſtation, that the members of that houſe had appointed this public diſputation, not to call the truth in queſtion, to which they had ſubſcribed, except five or ſix, but gain-ſayers and heretics might be reſolved reſpecting their doubts.

The prolocutor demanded of Mr Haddon whether he would reaſon againſt the queſtions that had been propoſed; and Mr. Haddon replied, he would not. To which Mr. Elmar added, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, by their ſubſcribing before the ſubjects were diſcuſſed. Mr. Weſton turning to Mr. Cheyney, deſired to know, whether he would propoſe his doubts concerning tranſubſtantiation. Mr. Cheyney anſwered, "I ſhould be glad my doubts were reſolved."

"The firſt of theſe aroſe from what St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, who, ſpeaking of the body and blood of Chriſt, calls it bread after conſecration.

"The ſecond from a paſſage out of Origen, who ſpeaking of this ſacrament, ſaith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements.

"The third is out of Theodoret, who, ſpeaking of the ſacramental elements, after conſecration, affirmeth, that they go not out of their former ſubſtance, form, and ſhape. Theſe, among ſeveral others, are the doubts I require to be reſolved."

Then the prolocutor having appointed Dr. Moreman to anſwer, he began with obſerving, that the ſacrament is called by St. Paul bread indeed, by which he meant the form of bread; but Mr. Cheyney alledged, that Heſychius called the ſacrament both bread and fleſh.

Yes, replied Moreman, Heſychius called it bread, becauſe it was bread, not becauſe it is ſo. Then, paſſing over Origen, he ſaid, that men miſtook the authority of Theodoret, by interpreting a general into a ſpecial, as Peter Martyr had done, taking the Greek word, that ſignifies ſubſtance in its ſpecial ſignification, whereas, in the general, it may be applied to accidents, as well as ſubſtance; and therefore (ſaid he) I anſwer Theodoret thus, that ſacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former ſubſtance, form, and ſhape, (that is) not out of their accidental ſubſtance and ſhape.

After this, Mr. Cheyney ſat down, and Mr. Elmar, who could not endure to hear ſo weak and childiſh an anſwer to ſo grave an authority, aroſe, declaring, that Moreman's anſwer to Theodoret was only an illuſion, or mere ſubtile evaſion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning; for if the Greek word, that ſignifies ſubſtance, ſhould, in the paſſage quoted, be taken for accident, then it was a ſuperfluous word, eſpecially, where there are two other Greek words, which ſufficiently expound the accidents of the bread: and he proved out of the ſame author, by divers allegations, that the Greek word that ſignified ſubſtance in Theodoret, could not be ſo generally taken in that place; but Moreman ſtill affirmed, that the Greek word that ſignified ſubſtance, muſt needs ſignify accidental ſubſtance properly. To whoſe obſtinacy, ſince he could obtain no better proof, Elmar gave place.

Upon which, Mr. John Philpot ſtood up, and ſaid, he could make it appear, from the whole ſubject matter, in the place alledged, and from the ſimilitude Theodoret uſes, for proving his purpoſe, that Moreman's explanation of the Greek word for ſubſtance, could by no means be taken in the ſenſe he would interpret it: for, he obſerved, Theodoret was in that place arguing againſt the heretic Eutiches, who denied two natures of ſubſtance to remain in Chriſt as one perſon, and that his humanity, after the accompliſhment of the myſtery of our ſalvation, aſcending into heaven, and being joined to the divinity, was abſorbed thereby; ſo that, according to his opinion, Chriſt was no more but of one divine ſubſtance only; againſt which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the ſimilitude of the ſacrament proveth the contrary againſt that heretic; for like as in the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, after the conſecration, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſt's humanity, with the ſubſtance of the bread remaining as before, not being abſorbed by the humanity of Chriſt, but by divine operation joined thereunto, even ſo, in the perſon of Chriſt, being now in heaven, of whom this ſacrament is a repreſentation, there being two ſeveral ſubſtances, his humanity and divinity, united in one hypoſtacy or perſon, which is Chriſt; the humanity not being abſorbed by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in it's former ſubſtance: and Theodoret's ſimilitude, continued Mr. Philpot, would prove nothing, if the ſubſtance of the ſacramental bread remained not as it did before. The heretic therefore, according to Dr. Moreman's interpretation, would have a ſtrong argument to ſupport his error, and to prove himſelf an orthodox chriſtian, might ſay to Theodoret thus; Like as thou Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, doſt ſay that, after the conſecration in the ſacrament, the ſubſtance of the bread is changed into the human body of Chriſt, coming thereunto, ſo that in the ſacrament there is but one ſubſtance of the humanity alone, and not the ſubſtance of bread as it was before; even ſo, likewiſe, may I affirm and conclude from thine own ſimilitude, that the humanity aſcending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined to deity, was abſorbed, and turned into one ſubſtance with the deity; ſo that there remaineth but one divine ſubſtance in Chriſt, no more than in the ſacramental ſigns of the Lord's ſupper, after the conſecration, doth remain any more than one ſubſtance, according to your belief and conſtruction. In attempting to anſwer this, Dr. Moreman was ſo cloſely preſſed, that he began to ſtagger; which Philpot perceiving ſpake in this manner, "Well maſter Moreman, if you have no anſwer ready at preſent, conſider of one, if you can conveniently, againſt our next meeting."

At theſe words the prolocutor was exceedingly offended and troubled, telling him, that he ſhould not brag there, but be fully anſwered. To which Philpot returned, "It is the only thing I deſire, to be anſwered directly on this point of diſpute; and I requeſt of you, and of all the houſe here preſent, that I may be ſufficiently anſwered, which I am ſure you cannot do, taking Theodoret's authority, and ſimilitude, as they ought to be taken." Whereupon, without any further reply, or anſwer to his reaſoning, Philpot was commanded to be ſilent.

After he had ſat down, the dean of Rocheſter aroſe, offering to diſpute againſt the natural preſence, wiſhing that the ſcriptures, and the ancient doctors, might be weighed, believed, and followed, in this point. And he thought a ſufficient argument againſt it, was that ſaying of Chriſt, in St. Matthew, where he ſays, that the poor we ſhould have always with us, but him we ſhould not have always, which the dean ſaid, was ſpoken concerning the natural preſence of Chriſt's body, and therefore Chriſt cannot be naturally preſent on earth in the ſacrament of the altar. To this the prolocutor anſwered, that we ſhould not have Chriſt preſent always to exerciſe alms deeds, but upon the poor.

The dean then proſecuted his argument, and quoted St. Auſtin to prove, that the ſame interpretation of the ſcripture alledged by Mr. Weſton was no ſufficient anſwer; for St. Auſtin, in the 50th treatiſe on St. John, ſpeaketh thus on the ſame ſentence; "When Chriſt ſaid, Me ye ſhall not have always with you, he ſpake of the preſence of his body. For by his majeſty, by his providence, by his unſpeakable and inviſible grace, that is fulfilled which is ſaid of him, Behold I am with you until the conſummation of the world. But in the fleſh which the word took upon him, in that which was born of the virgin, in that which was apprehended by the Jews, which was crucified on the croſs, which was let down from the croſs, which was wrapped in cloths, which was hid in the ſepulchre, which was manifeſted in the reſurrection, you ſhall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily preſence he was converſant with his diſciples forty days, and they accompanying him, ſeeing and not following him, he aſcended and is not here; for there he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, becauſe he is not departed in the preſence of his majeſty. After another manner we have Chriſt always by the preſence of his majeſty; but after the preſence of his fleſh it is rightly ſaid, you ſhall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the preſence of his fleſh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and ſeeth him not with eyes."

To this authority Dr. Watſon anſwered, and ſaid, he would anſwer St. Auguſtine by St. Auguſtine, and having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alledged out of the 70th treatiſe of St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Chriſt on earth, as he was heretofore before his paſſion.

Mr. Philpot replied, ſaying, that Mr. Watſon had not fully anſwered St. Auguſtine by St. Auguſtine, for that in the place mentioned by the dean of Rocheſter, he doth not only treat of the mortal ſtate of Chriſt's body before his paſſion, but alſo the immortal condition of the ſame after his reſurrection: in which mortal body St. Auguſtine ſeemeth plainly to affirm, that Chriſt is not preſent upon the earth, neither in form viſibly, neither in corporal ſubſtance inviſibly, as in a few lines after the place above alledged, St. Auguſtine doth more plainly declare by theſe words, "Now theſe two manners of Chriſt's preſence declared, which is by his majeſty, providence, and grace, now preſent in the world, which before his aſcenſion was preſent in the fleſh; and which being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is abſent from the world, I think there remains no further diſpute about the matter.

Therefore if St. Auguſtine allowed no other preſence of Chriſt here on earth, but only his divine preſence, and that his humanity was in heaven, we ought to confeſs and believe the ſame. But if we put a third preſence of Chriſt, that is, corpoſally to be preſent always in the ſacrament of the altar, inviſibly, according to your ſuppoſitions, whereof St. Auguſtine maketh no mention in all his works, you ſeem to judge that which St. Auguſtine did never comprehend.

Why, ſaid Watſon, does not St. Auguſtine, in the place I alledged, make mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, ſaw Chriſt after his aſcenſion?

It is true, ſaid Philpot, but he ſaw Chriſt, as the ſcripture ſaith, in the heavens, being open, ſtanding at the right hand of God the Father: at which Watſon was ſilent.

The dean proceeded to ſupport his argument, and, to this end, read out of a book of annotations ſundry authorities, to which Moreman, who was appointed to anſwer him, made no direct anſwer, but deſired him to frame an argument, ſaying, the dean had recited many doctors' words, but had not made one argument. Thus challenged, the dean made the following argument from the inſtitution of the ſacrament; "Do this in remembrance of me; and thus ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come."

The ſacrament is the remembrance of Chriſt: therefore, the ſacrament is not very Chriſt; for as yet he is not come, for theſe words, "until he come," do plainly ſignify the abſence of Chriſt's body. Then the prolocutor went about to ſhew, that theſe words, "until he come," did not import any abſence of Chriſt on the earth, by other places of ſcripture, where the word, "until," was made uſe of: but directly to the purpoſe he anſwered nothing. In fine, the dean queſtioned Moreman, whether Chriſt did eat the paſchal lamb with his diſciples, or not? He anſwered, Yes. He further demanded, whether upon inſtituting the ſacrament, he did likewiſe eat the ſacrament with them? Moreman anſwered, Yes. Then he aſked what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagined it to be, or not? Which when Moreman had affirmed, then, ſaid the dean, it is a great abſurdity by you granted; and ſo he ſat down.

Afterwards the prolocutor demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he would argue againſt the natural preſence, or not? He anſwered, Yes, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and aſſign one to anſwer him, and not many, which occaſioned confuſion, and eſpecially to him who had but a bad memory. By this time the night approached: on which account the prolocutor put an end to the diſputation, and appointed Mr. Philpot to begin the ſame the next day, concerning the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The Fourth Day's Debate.

On Wedneſday, October 25th, Mr. John Philpot was prepared to enter upon the diſputation, intending firſt, to have made an oration in Latin; which being known by the prolocutor, he commanded him to make no declaration or oration in Latin, but to deliver his arguments in Engliſh. This is contrary, ſaid Philpot, to your order at the beginning of this diſputation: for then you appointed that all the arguments ſhould be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and deviſed all mine arguments in Latin; and becauſe you Mr. Prolocutor, have ſaid heretofore, openly in this houſe, that I had no learning, I intended to ſhew ſuch learning as I have, in a brief oration, and ſhort declaration of the queſtions now in controverſy, thinking it ſo moſt convenient alſo, that in caſe I ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe in my declaration than ſhould ſtand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and juſtify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by ſuch as were learned of the houſe, ſo that the unlearned being preſent, might take the leſs offence thereat. But this prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who ſtill inſiſted upon his forming an argument in Engliſh, or elſe to hold his peace.

Then, ſaid Philpot, you have much diſappointed me, thus ſuddenly, to go from your former order: but I will accompliſh your commandments, leaving mine oration apart, and I will come to my arguments, which, as well as ſo ſudden a warning will ſerve, I will make in Engliſh. But before I bring forth any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of preſence I diſallow in the ſacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better underſtand to what end and effect mine arguments ſhall tend; not to deny utterly the preſence of Chriſt in his ſacrament, truly miniſtered according to his inſtitution, but only to deny that groſs and carnal preſence, which you of this houſe have already ſubſcribed unto, to be in the ſacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifeſt meaning of the ſcriptures: that by tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramental bread and wine, Chriſt's natural body ſhould, by virtue of the words pronounced by the prieſt, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of preſence imagined by men, I do deny, and againſt this I will reaſon. But before he could make an end of what he was about, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to deſcend to his argument: at whoſe unjuſt importunity Philpot being offended, and hoping to find remedy, fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there preſent, being a great number, whereof ſome were of the queen's council, beſeeching them that he might have liberty to proſecute his arguments without interruption, which was readily granted by the lords. But the prolocutor making uſe of a point of the practice of prelates, would not condeſcend to it, but ſtill cried, "Hold your peace, or elſe make a ſhort argument." "I intend it," ſaid Philpot, "if you will let me alone: but firſt I muſt aſk a queſtion of my reſpondent, Dr. Chedſey, concerning a word or two of your ſuppoſition, that is, of the ſacrament of the altar, what he meaneth thereby." Dr. Chedſey anſwered, that, in their ſuppoſition, they took the ſacrament of the altar, and the ſacrament of the maſs, to be all one. Then, ſaid Mr. Philpot, by Mr. Prolocutor's leave, I will ſpeak plain Engliſh, and to be ſhort, I ſay, that the ſacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the maſs, once juſtly aboliſhed, but now put in full force again, is no ſacrament, neither is Chriſt in any manner preſent in it, and this he offered to prove before the queen, the council, or before ſix of the moſt learned men of that houſe, of a contrary opinion, and refuſed none: If, (ſaid he) I ſhall not be able, by God's words, to maintain what I have aſſerted, and confound thoſe ſix who ſhall withſtand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many faggots as can be found in London, before the court-gate. This he ſpake with the utmoſt zeal and courage.

At this the prolocutor, with many others, were very much offended, demanding of him, whether he knew what he ſaid. Yes, replied Mr. Philot, I know very well what I ſay, and I deſire that no man may be offended at it, for I ſpeak no more than by the word of God I am able to prove; and praiſed be God, that the queen's grace hath granted us of this houſe (as our prolocutor hath informed us) the free liberty of declaring our opinions, agreeable to our conſciences in theſe matters of controverſy in religion; and therefore I will here freely ſpeak the dictates of my conſcience, grounded upon God's holy word for the truth, although ſome of you here preſent do not like it.

Then Mr. Weſton, with others, taunted and reproved him, for ſpeaking ſo indecently againſt the ſacrament of the maſs. The prolocutor alſo told him he was mad, and threatened to ſend him to priſon.

Mr. Philpot hearing himſelf abuſed, and not permitted the free liberty to ſpeak his mind, thus exclaimed, caſting his eyes towards heaven, O Lord! what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word cannot be ſpoken and endured! And while he ſaid theſe words, being full of ſorrow, the tears were ſeen to trickle from his eyes.

The prolocutor, being moved by ſome that were about him, conſented that he ſhould make an argument provided that he would be brief. I will be as ſhort (ſaid Philpot) as I can conveniently, in uttering all I have to ſay. And, firſt, I will lay the foundation of my arguments upon the authority of ſcripture, whereon all the buildings of our faith ought to be grounded; after which, I intend to confirm the ſame by the ancient fathers of the church. My firſt argument is drawn from the 28th chapter of St. Matthew, in which the angel ſays to Mary, who ſought for Chriſt at the ſepulchre, "He is riſen, he is not here;" and again, St. Luke, chapter 23d, the angel aſketh them, "Why ſeek ye the living among the dead?" In which places the ſcripture teſtifieth, that Chriſt was riſen, aſcended into heaven, and now ſitteth at the right hand of the Father: all which is ſpoken of his natural body; therefore it cannot be on earth included in the ſacrament. I will confirm this yet more effectually, from the 16th of St. John, where Chriſt ſaith, "I came from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go to my Father." Which coming and going he meant of his natural body; therefore we may conſequently affirm, that it is not found in the world, nor can be in the ſacrament.

But I expect here to be anſwered with a blind diſtinction; that he is viſibly departed in his humanity, but remaineth inviſibly in the ſacrament; but that no ſuch idle diſtinction can take away the force of my argument, will appear from the anſwer which Chriſt's diſciples returned, ſaying, "Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, and uttereſt no proverb;" which words St. Cyril interpreting ſaith, that our Saviour ſpake without any ambiguity, or figure of ſpeech, and therefore I do from thence conclude, that if Chriſt ſpake plainly, and without parable, then that obſcure, dark, and imperceptible preſence of Chriſt's natural body remaining in the ſacrament inviſibly upon earth, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt, ought not to be allowed; for nothing can be more uncertain, parabolical, and abſurd, than ſo to ſay. I will now give attention to your anſwer, and then deſcend to confirm what I have ſaid by ancient writers.

Then Dr. Chedſey, reciting his argument as it was made, took upon him to anſwer every part thereof ſeverally. Firſt, to the ſaying of the angel, That Chriſt is not here: and, Why ſeek ye the living among the dead? He anſwered, that theſe ſayings pertained nothing to the preſence of Chriſt's natural body in the ſacrament, but that they were ſpoke of Chriſt's body being in the ſepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave ſtill. And therefore the angel ſaid, Why do you ſeek him that liveth, among the dead? And to the authority of St. John, where Chriſt ſaith, Now I leave the world and go to my Father; he meant that of his aſcenſion. And ſo likewiſe did Cyril, interpreting the ſaying of the diſciples, that knew plainly that Chriſt would viſibly aſcend into heaven; but that doth not exclude the inviſible preſence of his natural body in the ſacrament. For St. Chryſoſtom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the ſame, comparing Elias and Chriſt together, and Elias's cloak, and Chriſt's fleſh. "When Elias (ſaith he) was taken up in the fiery chariot, he left his cloak behind him unto his diſciple Eliſæus. But Chriſt aſcending into heaven, took his fleſh with him, and left alſo his fleſh behind him." From whence we may juſtly conclude, that Chriſt's fleſh is viſibly aſcended into heaven, and abideth ſtill inviſibly in the ſacrament of the altar.

To this Philpot replied, and ſaid, You have not directly anſwered to the ſaying of the angel. Chriſt is riſen, and is not here, becauſe you have omitted that which was the chief point of all. For, ſaid he, I proceed further, as thus, He is riſen, aſcended, and ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, therefore, he is not remaining on earth. Neither is your anſwer to Cyril, by me alledged, ſufficient. But I will preſently return to your interpretation of Cyril and plainly declare it after I have refuted the authority of Chryſoſtom, which is one of the chief principles that you alledged to make for your groſs carnal preſence in the ſacrament; which being well weighed and underſtood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.

At this the prolocutor ſtartled, that one of the chief pillars in this point ſhould be overthrown; and therefore he recited the ſaid authority, firſt in Latin, and afterwards he turned it into Engliſh, and deſired all that were preſent to remark that ſaying of Chryſoſtom, which he thought invincible on their own ſide. But I will make it appear (ſaid Philpot) by and by, that it doth make little for your purpoſe. And as he was declaring his mind in this particular, the prolocutor interrupted him, as he frequently did. With which Philpot being diſpleaſed, ſaid, Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a ſophiſtry-ſchool, where he well knoweth the manner is, that when the reſpondent perceiveth, that he is like to be inforced with an argument which he is not able to anſwer, he doth what he can, by cavilling, and interruption, to drive him from the ſame. This ſaying of Philpot was ill taken by the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor ſaid, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. Hear, ſaid Philpot, and afterwards judge; for I will do in this, as in all other authorities, wherewith you ſhall take upon you to refute any of my arguments that I have to proſecute, anſwering the ſame either by ſufficient authorities of ſcripture, or elſe by ſome other teſtimony of like authority with your's, and not of my own imagination; which if I do, I deſire it to be of no credit.

As to your authority from St. Chryſoſtom, I have two objections againſt that to propoſe; one drawn from ſcripture, the other from the very place of Chryſoſtom himſelf here by you alledged.

Firſt, where he ſeemeth to ſay, that Chriſt aſcending took his fleſh with him, and left his fleſh alſo behind him; it is true; for the fleſh Chriſt took with him was that which he received from the virgin Mary, and the fleſh he left behind was not his natural body, but the members of his viſible church; as St. Paul doth aptly teſtify, when he ſays, Eph. v. "We are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones." And if any one will reply, that he there treateth of the ſacrament, and that this interpretation cannot ſo properly be applied to him in that place, then I will explain St. Chryſoſtom another way by himſelf; for a few lines before thoſe now quoted, are theſe words; "That Chriſt, after he aſcended into heaven, left to us, indued with his ſacraments, his fleſh in myſteries, that is, ſacramentally; and that myſtical fleſh Chriſt leaveth as well to his church in the ſacrament of baptiſm, as in the ſacramental bread and wine." "As many (ſaith St. Paul) as are baptized in Chriſt, have put on Chriſt." Hence you may perceive, that St. Chryſoſtom makes nothing for your groſs carnal preſence in the ſacrament, as you wrongly interpret him.

Now in the mean time, while Mr. Philpot was ſpeaking, Mr. Pie, whiſpering the prolocutor in the ear, urged him to ſilence Philpot, fearing, if he held on longer, he would wholly overthrow their opinion of the carnal preſence, ſeeing he had already given one of it's main ſupporters ſuch a blow. The prolocutor, therefore, ſaid to Mr. Philpot, that he had reaſoned long enough, and that ſome other ſhould ſupply his room, at which Mr. Philpot, being much diſpleaſed, ſaid, Why, ſir, I have a dozen arguments to propoſe concerning this matter, and I have as yet ſcarce gone over the firſt; for being hitherto hindered, through your frequent interruptions, I have not, for confirmation, quoted any ancient writers, though I could a great many. Well, returned the prolocutor, you ſhall ſpeak no more now, and I command you to be ſilent. You perceive, ſaid Mr. Philpot, that I am able to controvert your falſe ſuppoſition, and therefore you command me to be ſilent. If you will not give place, ſaid Mr. Weſton, I will ſend you to priſon. This is not, replied Philpot, according to your promiſe made in this houſe, nor yet to your brags made at Paul's Croſs, that men ſhould be anſwered in this diſputation to whatever they can ſay, ſince of a dozen arguments you will not ſuffer me to proſecute one. Here Mr. Pie took upon him to promiſe, that he ſhould be anſwered another day. But Mr. Philpot, ſeeing he could not proceed as he deſigned, was juſtly offended thereat, and concluded with the following words:—"A ſort of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and diſſembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to ſuppreſs the ſincere truth of God's holy word, and to ſet forth every falſe device, which by the Catholic doctrine of the ſcripture ye are not able to maintain."

Then ſtood up Mr. Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Mr. Moreman took upon him to anſwer; but Mr. Elmar's allegations ſo incumbered his reſpondent, that he deſired a day to overlook them, for at that inſtant he was without a proper anſwer.

The prolocutor now called upon Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who proſecuted Mr. Elmar's argument. Dr. Watſon, who attempted to anſwer him, was ſo confounded, that he was not able to explain ſufficiently the word *Miſterium* (Miſtery). But as he ſeemed to doubt therein, Mr. Haddon took out of his boſom a Latin author, to confirm what he had advanced, and, ſhewing the ſame to Dr. Watſon, aſked him, whether he thought that tranſlation to be a juſt one, or that the printer were in fault; to which Watſon replied, there may be a fault in the printer, for I am not remembered of this word. Then Mr. Haddon took out of his boſom a Greek book, wherein he pointed to the ſame word, which Mr. Watſon could not deny. The further arguments that were made uſe of, we ſhall omit declaring, becauſe they were moſtly in Greek, as were thoſe alſo of Mr. Elmar's.

Then Mr. Perne ſtood up, and argued againſt tranſubſtantiation, confirmed the authorities alledged by the two former ſpeakers. When the prolocutor, interrupting, ſaid, "I wonder, Mr. Perne, at your ſpeaking thus, for no longer than laſt Friday you ſubſcribed to the contrary." For which cenſure Mr. Elmar blamed the prolocutor, telling him, that he ought not to reprehend any man, becauſe, ſaid he, this houſe is a houſe of free liberty for every man to ſpeak according to his conſcience, and becauſe but yeſterday he promiſed this liberty to any man, notwithſtanding he had ſubſcribed.

Night now approaching, and the time being expired, the prolocutor, though he praiſed them for their learning, concluded with obſerving, that, all reaſoning ſet apart, the order of Holy Church muſt be received, and all things ordered thereby.

The Fifth Day's Debate.

On Friday, October 27th, the prolocutor opened the debate with obſerving, that the convocation had ſpent two days in diſputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word (ȣ̓σία) and now they were aſſembled to anſwer all things that could be objected, therefore he deſired they would ſhortly profound their arguments. Upon this, Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, requeſted leave to oppoſe Mr. Watſon, who, with Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to anſwer him. Mr. Haddon then demanded, if any ſubſtance of bread and wine remained after conſecration? To which Watſon replied, by aſking another queſtion, namely, whether he thought there was a real preſence of Chriſt's body, or not? Mr. Haddon ſaid, it was not agreeable to order, that one, who was appointed to be reſpondent ſhould be opponent; nor ſhould he, whoſe buſineſs was to object, anſwer. Mr. Haddon then proceeded to ſhew, from the words of Theodoret, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained: for his words are, "The ſame they were before the ſanctification, which they are after." Mr. Watſon ſaid, that Theodoret meant not the ſame ſubſtance, but the ſame eſſence. Whereupon they were driven again to a diſcuſſion of the Greek word above mentioned; and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a ſubſtance, both by it's etymology, and by the words of Theodoret; for, ſaid he, ȣ̓σία cometh from the particle ὢν, which deſcendeth to the verb εἰμὶ, and ſo cometh the noun ȣ̓σία, which ſignifieth ſubſtance. Mr. Watſon ſaid, it had not that ſignification only: but, in that place, Mr. Haddon proved, it could not ſignify otherwiſe. He then aſked Watſon, when the bread and wine became ſymbols? Watſon anſwered, After conſecration, and not before. Then Mr. Haddon raiſed out of his author the following ſyllogiſm (being an argument of three propoſitions).

(1) Theodoret ſaith, that the ſame thing the bread and wine were, before they were ſymbols, the ſame they remain ſtill, in nature and ſubſtance, after they are ſymbols.

(2) Bread and wine they were before.

(3) Therefore, bread and wine they are after.

Mr. Watſon, when he could not anſwer, had recourſe to the ſhameful ſubterfuge of diſcrediting the authority of Theodoret, by ſaying, he was a Neſtorian; at the ſame time, turning to Mr. Cheyney, who ſtood by, he deſired to anſwer him, intimating, that he was more fit, than Mr. Haddon, to diſpute upon this point, becauſe he had granted and ſubſcribed to the real preſence. Being thus addreſſed with an inſinuation that required an immediate reply, Mr. Cheyney applied to the houſe, and requeſted the patience of thoſe honourable men to hear him, hoping ſo to open the matter, that the truth ſhould appear; proteſting, that he was no obſtinate nor ſtubborn man, but would be conformable to all reaſon; and if they, by their learning, which he acknowledged to be much more than his, could anſwer his reaſons, then he would be ruled by them, and ſay as they ſaid; for he would be no author of ſchiſm, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother, the church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt. Dr. Weſton liking this very well commended him highly, telling him, that he was a very learned and ſober man, and well experienced in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man, for his knowledge, fit to diſpute in that place; I pray yon hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. Cheyney deſired thoſe that were preſent to pray to God with him in two words, and to ſay, *Vincat veritas*, "Let truth take place, and have the victory;" and all that were preſent cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas.*

Dr. Weſton told them it was hypocritical, and that they had better ſay, *Vicit Veritas*, "Truth hath gotten the victory." Mr. Cheyney ſaid again, If you will give me leave, I will come to the point, that you may truly ſay ſo. Then addreſſing himſelf particularly to Mr. Watſon, he began after this manner.

You ſaid that Mr. Haddon was not fit to diſpute, becauſe he had not granted the natural and real preſence; but I ſay you are much leſs fit to anſwer, becauſe you take away the ſubſtance of the ſacrament. Watſon ſaid, that he had ſubſcribed to the real preſence, and ſhould not go away from that: ſo ſaid the prolocutor and the other prieſts; ſo that for a long time he could not have leave to proceed, till the lords deſired that he ſhould be heard. He now explained what he meant by ſubſcribing to the real preſence, far otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed. He then proſecuted Haddon's argument, proving that the Greek word before diſcuſſed was a ſubſtance, uſing the ſame reaſon that Haddon did; and when he had received the ſame anſwer that was made to Haddon, he told them it was but a poor refuge, when they could not anſwer to deny the author, and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was ſaid of the nature and ſubſtance. The ſimilitude of Theodoret is this, ſaid he, as the tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, after the invocation of the prieſt, do change their names, and yet continue the ſame ſubſtance; ſo the body of Chriſt after his aſcenſion, changed his name, and was called immortal, yet it had his former faſhion, figure, and circumſcription, and, to ſpeak in one word, the ſame ſubſtance of his body. Therefore, if in the former part of the ſimilitude you deny the ſame ſubſtance to continue, then in the latter part of the ſimilitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Chriſt, after his aſcenſion, to have the former nature and ſubſtance. But that were a great hereſy; therefore it is alſo a great hereſy to take away the ſubſtance of bread and wine after conſecration. In anſwer to this, Watſon was obliged to ſay, that the ſubſtance of the body, in the former part of the ſimilitude brought in by him, did ſignify quantity, and other accidents of the ſacramental tokens which are ſeen, and not the very ſubſtance of the ſame; and therefore Theodoret ſays, Thoſe things which are ſeen. For according to philoſophy, the accidents of things are ſeen, and not the ſubſtances.

Cheyney then appealed to the nobility, and deſired that they would give no credit to them in ſo ſaying: for if they think as they teach, after your lordſhips have ridden forty miles on horſeback (as your buſineſs ſometimes may require) you ſhall not be able to ſay at night, that

that ſaw your horſes all the day, but only the colour of them: and by this reaſon Chriſt muſt go to ſchool, and learn of Ariſtotle how to ſpeak. For when he ſaw Nathaniel under the fig-tree, if Ariſtotle had ſtood by, he would have ſaid, No, Chriſt, thou didſt not ſee him, but the colour of him. Then ſaid Watſon, ſuppoſe it were granted that Theodoret was on the other ſide, where there were one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

The prolocutor here perceiving that Mr. Watſon was cloſely attacked, called upon Mr. Morgan to help him out, who ſaid, that Theodoret did no more than what he might lawfully do; for, firſt, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of ſuch as were not fully inſtructed in the faith, he ſpake myſtically: he granted the truth, by calling the bread and wine the body and blood of Chriſt; after which he ſeems to give ſomewhat to the ſenſes and to reaſon: but that Theodoret was of the ſame opinion with them, will appear from his words that follow, which are the cauſe of what went before; therefore he ſays, The immortality, &c. whereby it ſeemeth, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human. Morgan was then detected in miſapplying the text; for the book had not this word [for], and the Greek word did rather ſignify [truly], from whence it plainly appeared, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a ſentence rendering a cauſe of that he had ſaid before.

Watſon now repeated what he had before ſaid: "Suppoſe Theodoret be on your ſide, of whom we never heard in print, before two or three years ago; yet he is but one; and what is one againſt the conſent of the whole church?" Cheyney affirmed, that not only Theodoret was of his opinion, that the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remain, but many others alſo, particularly Irenæus, who, making mention of this ſacrament, ſays thus: "When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the Euchariſt of the body and blood of Chriſt, by which the ſubſtance of our fleſh is nouriſhed, and doth conſiſt." From whence I infer, that if the thankſgiving do nouriſh our body, then there is ſome ſubſtance beſides Chriſt's body. To this both Watſon and Morgan replied, obſerving, that [by which], in that ſentence of Irenæus, was to be referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Chriſt; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread which is broken. Mr. Cheyney ſaid, that it was not the body of Chriſt which nouriſhed our bodis; and granting that the fleſh of Chriſt nouriſheth to immortality, yet it doth not make for their argument, although it might be true; no more than that anſwer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which we break, &c. with many others; whereunto you anſwered, that bread was not to be taken there in it's proper ſignification, that is, not for that it was bread, but for that it had been ſo; any more than the rod of Aaron was taken for a ſerpent, becauſe it had been a ſerpent. After this, Mr. Cheyney quoted Heſychius, and uſed the ſame reaſon that he did concerning the burning of ſymbols; and aſked them, what was burnt? Mr. Watſon ſaid, we muſt not enquire nor aſk, but if there was any fault, impute it to Chriſt. Then ſaid Mr. Cheyney, whence came thoſe aſhes, if not from ſubſtance? or can any ſubſtance ariſe from accidents?

Here Mr. Harpſfield was called in to the aſſiſtance of Watſon, and to hear what he could ſay to this matter; who began with a fair preamble about the omnipotency of God, and the weakneſs of human reaſon as to the comprehenſion and attainment of religious matters; and ſaid, that whatſoever we ſaw, felt, or taſted, it was not convenient to truſt our ſenſes.—(The very pith and marrow of popery this.) He alſo related a curious legend out of St. Cyprian, how a woman ſaw the ſacrament burning in her coffer; and that which burned thus, ſaid Harpſfield, burneth here, and becometh aſhes; but what that was which burnt, he could not tell. Mr. Cheyney continued ſtill to force them with this queſtion—What was it that was burnt?—it was either, ſaid he, the ſubſtance of bread, or elſe the ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt, which was too great an abſurdity to grant. At length they anſwered, it was a miracle; at which Mr. Cheyney ſmiling, ſaid, that he would then ſay no more.

Then Dr. Weſton, the prolocutor, aſked the company, whether thoſe men had been ſufficiently anſwered, or not? To which certain prieſts ſaid, Yes; but as to the great multitude of people, theſe exclaimed—No, no; they were not heard; and the clamour was ſo great, that it was heard almoſt to the end of St. Paul's: whereat Dr. Weſton, being much incenſed, anſwered ſharply, that he aſked not the judgment of the rude multitude, and unlearned people, but ſuch as were members of that houſe. Having ſaid this with much acrimony, he aſked Mr. Haddon and his fellow-diſputants, whether they would anſwer them other three days? Mr. Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar anſwered, No. Upon which the archdeacon of Wincheſter, Mr. Philpot, ſtood up, and ſaid, they ſhould be anſwered; and though all others refuſed to anſwer, yet he would not; but offered to anſwer them all in turns; with whoſe offer the prolocutor being diſſatisfied, railed at him, ſaying that he ſhould go to Bedlam; to whom the archdeacon returned gravely this anſwer, that he deſerved much more to be ſent thither, who behaved himſelf ſo furiouſly in the diſputation, without any indifferent equality.

To this Dr. Weſton made no reply, but riſing up addreſſed the houſe, ſaying, All the company here have ſubſcribed, theſe men whom you ſee only excepted. What their reaſons are you have heard. We have anſwered them three days, upon promiſe, (which was a falſe aſſertion, for no ſuch promiſe was made) that they ſhould anſwer us again, as long as the order of diſputation continued, and, if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them do ſo.

Then ſtood up Mr. Elmar, and ſhewed how vain a man Mr. Weſton was; for he affirmed they never promiſed to diſpute, but only to declare and teſtify to the world their conſciences. For when they were required to ſubſcribe, they refuſed, alledging, that they would ſhew good reaſons which moved them, that they could not, agreeable to their conſciences, ſubſcribe; as they had partly done already, and were able to do more effectually. Therefore, continued he, it hath been ill called a diſputation, and they are much to blame who called it ſo. We meant not to diſpute, nor now intend to anſwer, before our arguments, which we have to propound, be ſolved, according as it was appointed: for, by anſwering, we ſhould but incumber ourſelves and profit nothing, ſince the matter is already decreed on, and determined, whatſoever we may prove by diſpute to the contrary.

The SIXTH DAY's DEBATE.

On Monday following, October the 30th, the prolocutor demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether, in the queſtions, before propounded, he would anſwer their objections or not? To whom he made this anſwer; that he would willingly do ſo, if, according to their former determination and promiſe, they would firſt anſwer fully ſome of his arguments, of which he had a dozen, not half of the firſt being decided; and if they would anſwer but one of his arguments ſufficiently, he would reply to all the objections they could bring. The prolocutor bid him ſtate his argument, and it ſhould be reſolutely controverted by ſome of them; whereunto Morgan was appointed. Mr. Philpot then proceeded. On Wedneſday laſt, ſaid he, I was forced to ſilence before I had proſecuted half my argument, the ſum of which was, that the human body of Chriſt was aſcended into heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father; wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could not be ſituated upon earth inviſibly in the ſacrament of the altar. The argument was denied by Morgan; but for proof hereof, Philpot ſaid, that this was what he had to confirm his firſt argument with, if they would have ſuffered him the other day, as he hoped they would now. He thus proceeded with his argument.

(1) One ſelf-ſame nature receiveth not in itſelf any thing that is contrary to itſelf.

(2) But the body of Chriſt is an human nature, diſtinct from the deity, and is a proper nature of itſelf.

(3) Therefore it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itſelf.

But bodily to be preſent, and to be abſent bodily, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one preſent time, are things contrary to the nature of an human body. Therefore, it cannot be ſaid of the human body of Chriſt, that the ſelf-ſame body is both in heaven, and alſo on the earth at one inſtant, either viſibly or inviſibly. Morgan denied the firſt part of the argument, which Philpot ſupported out of Vigilius, an ancient writer; yet ſtill Morgan cavilled thereat, and ſaid it was no ſcripture, and deſired him to prove the ſame from ſcripture. Philpot deduced the ſame from St. Paul, who ſays, that "Chriſt is like unto us in all points, except ſin;" therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itſelf any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in St. Paul's church and at Weſtminſter in one inſtant, or to be at London viſibly, and at Lincoln inviſibly at one time; ſo, in like manner, the body of Chriſt cannot be in more places than one, which is in heaven, and conſequently is not included or contained iu the ſacrament of the altar. But, ſaid the prolocutor, it is not true, that Chriſt was like unto us in all points, ſince he was not conceived by the ſeed of man as we are. Philpot replied, that Chriſt's conception was propheſied before by the angel to be ſupernatural, but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt in the virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except ſin.

Then Morgan affirmed, that theſe words of St. Paul did not plainly prove his purpoſe. Well, ſaid Philpot, I perceive you anſwer only by cavilling, yet I am not deſtitute of other ſcriptures, though you refuſe the teſtimony of ſo ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. St. Peter, making mention of Chriſt in the 3d chapter of the Acts, ſays, "Whom heaven muſt receive, until the conſummation of all things," &c. which words are ſpoken of his humanity; and if heaven muſt hold Chriſt, then can he not be here on earth, in the ſacrament, as is pretended. Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct anſwer, Harpsfield, one of the biſhop of London's chaplains, ſtood up, and demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he would of neceſſity force Chriſt to any place, or not? Philpot returned, that he would no otherwiſe force Chriſt of neceſſity to any place, than what the words of the Holy Ghoſt teach, namely, that Chriſt's human body muſt abide in heaven until the day of judgment. To which Harpsfield replied, Do you not know that God is a God omnipotent? Yes, ſaid Philpot, I know that right well; but as to Chriſt's omnipotency, what he can do, is not our queſtion, but rather, what he actually doth: he may make more worlds; but doth he therefore ſo? It were no good conſequent to conclude, becauſe he may or can do this or that, therefore he doth it.

SYLLOGISTIC ARGUMENT.

Only ſo much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expreſſed.

That Chriſt's body is both in heaven, and here alſo really in the ſacrament, is not expreſſed in the word.

Therefore it is not to be believed, that the body of Chriſt, being in heaven, is here in the ſacrament.

Why, returned the prolocutor, then you will put Chriſt in priſon in heaven. To which Philpot anſwered, Do you reckon heaven to be in priſon? God grant us all to come to that priſon!

After this, Harpsfield affirmed, that the Latin word, *oportet*, in St. Peter, (in Engliſh, *muſt*) did not import, as Philpot would infer, a neceſſity, which might be made appear from other places of ſcripture, as in the firſt of Timothy, where St. Paul ſaith, A biſhop muſt be the huſband of one wife. Here the word *oportet* doth not mean neceſſity, but a poſſibility, that he, who never was married, may be a biſhop. To which Philpot replied, that the two paſſages he compared were not alike; and that in comparing the ſcriptures we muſt not conſider the bare words, but rather their import: and in one place, quoted by him, St. Paul declares of what quality a biſhop ought to be; but in the other St. Peter refers to the place where Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be until the end of the world; which we ought to believe to be true. And this compariſon of the Latin word, *oportet*, is no more an anſwer to my argument, than if I was to ſay of you, now being here, you muſt needs be here, which importeth ſuch a neceſſity for the time, that you can no otherwiſe but be here; yet you would endeavour, in words, to avoid this neceſſity with another *oportet* in another ſenſe, as for inſtance, you muſt be a good man, where *muſt* doth not indeed imply any ſuch neceſſity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus your reaſoning is not concluſive, and by no meens an anſwer to my argument.

The prolocutor, to help the matter out, if poſſible, brought up another *oportet*, ſaying, *Oportet hæreſes eſſe;* muſt hereſies needs be therefore, becauſe of this word *oportet?* Certainly, returned Philpot, it cannot otherwiſe be, if you will add what immediately followeth, *ut qui electi ſunt manifeſtentur*, meaning, "that ſuch as be the elect of God may be manifeſt and known." But, ſaid the prolocutor, the time hath been that no ſuch hereſies were. I know not of any ſuch time, ſaid Philpot; for ſince the time of Abel and Cain hereſies have been and then began. Then ſaid the prolocutor, Will you not now anſwer Morgan an argument or two? I will, ſaid Philpot, if I may have my arguments firſt anſwered fairly, according to truth and learning. What! ſaid the prolocutor, will you never be anſwered? How I am anſwered, returned Philpot, let all here preſent judge, eſpecially men of learning, and with what cavilling you have trifled with me. Firſt, to the ancient authority of Vigilius, you have anſwered nothing, except denying what he ſaith to be ſcripture. Secondly, to the words of St. Peter, in the Acts, you have anſwered, by demanding, whether I would keep Chriſt in priſon, or not? Let men now judge if this be a ſufficient anſwer, or not. Upon this, Morgan ſtood up again, and aſked Philpot, whether he would be ruled by the univerſal church or not? Yes, ſaid Philpot, if it be the true catholic church? and ſince you ſpeak ſo much of the church, I would have you declare what the church is. The church, ſaid Morgan, is diffuſed and diſperſed throughout the whole world. That is a diffuſe definition, ſaid Philpot, for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church; but is it not what was grounded and founded on the word of God, as St. Paul ſaith upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets? What? quoth Moreman, was the ſcripture before the church? Yes, anſwered Philpot. But I will prove the contrary, returned Moreman; and I will begin at the time of Chriſt. The church of Chriſt was before any ſcripture written: for Matthew was the firſt who wrote a goſpel, about a dozen years after Chriſt: therefore, the church was before the ſcripture. Philpot denied his argument; and ſhewed it to be a fallacy; for he took the ſcripture to be only that which was written by men in letters; whereas in truth, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be ſcripture, before it was written in paper and ink, for it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inſpired in the mouths of good men, and of the apoſtles, by the Spirit of Chriſt. The ſalutation of the angel was the ſcripture of Chriſt, or the word of God, before it was written. Moreman cried, Fie! fie! wondering that the ſcripture of God ſhould be counted ſcripture before it was written, and affirmed, he had no knowledge who ſaid ſo. To whom Philpot replied, that as to knowledge in this matter, for the trial of the truth, about the queſtions in controverſy, he would wiſh himſelf no worſe matched than with Moreman.

At this the prolocutor was highly offended, ſaying to Philpot, it was ſpeaking arrogantly, to compare himſelf with ſuch a worſhipful learned man as Mr. Moreman was, being himſelf a man unlearned, yea, a madman, fitter to be ſent to Bedlam, than to be among ſuch learned and grave men as were there, and a man who never would be anſwered, and one who troubled the whole houſe; and therefore he commanded him to come no more into that houſe, of whom he demanding, whether they would agree thereunto, or not, a great company aſwered, Yes. Philpot returned, he might think himſelf happy, who was out of their company.

Then Morgan roſe up, and whiſpered the prolocutor in the ear; and the prolocutor ſpoke to Philpot again, and ſaid, leſt thou ſhouldſt ſlander the houſe, and ſay, that we will not ſuffer you to declare your mind, we are content you ſhall come into the houſe as you have done before, ſo as you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you ſhall not ſpeak but when I command you. Then, ſaid Philpot, I had rather be abſent altogether.

Thus they reaſoned *pro* and *con*, till at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary took up the matter, and ſending to Bonner, biſhop of London, commanded him to diſſolve and break up the convocation.

The following is a Tranſlation of the QUEEN'S PRECEPT, *to* BONNER, *Biſhop of* LONDON, *for diſſolving the* CONVOCATION.

"MARY, &c. To the Rev. Father in God, Edmund, Lord Biſhop of London, ſendeth greeting. Whereas there is now held at Paul's, London, the convocation of the clergy belonging to the province of Canterbury: we, by and with the advice and conſent of our council, and for divers other cauſes and conſiderations particularly moving us thereunto, have hereby thought fit the ſaid convocation ſhould be diſſolved. And therefore we ſtrictly charge and command you, forthwith to diſſolve or cauſe to be diſſolved the ſaid convocation, as ſhall ſeem to you moſt fit and convenient: ſignifying withal on our part to all and ſeveral the biſhops, archdeacons, deans and all other ſpiritual perſons, that they and every of them do obey and comply with this our command, as becometh them ſo to do.

"Witneſs ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the 13th day of December, in the firſt year of our reign."

TRANSACTIONS *of the* PRIVY COUNCIL, *and* PARLIAMENT, *during the Time of the above* DISPUTATION.

November, 1553. On the 20th of this month, the mayor of Coventry ſent up unto the lords of the council, Baldwin Clarke, J. Careleſs, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Eſtelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day before; whereupon Careleſs and Wilcocks were committed to the Gate-houſe, and the other two to the Marſhalſea.

The ſame day, ſir Chriſtopher Heydon, and ſir William Farmer, were ordered, by a letter from the council, to apprehend the Rev. John Huntington, for making a rhime againſt Dr. Stokes, and the ſacrament, who appearing before the council, on the 3d of December following, was, upon his humble ſubmiſſion, and promiſe of amendment in doctrine and living, again ſuffered to depart.

In the days of Henry VIII. and Edward his ſucceſſor, ſeveral noblemen and others were committed to the Tower; ſome charged with treaſon, as lord Courtney, and the Duke of Norfolk; ſome for the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuſpicious letters tending to ſedition, as Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and others, who were all continued priſoners there, till queen Mary granted them a pardon, and reſtored them to their former dignities. Among theſe was Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, whom ſhe not only ſet at liberty, but alſo advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Lord Courtney ſhe created Earl of Devonſhire, and ſhewed him ſo much favour, that it was ſuſpected by ſome ſhe would marry him. At the ſame time ſhe alſo releaſed that bloody proſecutor, Bonner, from the Marſhalſea, and reſtored him to the biſhopric of London, diſplacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good biſhops, as Cranmer from Canterbury, alſo the archbiſhop of York, with a great number of archdeacons, deans, &c. in ſhort, all thoſe of the clergy who were either married, or would conſtantly adhere to the reformed religion, were removed from their livings; and others, advocates for popery, put in the ſame, as cardinal Pool, (who was invited to England) Gardiner, White, Day, Troubleſield, &c.

And whereas a rumour was ſpread abroad, that Cranmer had recanted, and cauſed maſs to be ſaid at Canterbury, in order therefore to clear himſelf, he publiſhed a declaration of his truth and conſtancy in thoſe particulars, proteſting that he neither had done ſo, nor intended it, adding, that, if the queen pleaſed, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would chuſe, would, in public diſputation, vindicate the doctrines of the reformation, againſt all perſons whomſoever. But while he expected to obtain leave for ſuch a diſputation, he, with other biſhops, were laid faſt in the Tower. But Peter Martyr was permitted to depart the realm, and he went to Argentine. At length, in this month of November, Dr. Cranmer, notwithſtanding he had earneſtly refuſed to ſubſcribe to the king's will in diſinheriting his ſiſter Mary, was arraigned in the Guild-hall of London, and attainted of treaſon, with the lady Jane Grey, and three of the duke of Northumberland's ſons, who were remanded back to the Tower, at the intreaty of certain perſons, and there kept for a time.

December 1553. About the beginning of this month, the parliament broke up, having firſt repealed all ſuch ſtatutes as were either made of premunire, or concerned any alteration of religion, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, in the reign of Edward VI.

CHAP. III.

WYAT'S REBELLION---QUEEN MARY'S ORATION—LADY JANE'S *Behaviour, and her Execution*—BONNER'S *Inſtructions to the Clergy of his Dioceſe*—*A* CONVOCATION *ſummonſed.*

ON the 13th of January, 1554, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, for preaching without licence, on Chriſtmas-day; and on the 21ſt, Thomas Wooton, Eſq. was committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet, for matters of religion.

Early in this month the marriage of the queen was made public; but the news of this event was ill received both by the common people, and ſeveral of the nobility: and on this account, as alſo for religion, conſpiring among themſelves, raiſed a rebelion, whereof ſir Thomas Wyat was one of the chief promoters, who ſaid in Kent, (what others plainly perceived) that the queen and council would, by her marriage with a foreigner, bring upon this realm moſt miſerable ſervitude, and eſtabliſh the popiſh religion.

January 25th. Intelligence was received at London, of the inſurrection in Kent; and of the duke of Suffolk having fled into Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire, with a view of raiſing forces in thoſe counties. The queen, therefore, cauſed them both, with the Carews of Devonſhire, to be proclaimed traitors; and at the ſame time ſent Thomas, duke of Norfolk, into Kent, who being near Rocheſter bridge, forſaken of thoſe who went with him, returned to London, no blood having been ſhed on either ſide.

The duke of Suffolk having fled into Warwickſhire, the earl of Huntington was ſent againſt him, who entering the city of Coventry, before the duke, diſappointed him of his purpoſe. In his diſtreſs, the duke confided in a ſervant of his, in Aſtley park; but the traitor having

having betrayed him, he was apprehended, ſent up to London, and committed to the Tower. In the mean time, ſir Peter hearing of this, fled into France, but the other conſpirators were taken; and Wyat advanced towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, having heard of his coming, repaired to Guildhall, in the city, where ſhe made a vehement oration againſt Wyat; the ſubſtance and effect whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

An ORATION *delivered by* QUEEN MARY *in* GUILD-HALL, LONDON.

I AM come unto you in mine own perſon, to tell you that which already you ſee and know, that is, how traitorouſly and rebelliouſly a number af Kentiſhmen have aſſembled themſelves againſt both us and you. Their pretence (as they ſaid at the firſt) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But ſince we have cauſed certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cauſe of this their rebellion, and it appeared then unto our ſaid council, that the matter of the marriage ſeemed to be but a Spaniſh cloak to cover their pretended purpoſe againſt our religion, for that they arrogantly and traitorouſly demanded to have the governance of our perſon, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counſellors.

Now, loving ſubjects, what I am, ye right well know; I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm, and laws of the ſame (the ſpouſal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) you promiſed your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all chriſtendom to witneſs. My father, as ye all know, poſſeſſed the ſame regal ſtate, which now rightly is deſcended unto me: and to him always ye ſhewed yourſelves moſt faithful and loving ſubjects, and therefore I doubt not, but ye will ſhew yourſelves likewiſe to me, and that ye will not ſuffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our perſon, and to occupy our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo vile a traitor as Wyat is: who certainly, as he hath abuſed mine ignorant ſubjects which be on his ſide, ſo doth he intend and purpoſe the deſtruction of you, and ſpoil of your goods. And I ſay to you in the word of a queen, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a princeſs and governeſs may as naturally and earneſtly love her ſubjects, as the mother doth love the child, then aſſure yourſelves, that I, being your lady and miſtreſs, do as earneſtly and tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but think that you as heartily and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but we ſhall give theſe rebels a ſhort and ſpeedy overthrow.

As concerning the marriage, ye ſhall underſtand, that I enterprized not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who ſo conſidered and weighed the great commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but alſo expedient, for the wealth of the realm, and of your own ſubjects. And as touching myſelf, I aſſure you, I am not ſo bent to my will, neither ſo preciſe nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleaſure I would chuſe where I luſt, or that I am ſo deſirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praiſe therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able ſo to live ſtill. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may pleaſe God that I might leave ſome fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I truſt, you would not only rejoice thereat, but alſo, I know, it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal ſtate of this realm of England, I would never conſent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promiſe you, that if it ſhall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of Parliament, that this marriage ſhall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abſtain from marriage while I live.

And now, good ſubjects, pluck up your hearts, and like true men, ſtand faſt againſt theſe rebels, both our enemies and your's, and fear them not; for I aſſure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treaſurer, who ſhall be aſſiſtants with the mayor for your defence.

It is to be obſerved, that it having been reported the queen was coming into the city with armed men, this rumour ſo terrified the Londoners, leſt they ſhould be there entrapped, and put to death, that great numbers of them made out at the gate before ſhe entered in. It is alſo to be noted, that when the queen had ended her oration (which ſhe ſeemed to have learnt perfectly without book) at the concluſion thereof, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſtood by her, cried to the people, with great admiration, "O how happy are we, to whom God hath given ſuch a wiſe and learned queen!"

Two days after this, on the 3d of February, lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and ſir Thomas Wyat entered Southwarſt; when, finding no acceſs that way into the city, he marched with his army by Kingſton, and came through the Strand to Ludgate. Returning from thence, he was oppoſed at Temple-bar, and there ſurrendered himſelf to ſir Clement Parſon, who brought him to court; and, with him, the remains of his army (for ſir George Harper, and almoſt half of his men, had deſerted him at Kingſton-bridge) were alſo taken, and about one hundred killed. A great number of the captives were hanged; and Wyat was executed on Tower-hill, and then quartered. His head being ſet up upon Hay-hill, was taken away from thence, and great ſearch made for the ſame.

On the 12th of February, the unfortunate Lady Jane Gray was beheaded. Two days before her death, Mr. Feckman, otherwiſe Howman, was ſent to her from the queen, to converſe with her, and endeavour to turn her from the doctrine of Chriſt and the reformation to Mary's popiſh religion. The ſubſtance of their converſation is thus related.

A CONVERSATION *between* Mr. FECKNAM *and* LADY JANE GRAY, *a ſhort time before ſhe was beheaded.*

Feckman. Madam, I lament your heavy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this ſorrow of your's with a conſtant and patient mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, ſir, if your coming be to give chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heavy caſe, (I thank God) I do ſo little lament it, that rather I account the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of God's favour towards me, than ever he ſhewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or others which bear me good will, ſhould lament or be grieved with this my caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my ſoul's health.

Feck. I am here come to you at this preſent time ſent from the queen and her council, to inſtruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall have, I truſt, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forſooth I heartily thank the queen's highneſs, which is not unmindful of her humble ſubject: and I hope likewiſe, that you no leſs will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Feck. What is then required of a chriſtian man?

Jane. That he ſhould believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

Feck. What, is there nothing elſe to be required or looked for in a chriſtian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we muſt love him with all our heart, with all our ſoul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourſelf.

Feck.

Fecknam. Why, then, faith neither juſtifieth, nor ſaveth.

Jane. Yes verily, faith (as St. Paul ſaith) only juſtifieth.

Fecknam. Why, St. Paul ſaith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I truſt not? Or how can I truſt him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam. How many ſacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the other the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Fecknam. No, there are ſeven.

Jane. By what ſcripture find you that?

Fecknam. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is ſignified by your two ſacraments?

Jane. By the ſacrament of baptiſm, I am waſhed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that waſhing is a token to me that I am a child of God. The ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper offered unto me, is a ſure ſeal and teſtimony that I am, by the blood of Chriſt, which he ſhed for me on the croſs, made partaker of the everlaſting kingdom.

Fecknam. Why, what do you receive in that ſacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Chriſt?

Jane. No ſurely, I do not ſo believe. I think that at the ſupper I neither receive fleſh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when it was broken, and the wine when it was drank, putteth me in remembrance how that for my ſins the body of Chriſt was broken, and his blood ſhed on the croſs, and with that bread and wine, I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and ſhedding of his blood.

Fecknam. Why, doth not Chriſt ſpeak theſe words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not ſay it is his body?

Jane. I grant he ſaith ſo; and ſo he ſaith, I am the vine, I am the door; but he is never the more the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul ſay, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I ſhould ſay, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Chriſt: for then either I ſhould pluck away my redemption, or elſe there were two bodies, or two Chriſts. One body was tormented on the croſs, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies; or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the croſs; or if it were broken upon the croſs, it was not eaten of his diſciples.

With theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions he endeavoured, but to no purpoſe, to turn her to the popiſh religion. They reaſoned about many other things, but theſe were the chief.

LETTER

From LADY JANE *to Mr.* HARDING, *(late* Chaplain *to her Father the* Duke *of* Suffolk,*) then fallen from the truth of* God's Holy Word.

SO oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful ſaying of God, "That he which layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;" and, on the other ſide, the comfortable words of our Saviour Chriſt to all thoſe that, forſaking themſelves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy caſe, which ſeemed ſometime to be the lively member of Chriſt, but now the deformed imp of the devil; ſometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the ſtinking and filthy kennel of Satan; ſometime the unſpotted ſpouſe of Chriſt, but now the unſhamefaced paramour of Antichriſt; ſometime my faithful brother, but now a ſtranger and apoſtate; ſometime a ſtout chriſtian ſoldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea, when I conſider theſe things, I cannot but ſpeak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou ſeed of Satan and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the deſire of life ſubverted, and made thee of a chriſtian an infidel. Wherefore haſt thou taken the teſtament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore haſt thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore haſt thou inſtructed others to be ſtrong in Chriſt, when thou thyſelf doth ſo ſhamefully ſhrink, and ſo horribly abuſe the teſtament and law of the Lord? When thou thyſelf preacheſt not to ſteal, yet moſt abominably ſtealeſt, not from men, but from God, and committing moſt heinous ſacrilege, robbeſt Chriſt thy Lord of his right members, thy body and ſoul, and chuſeſt rather to live miſerably with ſhame in the world, than to die, and glorioully, with honor, reign with Chriſt, in whom even death is life? Why doſt thou now ſhew thyſelf moſt weak, when indeed thou oughteſt to be moſt ſtrong? The ſtrength of a fort is unknown before the aſſault, but thou yieldeſt thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but duſt and aſhes? And wilt thou reſiſt thy Maker that faſhioned and framed thee? Wilt thou now forſake him that called thee from the cuſtom-gathering among the Romiſh antichriſtians, to be an ambaſſador and meſſenger of his eternal word? He that firſt framed thee, and ſince thy firſt creation and birth preſerved thee, nouriſhed and kept thee, yea, and inſpired thee with the ſpirit of knowledge (I cannot ſay of grace) ſhall he not now poſſeſs thee? Dareſt thou deliver up thyſelf to another, being not thine own, but his? How canſt thou, having knowledge, or how dareſt thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas, thou haſt been a public profeſſor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuſe the true God, and worſhip the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romiſh religion, the abominable idol, the moſt wicked maſs? Wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the moſt precious body of our Saviour Chriſt, with thy bodily and fleſhly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer any ſacrifice unto God for our ſins, conſidering that Chriſt offered up himſelf (as St. Paul ſaith) upon the croſs, a lively ſacrifice once for all? Can neither the puniſhment of the Iſraelites (which, for their idolatry, they ſo oft received,) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curſes of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other God than him? Doſt thou ſo regard him that ſpared not his dear and only Son for thee, ſo diminiſhing, yea, utterly extinguiſhing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praiſe and honor due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and ſpeak not, eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not; which ſhall periſh with them that made them?

What ſaith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epiſtle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon they ſhould ſee gods of gold, ſilver, wood, and ſtone, borne upon men's ſhoulders, to caſt a fear before the heathen? "But be ye not afraid of them, (ſaith Jeremy) nor do as others do. But when you ſee others worſhip them, ſay you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughteſt only to be worſhipped; for as of theſe gods, the carpenter framed them and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with ſilver and vain things, and cannot ſpeak." He ſheweth, moreover, the abuſe of their dealings, how the prieſt took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal; how one holdeth a ſceptre, another a ſword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themſelves, much leſs any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, nor any other evil thing. Theſe and ſuch like words ſpeaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at laſt he concludeth thus, "Confounded be all they that worſhip them." They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy haſt warned others, and art warned thyſelf by many ſcriptures in many places. God ſaith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worſhip, given to him only. And Chriſt ſaith in the fourth of Matthew, to Satan which tempted him, even to the ſame Beelzebub, the ſame devil which hath prevailed againſt thee: "It is written (ſaith he) thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve."

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibit thee and all chriſtians to worſhip any other God, than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable idol, invented by Romiſh popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelf up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleaſure? But thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intent. O ſink of ſin! O child of perdition! Doſt thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conſcience beareth thee witneſs of God's threatened wrath againſt thee? How did Saul? who, for that he diſobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou then, that doſt deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent diſhonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy ſoul, for which Chriſt haſt ſhed his moſt precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Chriſt out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his croſs by offering up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yields to thee his victory, if thou couldſt have kept it? Doſt thou not conſider, that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to laſt the longer, or untwine it again to break the ſooner? Doſt thou not then remember the ſaying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his 40th Pſalm, where he ſaith thus: "When thou takeſt away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their duſt: but when thou letteſt thy breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renew the face of the earth." Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his goſpel: "Whoſoever ſeeketh to ſave his life, ſhall loſe it: but whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall find it."

Laſt of all, let the lively remembrance of the laſt day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that ſuch ſhall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did ſhrink, yea, did clean fall away upon him that forſook not them: and contrariwiſe, the ineſtimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed over all the powers of darkneſs, over hell, death, and damnation, through their moſt redoubted captain Chriſt, who now ſtretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiſs you, and laſt of all to feaſt you with the dainties and delicates of his own precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not ſcruple to ſhed again, rather than you ſhould be loſt. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, praiſe, and glory everlaſting, Amen.

"Be conſtant, be conſtant, fear not for any pain:
"Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain."

LETTER

Which LADY JANE *ſent to her* SISTER, *the* LADY KATHERINE, *the Night before ſhe ſuffered, written at the End of the New Teſtament in Greek.*

Good Siſter Katherine.

I Have here ſent you a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly is more worth than precious ſtones. It is the Book (dear ſiſter) of the law of the Lord. It is his teſtament and laſt will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which ſhall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt mind do purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortal and everlaſting life. It ſhall teach you to live, and learn you to die: it ſhall win you more than you ſhould have gained by the poſſeſſion of your woeful father's lands. For as if God had proſpered him, you ſhould have inherited his lands; ſo if you apply diligently this book, ſeeking to direct your life after it, you ſhall be an inheritor of ſuch riches, as neither the covetous ſhall withdraw from you, neither thief ſhall ſteal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Deſire with David, good ſiſter, to underſtand the law of the Lord God. Live ſtill to die, that you by death may purchaſe eternal life. And truſt not that the tenderneſs of your age ſhall lengthen your life; for as ſoon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, deſpiſe the fleſh, and delight yourſelf only in the Lord. Be penitent for your ſins, and yet deſpair not: be ſtrong in faith, and yet preſume not; and deſire with St. Paul to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good ſervant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when death cometh and ſtealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil ſervant found ſleeping; and leſt for lack of oil, you be found like the five fooliſh women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be caſt out from the marriage. Rejoice in Chriſt, as I do. Follow the ſteps of your maſter Chriſt, and take up your croſs; lay your ſins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, (good ſiſter) that I ſhall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am aſſured, that I ſhall, for loſing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and ſend you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true chriſtian faith, from the which, (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never ſwerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth, to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and ſhorten your days. And if you cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaſeth him to call you. Fare you well, good ſiſter, and put your only truſt in God, who only muſt help you.

The BEHAVIOUR *and* DYING WORDS *of* LADY JANE *upon the* SCAFFOLD.

When ſhe mounted the ſcaffold, ſhe ſpake to the ſpectators in this manner. "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the ſame. The fact againſt the queen's highneſs was unlawful, and the conſenting thereunto by me; but touching the procurement and deſire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do waſh my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good chriſtian people, this day;" and therewith ſhe wrung her hands wherein ſhe had her book. "Then (ſaid ſhe) I pray you all good chriſtian people, to bear me witneſs that I die a true chriſtian woman, and that I do look to be ſaved by no other means, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jeſus Chriſt: and I confeſs, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the ſame, loved myſelf and the world, and therefore this plague and puniſhment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my ſins: and yet I thank God that of his goodneſs he hath thus given me a time and reſpite to repent: and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you aſſiſt me with your prayers." And then kneeling down, ſhe turned to Fecknam, ſaying, "Shall I ſay this pſalm?" and he ſaid, Yea. Then ſhe ſaid the pſalm of *Miſerere mei Deus*, in Engliſh, in a moſt devout manner throughout to the end; and then ſhe ſtood up, and gave her maid, Mrs. Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges: and then ſhe untied her gown, and the executioner preſſed upon her to help her off with it, but ſhe deſiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and alſo with her frowes, paaſt, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to put about her eyes.

Then the executioner kneeled down and aſked her forgiveneſs, whom ſhe forgave moſt willingly. Then he deſired her to ſtand upon the ſtraw, which doing, ſhe ſaw the block. Then ſhe ſaid, I pray you diſpatch me quickly. Then ſhe kneeled down, ſaying, Will you take it off before I lay me down? and the executioner ſaid, No, madam. Then ſhe tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, ſhe ſaid, What ſhall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the ſtanders by guiding her thereunto, ſhe laid her head down upon the block, and then ſtretching forth her body, ſaid, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit;" and ſo finiſhed her life, in the year of our Lord 1554, the 12th day of February, about the 17th year of her age.

Thus died the lady Jane, and on the ſame day the lord Guildford her huſband, one of the duke of Northumberland's ſons, was likewiſe beheaded, two innocents in compariſon of them that ſat upon them. For they were both very young, and ignorantly accepted that which others had contrived, and by open proclamation conſented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this pious lady, it is to be noted, that judge Morgan, who gave ſentence againſt her, ſoon after he had condemned her, fell mad and in his raving cried out continually to have the lady Jane taken away from him; and ſo he ended his life.

On the 21ſt day of the ſame month, Henry duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time many gentlemen and yeomen were condemned, whereof ſome were executed at London, and ſome in the country. In the number of whom was the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the ſaid duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the ſame. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very narrowly eſcaped.

On the 24th day of February, in the ſame year, Bonner, biſhop of London, ſent a commiſſion, directed to all the paſtors and curates of his dioceſe, for the taking of the names of all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to come to auricular confeſſion of the Lent following, and to the receiving at Eaſter. The copy of which here followeth.

The INSTRUCTIONS *of* BONNER, Bishop *of* LONDON, *ſent to all the* CURATES *of his* Dioceſe.

EDMUND, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London, to all parſons, vicars, curates, and miniſters of the church, within the city and dioceſe of London, ſendeth grace, peace, and mercy in our Lord everlaſting. Foraſmuch as by the order of the eccleſiaſtical laws and conſtitutions of this realm, and the laudable uſage and cuſtom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years agone, duly and devoutly obſerved and kept, all faithful people being of lawful age and diſcretion, are bound once in the year at leaſt (except reaſonable cauſe excuſe them) to be confeſſed to their own proper curate, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: and foraſmuch alſo as we be credibly informed, that ſundry evil diſpoſed and undevout perſons, given to ſenſual pleaſures, and carnal appetites, following the luſts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their ſouls, do forbear to come to confeſſion according to the ſaid uſage, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger ſort, to neglect and contemn the ſame: We minding the reformation thereof for our own diſcharge, and deſirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye and every each of you within your cure and charge, do uſe all your diligence and dexterity to declare the ſame, ſtraitly charging and commanding all your pariſhioners, being of lawful age and diſcretion, to come before Eaſter next coming, to confeſſion, according to the ſaid ordinance and uſage, with due preparation and devotion, to receive the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, and that ye do note the names of all ſuch as be not confeſſed unto you, and do not receive of you the ſaid ſacrament, certifying us, or our chancellor or commiſſary thereof, before the ſixth day of April next enſuing the date hereof; that ſo we knowing thereby who did not come to confeſſion, and receiving the ſacrament accordingly, may proceed againſt them, as being perſons culpable, and tranſgreſſors of the ſaid eccleſiaſtical law and uſage. Further alſo certifying us, our ſaid chancellor or commiſſary, before the day aforeſaid, whether you have your altars ſet up, chalice-book, veſtments, and all things neceſſary for maſs, and the adminiſtration of ſacraments and ſacramentals, with proceſſion, and all other divine ſervice prepared and in readineſs, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majeſty. And if ye ſo have not, ye then with the church-wardens cauſe the ſame to be provided for, ſignifying by whoſe fault and negligence the ſame want or fault hath proceeded, and generally of the not coming of your pariſhioners to church, undue walking, talking, or uſing of themſelves there irreverently in the time of divine ſervice, and of all other open faults and miſdemeanors, not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will anſwer upon your peril for the contrary.

Given at London the 23d of February, in the year of our Lord 1554.

On the fourth of March following the queen ſent a letter to Bonner, biſhop of London, with certain articles annexed thereunto, to be put in ſpeedy execution, containing as follows:

QUEEN MARY's LETTER *to* BONNER, Bishop *of* LONDON.

RIGHT reverend father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our moſt dear brother king Edward the ſixth, whoſe ſoul God pardon, divers notable crimes, exceſſes and faults, with ſundry kinds of hereſies, ſimony, adultery, and other enormities have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder ſince the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all, and the people both of the laity and alſo of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much inſolency and ungodly rule, greatly to the diſpleaſure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil acceptation, and to no little ſlander of other chriſtian realms, and in a manner to the ſubverſion and clean defacing of this our realm; and remembering our duty to Almighty God, to be to foreſee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living ſhall be embraced, flouriſh and increaſe; and therewith alſo that all vice and ungodly behaviour ſhould be baniſhed and put away, or at the leaſtwiſe (ſo nigh as might be) ſo bridled and kept under, that godlineſs and honeſty might have the upper hand; underſtanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no ſmall heavineſs and diſcomfort, that within your dioceſe, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like diſorder and evil behaviour hath been done and uſed, like alſo to continue and increaſe, unleſs due proviſion be had and made to reform the ſame; which earneſtly in very deed we do mind and intend to the uttermoſt all the ways we can poſſible, truſting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For theſe cauſes and other moſt juſt conſiderations us moving, we ſend unto you certain articles of ſuch ſpecial matters, as among other things be moſt neceſſary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us deſired, and the reformation aforeſaid: wherein ye ſhall be charged with our ſpecial commandment, by theſe our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earneſtly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any preſumption to be noted in your part, or danger to be incurred of any ſuch our laws, as by our doing of that is in the ſaid articles contained, might any wiſe grieve you, whatſoever be threatened in any ſuch caſe. And therefore we ſtraitly charge and command you, and your ſaid officers, to proceed to the execution of the ſaid articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will anſwer to the contrary.

Given under our ſignet, at our palace of Weſtminſter, the third day of March, the firſt year of our reign.

ARTICLES *ſent from the* QUEEN *unto the* ORDINARY, *commanding both him and his Officers to ſee them put in Execution throughout the whole Dioceſe.*

FIRST, That every biſhop and his officers, with all others having eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them poſſible, put in execution all ſuch canons and eccleſiaſtical laws, heretofore in the time of king Henry the eighth uſed within this realm of England, and the dominions of the ſame, not being directly and expreſly contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm.

Item, That no biſhop, or any of his officers, or other perſon aforeſaid, hereafter in any eccleſiaſtical writing, in proceſs or other extrajudicial acts, do uſe to put in this clauſe or ſentence, [ſupported by royal anthority.]

Item, That no biſhop, or any of his officers or other perſon aforeſaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admiſſion of any perſon to any eccleſiaſtical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or ſucceſſion, as of late in few years paſſed have been accuſtomed and uſed.

Item, That every biſhop and his officers, with all other perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and foreſight, that no perſon be admitted or received to any eccleſiaſtical function, benefice, or office, being a ſacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of hereſy, or other great crime; and that the ſaid biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and eccleſiaſtical promotions do not notably decay, or take hindrance, by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable leaſes.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travel for the repreſſing of hereſies and notable crimes, eſpecially in the clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

Item, That every biſhop, and all the other perſons aforeſaid, do likewiſe travel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty opinions; unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongſt the people, and diſcord among the ſame. And that ſchoolmaſters, preachers, and teachers, do exerciſe and uſe their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or ſetting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the biſhop and his ſaid officers puniſhed and removed.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch perſons from their benefices and eccleſiaſtical promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their order, and the laudable cuſtom of the church, have married and uſed women as their wives, or otherwiſe notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves: ſequeſtering alſo, during the ſaid proceſs, the fruits and profits of the ſaid benefices and eccleſiaſtical promotions.

Item, That the ſaid biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe wives be dead, than with other whoſe women do yet remain alive. And likewiſe ſuch prieſts, as with the conſent of their wives or women openly in the preſence of the biſhop do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed more favonrably. In which caſe, after the penance effectually done, the biſhop, according to his diſcretion and wiſdom, may upon juſt conſideration receive and admit them again to their former adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame place, appointing them ſuch a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived by diſcretion of the ſaid biſhop or his officer, as he ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid benefice.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee that they ſuffer not any religious man, having ſolemnly profeſſed chaſtity, to continue with his woman or wife, but that all ſuch perſons, after deprivation of their benefice or eccleſiaſtical promotion, be alſo divorced every one from his ſaid woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the offence therein.

Item, That every biſhop, and all other perſons aforeſaid, do take order and direction with the pariſhioners of every benefice, where prieſts do want, to repair to the next pariſh for divine ſervice, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better proviſion may be made, one curate to ſerve in the room of another, in divers pariſhes, and to allot to the curate for his labour ſome portion of the benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

Item, That all and all manner of proceſſions of the church be uſed and frequented, and continued after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

Item, That all ſuch holy days and faſting days be obſerved and kept, as were obſerved and kept in the latter time of king Henry the eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honeſt ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

Item, That children be chriſtened by the prieſt, and confirmed by the biſhop, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

Item, Touching ſuch perſons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of orders: conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the biſhop of the dioceſe, finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his diſcretion admit them to miniſter.

Item, That by the biſhop of the dioceſe an uniform doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all people: And that the ſaid biſhop and other perſons aforeſaid, do compel the pariſhioners to come to their ſeveral churches, and there devoutly to hear divine ſervice, as of reaſon they ought.

Item, That they examine all ſchoolmaſters and teachers of children, and finding them ſuſpected in any wiſe, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a ſpecial commandment to inſtruct their children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the prieſt at the maſs, as hath been accuſtomed.

Item, That the ſaid biſhop, and all other the perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the premiſes, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repreſſing alſo and keeping under of vice and unthriftineſs, as they and every of them may be ſeen to favour the reſtitution of true religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good content and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the ſame.

A like charge alſo, with articles, was ſent from queen Mary to the lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the ſame year, who, upon receiving the ſame, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one ſeverally in his ward, as followeth:

By the LORD MAYOR.

ON the queen our moſt gracious and moſt benign ſovereign lady's behalf, we moſt ſtraitly charge and command you, that ye the ſaid aldermen fail not perſonally to call before your own perſon in ſuch place within your ſaid ward, as to you ſhall ſeem moſt convenient and meet, upon Wedneſday next coming, which ſhall be the ſeventh day of this preſent month, at ſeven of the clock in the morning of the ſame day, all and every the houſholders both poor and rich of your ſaid ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own diſcharge, and for the eſchewing the perils that to you might otherwiſe be juſtly imputed and laid, do not only ſtraitly admoniſh, charge, and command, in the queen our ſaid ſovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the ſaid houſholders, that both in their own perſons, and alſo their wives, children, and ſervants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, and every of them, do at all and every time or times from henceforth, and namely, at the holy time of Eaſter now approaching, honeſtly, quietly, obediently, and catholickly, uſe and behave themſelves like good and faithful chriſtian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profeſſion, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and alſo their bounden duty of obedience towards our ſovereign lady the queen, her laws and ſtatutes, and her highneſs's moſt good example and gracious proceeding according to the ſame, and according alſo to the right, wholeſome, charitable and godly admonition, charge and exhortation, late ſet forth and given, by the right reverend father in God, the biſhop of London, our dioceſan and ordinary, to all the parſons, vicars, and curates, within his dioceſe: but alſo, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertiſe you of the names and ſurnames of all and every perſon and perſons, that they, or any of them, can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive or underſtand to tranſgreſs or offend, in any point or article concerning the premiſes, at their utmoſt perils. That ye, immediately after ſuch notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertiſe us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumſpection and diligence, as ye will anſwer to our ſaid moſt dread ſovereign lady the queen for the contrary at your like peril. Given at the Guild-hall of the city of London, the 5th day of March, in the firſt year of the reign of our ſaid ſovereign lady and queen.

BLACKWELL.

And likewiſe do you give to every of the ſaid houſholders ſtraitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the ſaid city, until this holy time of Eaſter be paſt.

About the ſame year and time that Bonner publiſhed his preſcript or charge, there came from the queen another proclamation, commanding all foreigners and ſtrangers to depart this realm. The copy of which proclamation, which related chiefly to religion and doctrine, is as followeth.

A Copy of the QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION *for driving all Foreigners and Strangers out of the Realm.*

"THE queen our ſovereign lady, underſtanding that a multitude of evil diſpoſed perſons, being born out of her highneſs's dominions in other ſundry nations, flying from the obeyſance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, (ſome for hereſy, ſome for murder, treaſon, robbery, and ſome for other horrible crimes,) be reſorted into this her majeſty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, to eſchew ſuch condign puniſhment as their ſaid horrible crimes deſerve, on purpoſe to infect her good ſubjects with the like, inſomuch as beſides innumerable hereſies, which divers of the ſame being heretics have preached and taught within her highneſs's ſaid realm, it is aſſuredly known unto her majeſty, that not only their ſecret practices have not failed to ſtir, comfort, and aid divers her highneſs's ſubjects to this moſt unnatural rebellion againſt God and her grace, but alſo ſome other of them deſiſt not ſtill to practiſe with her people forthwith to rebel: her majeſty therefore, having (as aforeſaid) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined and moſt ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every ſuch perſon and perſons born out of her highneſs's dominions, now commorant or reſident within this realm, of whatſoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookſeller, or other artificer, or of whatſoever calling elſe, not being denizen or merchant known uſing the trade of merchandize, or ſervant to ſuch ambaſſadors as be leigers here from the princes and ſtates joined in league with her grace, ſhall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm upon pain of moſt grievous puniſhment by impriſonment, and forfeiture of all their goods and moveables, and alſo to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, againſt whoſe perſons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables, ſubjects, &c. ſtraitly alſo in charge, if they know any ſuch perſon, not born in the queen's highneſs's dominions (except before excepted) that ſhall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they ſhall apprehend the ſame perſon or perſons to the intent order may be forthwith given for their puniſhment accordingly."

Upon this proclamation, not only the ſtrangers who were received into the realm, for the ſake of religion, in king Edward's time, (among whom were Peter Martyr, and John Alaſco, the king of Poland's uncle) but many Engliſhmen alſo fled, ſome to Friezland, ſome to Cleveland, ſome into high Germany; where they were diverſly ſcattered into different companies and congregations, at Weſel, Frankfort, Baſil, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; wherein, by the providence of God, near eight hundred perſons were all ſuſtained, and entertained, with much greater kindneſs, by ſtrangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home.

In the month of March, likewiſe, the lord Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, and the queen's ſiſter, by a political trick of Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, were committed to the Tower, under a pretended ſuſpicion of their having been conſenting to Wyat's conſpiracy. This Gardiner had always been a capital enemy to lady Elizabeth, and by means of Wyat's rebellion, the jeſuitical biſhop hoped to gather ſomething, whereby he might accuſe both that princeſs and lord Courtney; but the ſame day ſir Thomas Wyat was executed, he deſired the lieutenant of the Tower to conduct him to the preſence of lord Courtney; where, before the lieutenant and the ſheriffs, kneeling down, he beſought lord Courtney's forgiveneſs, for that he had falſely accuſed both him and the lady Elizabeth; and when carried from thence to the ſcaffold, he there, publickly in the face of all the ſpectators, declared, that lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were intirely innocent, and had not the leaſt knowledge of, nor concern in the Kentiſh inſurrection. At which confeſſion, Dr. Weſton ſtanding by, had the aſſurance to addreſs the people, ſaying, "Believe him not, good people, for he confeſſed otherwiſe to the council."

Not long after this, a certain apprentice, living in St. Lawrence-lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with Denham, a plaſterer, happened to ſay, that ſir Thomas Wyat had cleared lady Elizabeth, and lord Courtney, of conſenting to his riſing; which words being brought to Gardiner, (by what means was not known) ſir Andrew Judd was immediately ſent by the biſhop to the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the ſaid apprentice to the ſtar-chamber, he being accuſed for ſaying that Wyat was conſtrained by the council to accuſe lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney. When this man was brought to the ſtar-chamber, Gardiner, ſetting aſide all other matters in hand, began with declaring, how miraculouſly almighty God had brought the queen to the crown, the whole realm being in a manner againſt her; which event he had brought to paſs, for the ſingular intent and purpoſe, that this realm being overſpread with hereſies, ſhe might reduce the ſame again to the true catholic faith; and as to the lady Elizabeth, having taken her into favour, ſhe had loved her tenderly, and alſo the lord Courtney; who had been long detained in priſon, whom ſhe had ſet at liberty, beſtowing great benefits upon him; yet, notwithſtanding all this, they had both moſt unnaturally and traiterouſly conſpired againſt her majeſty, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as (ſaid he) by the confeſſion of Wyat, and the letters ſent to and fro', may plainly appear: but there were ſome in the city of London who reported, that Wyat was conſtrained by the council, to accuſe lady Elizabeth, and lord Courtney; and you, (ſaid he to the Mayor) my lord, have not ſeen the ſame puniſhed. "The party is here, returned the lord mayor." "Take him with you, (ſaid Gardiner) and puniſh him according to his deſert; and further, my lord, take heed to your charge; the city of London is a whirlpool and ſink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence ſpread into all parts of the realm. When he had ſaid this, lord Shandois, lieutenant of the Tower, who ſtood by at the ſame time, in order to flatter the biſhop in his tale, thus ſpoke; "My lords, this is a truth that I ſhall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower, when Wyat ſuffered, he deſired me to bring him to lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſs the truth of himſelf, which he had done before, and ſubmit himſelf unto the queen's majeſty's mercy."

Thus much (ſays Mr. Fox) I thought fit to declare of this matter, to the intent, that the reader, perceiving the biſhop's proceedings in the premiſes, and comparing the ſame with the teſtimony of the ſheriffs, who were preſent the ſame time when ſir Thomas Wyat aſked the lord Courtney forgiveneſs, may better judge of the whole caſe and matter, for which the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney were ſo long in trouble.

Queen Mary after this, partly fearing the Londoners, by reaſon of Wyat's conſpiracy, and partly perceiving moſt of the city, for the ſake of religion, not to favour greatly her proceedings, in order to ſhew her diſpleaſure, and to their hindrance, ſummonſed a parliament to be held at Oxford, with a view alſo of gratifying this city, where both the univerſity, town, and country, had ſhewed themſelves very obedient and forward, eſpecially in reſtoring the catholic religion. For this purpoſe, great proviſion was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townſmen of Oxford, and the country round about. But her majeſty's mind ſoon changed, and in April following, the ſame parliament was held at Weſtminſter; where the queen, among other matters, propoſed her marriage with king Philip, which was agreed upon; and likewiſe the reſtoring of the pope's ſupremacy, which could not be obtained. At the ſame time when this parliament was ſummonſed, the queen likewiſe ſummonſed a convocation of the biſhops and clergy, writing unto Bonner, (whom ſhe had made vicegerent in the room of Cranmer, then in the Tower) in the following ſtyle, different from that of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

"Mary, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith; to the Rev. father in God, Edmund, lord biſhop of London, ſendeth greeting, &c."

Here the queen's title is altered, the latter part being omitted, namely, "Of the churches of England and Ireland, ſupreme," becauſe in this ſeſſion of parliament the ſupremacy was taken from the crown of England, and reſtored to the pope: and biſhop Bonner giving his certificate upon the ſame, leaves out *Autoritate*, &c. "By the authority of our moſt illuſtrious queen impowered; which part of the biſhop's title, in the ſame parliament, was likewiſe repealed and taken away. It is alſo to be obſerved that on opening the convocation, Bonner, biſhop of London, made a certain exhortation, or oration, to the clergy then aſſembled, wherein he ſet forth the moſt incomparable and ſuperangelical order of prieſthood, as will appear from the following fragment, collected by ſome preſent, which is well worthy the reader's notice, both becauſe the author of it ſhould not be forgot, and becauſe the eſtimation of the bleſſed order ſhould loſe nothing of its preeminence; an order, which, according to biſhop Bonner, ſtandeth above angels and kings.

BONNER's ORATION, *in Praiſe of* PRIESTHOOD.

WHEREFORE it is to be known, that prieſts and elders be worthy of all men to be worſhipped for the dignity ſake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi. "Whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth, &c. and whatſoever ye ſhall bind," &c. For a prieſt by ſome means is like Mary the Virgin, and is ſhewed by three points; as the bleſſed Virgin by five words did conceive Chriſt, as it is ſaid, Luke i. *Fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum*: that is to ſay, "Be it unto me according to thy word:" ſo the prieſt by five words doth make the very body of Chriſt. Even as immediately after the conſent of Mary, Chriſt was all whole in her womb: ſo immediately after the ſpeaking of the words of conſecration, the bread is ſubſtantiated into the very body of Chriſt. Secondly, As the Virgin carried Chriſt in her arms, and laid him in an ox-ſtall after his birth; even ſo the prieſt after the conſecration, doth lift up the body of Chriſt, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the bleſſed Virgin was ſanctified before ſhe had conceived; ſo the prieſt being ordained and anointed before he doth conſecrate, becauſe without orders he could conſecrate nothing; therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be ever ſo holy, and do ſpeak the ſelf-ſame words of conſecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of prieſts by ſome means paſſeth the dignity of angels, becauſe there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Chriſt. Whereby the leaſt prieſt may do on earth, that which the greateſt and higheſt angel in heaven cannot do. Whereupon St. Ambroſe upon St. Luke ſaith, "Doubt thou not the angels to be where Chriſt is preſent upon the altar." Wherefore prieſts are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a prieſt is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c.

We have before obſerved, that Dr. Ridley was removed from Fremingham to the Tower; while there, being one day invited to the lord lieutenant's table, he had a conference, or converſation, with ſecretary Bourne, Mr. Fecknam, (the queen's commiſſioners,) and others, concerning the controverſies in religion; the ſum whereof, as penned by Dr. Ridley himſelf, is as follows.

A CONVERSATION *that paſſed in the* TOWER, *at the* LORD LIEUTENANT's TABLE *between* Dr. RIDLEY, SECRETARY BOURNE, *and* Mr. FECKNAM.

Mr. Thomas Bridges ſaid, at his brother's the lord lieutenant's table, I pray you, doctors, for my information, tell me what an heretic is. Secretary Bourne ſaid, I will tell you who is an heretic; whoſo ſtubbornly and ſtiffly maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretic. You mean ſir, ſaid I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith. Yes, that is true, ſaid he; and in this we are ſoon agreed. Then ſaid Mr. Fecknam, whom they called maſter dean of Paul's, ſitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Auguſtine who is an heretic; "He that either for the ſake of princes, or for the ſake of filthy lucre, ſets on foot or propagates wrong notions, he is an heretic." Sir, ſaid I, I think St. Auguſtine addeth the third number, which is, "Or for the ſake of vain glory." You ſay even true, maſter doctor, ſaid he, and thus far we did agree all three.

Mr. Fecknam began again, ſaying, Whoſo doth not believe what the ſcripture affirmeth, but will obſtinately maintain the contrary, he is an heretic; as in the ſacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Chriſt's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary, is hereſy. It is the ſame body and fleſh that was born of the virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and univerſality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretic, as maſter doctor there knoweth full well; I do take to witneſs his own conſcience, ſaid he.

In truth, ſaid the ſecretary, Mr. Fecknam hath ſpoken well. Theſe are great matters, unity, antiquity, and univerſality. Do not you think ſo, Dr. Ridley?

Here, while I ſeemed unwilling to talk, one of the commiſſioners ſaid, Peradventure Dr. Ridley doth agree with Mr. Fecknam, and in that caſe there needs not much debating of the matter.

Sir, ſaid I, in ſome things I do, and ſhall agree with him; and in ſome things which he has ſpoken to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Maſters, ſaid I, ye are (as I underſtand) the queen's commiſſioners here, and if ye have commiſſion to examine me in theſe matters, I ſhall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I ſhall pray you either to give me leave to ſpeak my mind freely, or elſe to hold my peace.

There is none here, ſaid the ſecretary, that doth not favour you: and then every man ſhewed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

Taking this ſhew of courtſey for a licence to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, I thus proceeded.

To Mr. Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmations where no denial was, I anſwered; Where is a multitude of affirmations in ſcripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter, for that which any one of the evangeliſts ſpake, inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, was as true as that which is ſpoken of them all. It is as true what John ſaith of Chriſt “I am the door of the ſheep,” as if all had ſaid it. For it is not in ſcripture as in witneſs of men, where the number is credited more than one, becauſe it is uncertain with what ſpirit he doth ſpeak. And where Mr. Feckman ſpake of ſo many, affirming, without any negation, &c. Sir, ſaid I, all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. If in talk with you, I ſhould ſo utter my mind in words, that ye by the ſame do, and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another ſenſe, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye perceived I did mean.

Mr. Feckman perceiving whereunto my diſcourſe tended, ſaid, What circumſtances can you ſhew that ſhall move me to think of any other ſenſe than as the words plainly ſay, “This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you?”

Sir, ſaid I, even the next ſentence that followeth, viz. “Do this in my remembrance.” And alſo by what reaſon ye ſay the bread is turned into Chriſt's carnal body, by the ſame I may ſay, that it is turned into his myſtical body. For as that faith of it, “This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you;” ſo Paul, who ſpake by Chriſt's Spirit, ſaith, “We being many, are all but one bread and one body, inaſmuch as we are partakers of one bread.”

Here he called one bread, one loaf, ſaid the ſecretary. Yes, ſaid I, one loaf, one bread, all is one with me. But what ſay you of the univerſality, antiquity, and unity, that Mr. Fecknam ſpoke of?

I aſſure you, ſaid I, I think them weighty matters, and to be conſidered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, ſo it be with verity, and joined to our head Chriſt, and ſuch an one as St. Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying, “One faith, one God, one baptiſm.” And for antiquity, I am alſo perſuaded that to be true which Irenæus ſaith, That which is firſt is true. In our religion Chriſt's faith was firſt truly taught by Chriſt himſelf, by his apoſtles, and by many good men, that from the beginning did ſucceed next unto them; and for this controverſy of the ſacrament, I am perſuaded that thoſe old writers, which wrote before the controverſy, and the uſurping of the ſee of Rome, do all agree if they be well underſtood in this truth.

Now as for univerſality, it may have two meanings; one to underſtand that to be univerſal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to underſtand univerſality for the multitude of our age, or of any other ſingular age.

No, no, ſaid Mr. Secretary, theſe three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the reſt: and here he and I changed many words. To be ſhort in this matter, we did not agree.

C H A P. IV.

An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT *of a* PUBLIC DISPUTATION *appointed by the* QUEEN'S *ſpecial Command in a* CONVOCATION *held at* ST. MARY'S CHURCH, *in* OXFORD.

ABOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ridley biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer, ſometime biſhop of Worceſter, were conveyed as priſoners from the Tower to Windſor, and from thence to the univerſity of Oxford, there to diſpute with the divines and learned men of both the univerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the preſence, ſubſtance, and ſacrifice of the ſacrament. The names of the univerſity doctors, and graduates, appointed to diſpute againſt them were theſe: of Oxford, Dr. Weſton, prolocutor, Dr. Treſham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watſon, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinſon, &c. The articles or queſtions whereupon they ſhould diſpute were theſe:

1. Whether the natural body of Chriſt be really in the ſacrament after the words ſpoken by the prieſt or not?

2. Whether in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, any other ſubſtance do remain, than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt?

3. Whether in the maſs there be a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſins of the quick and the dead?

On Saturday the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being aſſembled together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read with articles therewith annexed, that ſhould be diſputed upon at Oxford. Whereupon in the ſaid congregation of the aforeſaid univerſity of Cambridge, there was granted firſt a grace in this form, propoſed by the ſenior proctor; “May it pleaſe you to have an inſtrument made, that the doctrine of theſe aforeſaid articles is found and catholick, and conſonant with verity of the right meaning faith, and that the ſame may be approved by your conſent and voices?” Secondly, in the ſaid congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Atkinſon, Dr. Scot, and Mr. Sedgewick, ſhould go to Oxford to defend the ſaid articles againſt Canterbury, London, and Latimer: alſo to have letters to the Oxford-men, ſealed with their common ſeal. Item, Another grace was granted to Mr. Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The aforeſaid letters being then drawn out, the third day after, (which was the 11th day of April) were read in the aforeſaid congregation houſe, and there ſealed.

3.

The day after, being the 12th of the ſame month, the doctors of that univerſity ſet forward to Oxford, where they arrived on the 13th of April, and lodged, all at the Croſs-inn, with one Wakecline, ſome time a ſervant to biſhop Bonner.

Soon after their coming, Dr. Crooke preſented them with wine for their welcome; and ſhortly after, two of their beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and preſented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a diſh of apples and a gallon of wine: after whom Mr. Pie and Fecknam came next to welcome them. Then after conſultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and inſtrument of grace (which was in Dr. Seaton and Dr. Watſon's keeping) they all went to Lincoln college to Dr. Weſton the prolocutor, and to Dr. Treſham, the vice-chancellor, to whom they delivered their letters, declaring what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again; but firſt concluded on a proceſſion, ſermon, and convocation, on the day following, and that the doctors of Cambridge ſhould be incorporated with the univerſity of Oxford, and that the doctors of Oxford ſhould be incorporated with the univerſity of Cambridge. The ſame day, the three priſoners were ſeparated, Dr. Ridley to the houſe of Mr. Iriſh, Mr. Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained ſtill in Bocardo, a priſon in Oxford.

On Saturday, April 14, at eight o'clock, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the ſame univerſity, repairing to Lincoln college again, found the prolocutor above in the chapel, with a company of the houſe ſinging maſs for the dead, and tarried there until the end. Then having conſulted together in the maſter's room, about nine they all came to the univerſity church, called St. Mary's, where, after a ſhort conſultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, cauſed the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the reſt of the doctors of that univerſity, to ſend for their ſcarlet robes brought from

Cambridge, ſave that Dr. Seaton and Watſon borrowed of the Oxford men. By this time the regents, in the congregation houſe, had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and ſo they went up and were immediately admitted, Dr. Oglethorpe preſenting them, and the proctor reading the ſtatute, and giving them their oaths.

That done, they all came into the quire, and there held the convocation of the univerſity: they had maſs of the Holy Ghoſt ſolemnly ſung before them by the quire-men of Chriſt's church; but firſt the cauſe of the convocation was opened in Engliſh, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were ſent by the queen, and wherefore they were ſent, and cauſed Mr. Say the regiſter openly to read the commiſſion. That done, the vice-chancellor read the Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Mr. Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that univerſity, and one Mr. White for Oxford, ſhould teſtify of their doing, and then ordered the ſaid notaries to provide parchment, that the whole aſſembly might ſubſcribe to the articles, except thoſe that had ſubſcribed before in the convocation houſe at London and Cambridge; and ſo the vice-chancellor began firſt, and the reſt of the Oxford men after him, as many as could in the maſs time.

Maſs being done, they went in proceſſion to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Mr. Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they all went again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a ſhort conſultation in a chapel, all the commiſſioners came into the quire, and ſat on ſeats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three perſons: and firſt they ſent to the mayor, that he ſhould bring in Dr. Cranmer, who within a while was brought to them with a number of truſty bill-men.

The reverend archbiſhop, when he was brought before the commiſſioners, paid his reſpects to them with much humility, and ſtood with his ſtaff in his hand, who, notwithſtanding having a ſtool offered him, refuſed to ſit.

The prolocutor cauſed the articles to be read to him, and a copy to be delivered him, aſſigning him to anſwer thereunto on Monday next, and ſo charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Borcado, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and he ſhould have them brought to him. The archbiſhop was greatly commended of every body for his modeſty: inſomuch that ſome maſters of arts were ſeen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who hearing the articles read to him, immediately replied, they were all falſe, and ſaid further, that they ſprang out of bitter and ſour root.

Then he was aſked whether he would diſpute or no? He anſwered, "That as long as God gave him life, he ſhould not only have his heart, but alſo his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books." They ſaid he could not, and that he ſhould diſpute on Thurſday, and till that time he ſhould have books. He ſaid it was unreaſonable that he might not have his own books and time alſo. Then they gave him the articles, and deſired him to write his mind of them that night; after which, they commanded the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Laſt of all came in Mr. Latimer, with a handkerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his ſpectacles hanging by a ſtring at his breaſt, and a ſtaff in his hand, and was ſet in a chair; for ſo was he ſuffered by the prolocutor. After his denial of the articles, when he had appointed Wedneſday for diſputation, he alledged age, ſickneſs, diſuſe and lack of books, ſaying, "That he was almoſt as meet to diſpute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he ſaid, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would ſtand to all they could lay upon his back;" complaining moreover "That he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Teſtament there in his hand, which he ſaid he had read over ſeven times deliberately, and yet could not find the maſs in it, neither the marrow-bones nor ſinews of the ſame. At which words the commiſſioners were not a little offended: and Dr. Weſton ſaid, "That he would make him grant, that it had both marrow-bones and ſinews in the New Teſtament." To whom Mr. Latimer ſaid again, "That you will never do, Mr. Doctor;" and ſo forthwith they put him to ſilence; ſo that when he was deſirous to tell what he meant by thoſe terms, he could not be ſuffered. There was ſo great a preſs and throng of people, that one of the beadles ſwooned by reaſon thereof, and was carried into the veſtry. After this, bringing home the prolocutor firſt, the Cambridge men, viz. Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seaton, Glin, Atkinſon, Scot, Watſon, and Sedgewick, went to the Croſs-inn, to ſupper. And this was on the 14th day of April.

At nine o'clock, on Sunday morning, Mr. Harpſfield preached at St. Mary's, the univerſity church, where divers of the doctors, in their robes, were placed in due order of precedency. After ſermon, they all dined at Magdalen college, and ſupped at Lincoln college, with the prolocutor Dr. Weſton; whither Dr. Cranmer ſent his anſwer upon the articles, in writing.

The ARGUMENTS, REASONS, *and* ALLEGATIONS, *uſed in this* DISPUTATION.

ON Monday, Dr. Weſton, with all the reſidue of the viſitors, cenſors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity ſchool, each one inſtalled themſelves in their places. Dr. Cranmer with a rout of ruſty bills was brought thither, and ſet in the anſwerer's place, with the mayor and alderman ſitting by him: where Dr. Weſton, prolocutor, apparelled in a ſcarlet gown, after the cuſtom of the univerſity, began the diſputation with this oration:

"You are aſſembled hither, brethren, this day to confound the deteſtable hereſy of the verity of the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament," &c. At which words thus pronounced unawares, by the prolocutor, ſeveral of the learned men there preſent, conſidering, and well weighing the words by him uttered, burſt out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the diſputation, he had betrayed himſelf and his religion, by terming the opinion of the verity of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament a deteſtable hereſy. The reſt of his oration tended all to this effect, "That it was not lawful, by God's word, to call theſe queſtions into controverſy: for ſuch as doubted of the words of Chriſt, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God." Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, deſiring leave, thus anſwered;

"We are aſſembled (ſaid he) to diſcuſs theſe doubtful controverſies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world: whereof ye think it unlawful to diſpute. It is indeed no reaſon that we ſhould diſpute of that which is determined upon before the truth be tried. But if theſe queſtions be not called into controverſy, ſurely my anſwer then is looked for in vain." This was the ſum of his anſwer; and this done, he prepared himſelf for diſputation.

Then Chedſey the firſt opponent began in this manner: Rev. Mr. Doctor, theſe three concluſions are put forth unto us at preſent to diſpute upon:

1. In the ſacrament of the altar, is the natural body of Chriſt, conceived of the virgin Mary, and alſo his blood, preſent really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the prieſt.

2. There remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine after the conſecration, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of God and man.

3. The lively ſacrifice of the church is in the maſs propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

Theſe are the arguments whereupon this our preſent controverſy doth reſt. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the ſame, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion, in that it diſagreeth from the catholic. Wherefore thus I argue.

Ched. Chriſt, when he inſtituted his laſt ſupper, ſpake to his diſciples, "Take, eat, this is my body which ſhall be given for you."

But this true body was given for us:

Ergo, His true body is in the ſacrament.

Cran. His true body is truly preſent to them that truly receive him; but ſpiritually. And ſo it is taken in a ſpiritual ſenſe. For when he ſaid, "This is my body," it is all one as if he had ſaid, "This is the breaking of my body, this is the ſhedding of my blood." As often as you ſhall do this, it ſhall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the ſhedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this ſacrament, ſo truly ſhall you receive the benefit promiſed by receiving the ſame worthily.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the church which ſaith that the true body is in the ſacrament.

Ergo, Your opinion therein is falſe.

Cran. I ſay and agree with the church, that the body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament effectually, becauſe the paſſion of Chriſt is effectual.

Ched. Chriſt, when he ſpoke theſe words, "This is my body," ſpake of the ſubſtance, but not of the effect.

Cran. I grant he ſpake of the ſubſtance, and not of the effect after a ſort: and yet it is moſt true that the body of Chriſt is effectually in the ſacrament. But I deny that he is there truly preſent in bread, or that under the bread is his original body. And becauſe it would be too tedious (he ſaid) to make diſcourſe of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weſton, written at large, with anſwers to every one of their three propoſitions; which he deſired Dr. Weſton, ſitting there on high, to read openly to the people; this he promiſed to do; but it is not the firſt promiſe that ſuch papiſts have broken. But though the copy of this writing was not read by the prolocutor, we have drawn out the contents thereof, which are as follows:

Dr. CRANMER'S EXPLICATION *of the foregoing* CONCLUSIONS, *exhibited by him.*

Cran. IN the aſſertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, ſo much as may be, are to be eſchewed, whereof ariſeth nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we muſt follow, ſo much as we may, the manner of ſpeaking of the ſcripture.

In the firſt concluſion, if ye underſtand by this word [really] *re ipſa*, that is, in very deed and effectually; ſo Chriſt, by the grace and efficacy of his paſſion, is indeed and truly preſent to all true and holy members.

But if ye underſtand by this word [really] *corporaliter*, that is, corporally; ſo that by the body of Chriſt is underſtood a natural and organical ſubſtance, the firſt propoſition doth vary, not only from the uſual phraſe of ſcripture, but alſo is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and chriſtian profeſſion: ſince both the ſcripture doth teſtify by theſe words, and alſo the catholic church hath profeſſed from the beginning, that Chriſt has left the world, and ſits at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

And likewiſe I anſwer to the ſecond queſtion: that is, That it ſwerveth from the accuſtomed manner and ſpeech of ſcripture.

The third concluſion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing alſo much from the true ſpeech of ſcripture, ſo as the words thereof ſeem to import no open ſenſe, is moſt contumelious againſt our only Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the croſs, is the only ſacrifice and oblation for the ſins of all mankind.

Ched. By this your interpretation which you have made upon the firſt concluſion, this I underſtand, the body of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament only by the way of participation: inſomunh as we communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Chriſt; ſo that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our concluſion ſtandeth upon the ſubſtance, and not the efficacy only, which ſhall appear by the teſtimony both of ſcripture and of all the fathers a thouſand years after Chriſt.

And firſt to begin with the ſcripture, let us conſider what is written in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew ſaith, as they ſat at ſupper, Jeſus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the ſame ſenſe, although not the ſame words, who alſo for one part of the ſacrament ſpeaketh more plainly, Jeſus taking bread, &c. After the ſame ſenſe alſo writeth Luke: And when Jeſus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witneſſes, ſaith the ſcripture, ſtandeth all truth. Here we have three witneſſes together, that Chriſt ſaid, that to be his body which was given for many, and that to be his blood which ſhould be ſhed for many; whereby is declared the ſubſtance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, It is not true that you ſay, there to be not the ſubſtance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof.

Cran. Thus you gather upon mine anſwer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the ſubſtance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the ſubſtance.

Weſt. We will not conſume and ſpend the time in waſte, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter ſhall be read in this place. In the mean ſeaſon let us now fall to the arguments.

Ched. The ſcriptures in many places do affirm, that Chriſt gave his natural body, Matth. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii.

Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the ſacrament.

Cran. To your argument I anſwer: If you underſtand by the body natural [*organicum*], that is, having ſuch proportion and members as he had living here, then I anſwer negatively.

Furthermore, concerning the evangeliſts, this I ſay and grant, that Chriſt took bread, and called it his body.

Ched. The text of the ſcripture maketh againſt you, for the circumſtance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but alſo teacheth us what manner of body it is, and ſaith, The ſame body which ſhall be given.

That thing is here contained, that is given for us.

But the ſubſtance of bread is not given for us.

Ergo, The ſubſtance of bread is not here contained.

Cran. I underſtand not yet what you mean by this word [contained]: If you mean really, then I deny your major.

Ched. The major is the text of ſcripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the ſcripture. For the ſcripture ſaith, This is my body which is given for you.

Cran. I grant he ſaid it was his body which ſhould be given, but he ſaid it was not his body which is here contained; but the body (ſaith he) that ſhall be given for you. As though he ſhould ſay, This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the ſhedding of my blood. What will ye ſay then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the ſhedding of his blood really? If you ſay ſo, I deny it.

Ched. If you aſk what is the thing therein contained; becauſe his apoſtles ſhould not doubt what body it was that ſhould be given, he ſaith, This is my body which ſhall be given for you, and my blood which ſhall be ſhed for many. Ergo, Here is the ſame ſubſtance of the body, which the day after was given, and the ſame blood which was ſhed. And here I urge the ſcripture, which teacheth that it was no phantaſtical, no feigned, no ſpiritual body, nor body in faith, but the ſubſtance of the body.

Cran. You muſt prove that it is contained, but Chriſt ſaid not which is contained. He gave bread, and called that his body. I ſtick not in the words of the ſcripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined by yourſelf.

Ched. When Chriſt took bread and brake it, what gave he?

Cran. He gave bread; the bread ſacramentally, and his body ſpiritually; and the bread there he called his body.

Ched. This anſwer is againſt the ſcripture, which ſaith, that he gave his body.

Cran. It did ſignify that which he did eat.

Ched. They did not eat the body as the Capernaites did underſtand it, but the ſelf ſame body which was given for the ſins of the world. Ergo, It was his body which ſhould be given, and his blood which ſhould be ſhed.

In ſome other copies (ſays Mr. Fox) I find this argument to be made by Chedſey.

The ſame body is in the ſacrament, which was given for us on the croſs.

But bread was not given for us on the croſs.

Ergo (therefore) bread is not given in the ſacrament.

Cran. I deny the major, which is, that the ſame natural body is given in the ſacrament which was given on the croſs, except you underſtand it ſpiritually. And after he denied alſo the argument as utterly void, as he might well do, the major in the ſecond figure being not univerſal.

When Mr. Chedſey had put forth his argument, and proſecuted the ſame, and Dr. Cranmer anſwered as before is ſhewed, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of thoſe doctors which the prolocutor called Cenſores (who ſat as arbiters to order the diſputation) ſaid on this wiſe.

D. Ogle. You come in ſtill with one evaſion or ſtarting hole to flee to. He urgeth the ſcriptures, ſaying, that Chriſt gave his very body. You ſay that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis eſt corpus? qualis eſt prædicatio? panis eſt corpus.*

Cran. You ſhould ſay, *Quale corpus.* I anſwer to the queſtion: it is the ſame body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, aſcended; but tropically, and by a figure. And ſo I ſay, *Panis eſt corpus,* is a figurative ſpeech, ſpeaking ſacramentally, for it is a ſacrament of his body.

Ogle. This word [body] being *prædicatum,* doth ſignify ſubſtance.

But *ſubſtantia* is not predicated denominatively.

Ergo, It is an eſſential predication, and ſo it is his true body, and not the figure of his body.

Cran. Subſtantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Chriſt hath leſs care for his ſpouſe the church, than a wiſe houſholder hath for his family in making his will or teſtament.

Cran. Your reaſon is drawn out of affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy ſcriptures.

Ogle. But no houſholder maketh his teſtament after that ſort.

Cran. Yes, there are many that ſo do. For what matter is it ſo it be underſtood and perceived? I ſay, Chriſt did uſe figurative ſpeech in no place more than in his ſacraments, and eſpecially in this of his ſupper.

Ogle. No man of purpoſe doth uſe tropes in his teſtament, for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his teſtament: therefore Chriſt uſeth none here.

Cran. Yes, he may uſe them well enough. You know not what tropes are.

Ogle. The good man of the houſe hath reſpect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without wrangling.

But they cannot be in quiet if he do uſe tropes.

Therefore (I ſay) he uſeth no tropes.

Cran. I deny your minor.

Weſt. Auguſtine, in his book intitled, *De Unitate Eccleſiæ,* chap. x. hath theſe words following:

"What a thing is this, I pray you, when the laſt words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard which is ready to go to his grave, no man ſaith that he hath made a lye, and he is not accounted his heir which regardeth not thoſe words. How ſhall we then eſcape God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we ſhall reject the laſt words both of the only Son of God, and alſo of our Lord and Saviour, both aſcending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who deſpiſeth, who obſerveth them not, and ſo ſhall come from thence to judge all men."

Weſt. This ſaith Chryſoſtom, Homil. 61. ad pop. Antioch. "Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the myſteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his fleſh and of his bones. We that be in the myſtery, let us follow the thing which was ſpoken. Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by love, but alſo that we may become one with that fleſh indeed, that is brought to paſs by this food, which he gave unto us, minding to ſhew his great good will that he hath towards us: and therefore he mixed himſelf with us, and united his own body with us, that we ſhould be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head, for this is a token of moſt ardent and perfect love. And the ſame thing Job alſo inſinuating, ſaid of his ſervants, of whom he was deſired above meaſure, inſomuch that they, ſhewing their great deſire towards him, ſaid, Who ſhall give unto us to be filled with his fleſh. Therefore alſo Chriſt did the ſame, who, to induce us into a great love towards him, and to declare his deſire towards us, did not only give himſelf to be ſeen of them, but alſo to be handled and eaten. Parents many times give their children to others to be fed; but I do not ſo, ſaith Chriſt, but feed you with my own fleſh, and ſet myſelf before you. I am become your brother; I took fleſh and blood for you. Again, my fleſh and blood, by the which I am made your kinſman, I deliver unto you." I prove it out of Chryſoſtom, writing upon the 50th pſalm.

"She that is a mother, ſhameth ſometime to play the nurſe. But Chriſt our nurſe doth not ſo play with us. Therefore inſtead of meat he feedeth us with his own fleſh, and inſtead of drink he feedeth us with his own blood." Likewiſe upon the xxvi. chap of Matthew, the 83d Homily, he ſaith, "For it ſhall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean time to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one maſs or lump with himſelf (as I may ſo call it), and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but in very deed."

Cran. I grant we make one nature with Chriſt. But that to be done with the mouth I deny.

Weſt. Chryſoſtom, 2 Cor. chap. xiii. Hom. 29. hath theſe words, "No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord."

Cran. And why ſhould we doubt to call it the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, offered upon the croſs, ſeeing both Chriſt and the ancient fathers do ſo call it?

Cole. How gather you that of Chryſoſtom?

Cran. Chryſoſtom declareth himſelf, "O miracle. O the good will of God towards us, which ſitteth above at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the time of ſacrifice, and is given to feed upon, to them that are deſirous of him! And that is brought to paſs by no ſubtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the ſtanders-by."

Thus you hear Chriſt is ſeen here on earth every day, is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will ſay or think to be ſpoken without trope or figure.

Weſt. What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he ſpake only of the ſacrament, as though it were his body?

But hearken what Chryſoſtom ſaith, "I ſhew forth that thing on earth unto thee, which is worthy the greateſt honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the ſumptuous bed, but the body of kings ſitting under the cloth of eſtate, and royal ſeat of majeſty, is of all things elſe the moſt excellent: ſo is in like manner the King's body in heaven, which is now ſet before us on earth. I ſhew thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Maſter of all theſe things. Thou perceiveſt after what ſort thou doſt not only behold, but toucheſt, and not only toucheſt, but eateſt that which on the earth is the greateſt and chiefeſt thing of all other, and when thou haſt received the ſame, thou goeſt home; wherefore cleanſe thy ſoul from all uncleanneſs."

Upon this I conclude, that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed us upon the earth.

Cranmer. What? upon the earth? He is ſeen here with the eyes of our mind only, with faith and ſpirit.

Weſton. What is it that ſeemeth worthy of the higheſt honour on earth? The ſacrament or the body of Chriſt?

Cranmer. Chryſoſtom ſpeaketh of the ſacrament, and the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth in the ſacrament.

Weſton. Therefore, the ſacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cranmer. I deny your argument.

Weſton. That thing is ſhewed forth, and is now on the earth, which is worthy higheſt honour.

But only the body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Therefore, the body of Chriſt is now on the earth.

Cranmer. I anſwer, the body of Chriſt is on the earth, in the ſacrament, only ſo as the Holy Ghoſt is in the water of baptiſm.

Weſton. Chryſoſtom ſaith, *Oſtendo*, "I ſhew forth," which noteth a ſubſtance to be preſent.

Cranmer. That is to be underſtood ſacramentally.

Weſton. He ſaith, *Oſtendo in terra*, "I ſhew forth on earth," declaring the place where.

Cranmer. That is to be underſtood figuratively.

Weſton. He is ſhewed forth, and is now on the earth, &c. as before.

Cranmer. Your major and concluſion are one and the ſame.

Weſton. But the major is true: Therefore the concluſion is alſo true.

That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of higheſt honour.

But no figure is worthy of higheſt honour.

Therefore, that which is on earth is no figure.

Here Weſton called upon Dr. Cranmer, to anſwer one part, bidding him to repeat his words; which when he went about to do, ſuch was the noiſe and uproar in the divinity ſchool, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well Engliſh the words of Chryſoſtom, uſing for *oſtenditur in terra*, "he is ſhewed forth on the earth," *eſt in terra*, "he is on the earth," whereas Chryſoſtom hath not *eſt*, nor any ſuch word of being on the earth, but only of ſhewing, as the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, *in baptiſmo oſtenditur*, "is ſhewed forth in baptiſm;" and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *oſtenditur*. Then the prolocutor ſtretching forth his hand, ſet on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the ſchool with hiſſing, clapping of hands, and noiſe, calling him unlearned, unſkilful, and impudent. Which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man moſt patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the ſuffering of ſuch like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet ſatisfied with rude and unſeemly demeanour, did call upon him to anſwer the argument, then he deſired the notary to repeat his words again.

Notary. That which is worthy moſt high honour, here I ſhew forth to thee on earth.

The body of Chriſt is worthy higheſt honour.

Therefore, he ſhewed forth the body of Chriſt here on earth.

Cranmer. That is ſhewed forth here on earth which may be ſeen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten, but theſe things be not true of the body.

Cole. Why ſhould not theſe things be true of the body of Chriſt?

Cranmer. The major out of Chryſoſtom is true, meaning in the ſacraments: for, in the ſacrament, the true body of Chriſt, and not the figurative body, is ſet forth.

Weſton. Shew me ſomewhat on earth worthy greateſt honour.

Cranmer. I cannot, but in the ſacrament only.

Weſton. Therefore, the ſacrament is worthy greateſt honour.

Cranmer. So it is.

Weſton. Judges, let it be written.

Cranmer. I pray you, let my anſwer be written likewiſe: I affirm that the body of Chriſt is ſhewed forth unto us. It is our faith that ſeeth Chriſt.

Weſton. Oſtendo tibi, "I ſhew to thee," ſaith Chryſoſtom, not to thy faith.

Cranmer. He ſpeaketh ſacramentally.

Weſton. Therefore Chryſoſtom lyeth; for he ſaith, "I Chryſoſtom do ſhew;" but he can ſhew nothing ſacramentally.

Chedſey. By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Chriſt is proved to be on earth, not only ſacramentally, but in very deed alſo, by this reaſon, that it is worthy of higheſt honour. The reaſon is indiſſoluble.

Cranmer. I never heard a more vain argument, and it is moſt vain; alſo it hath my anſwer unto it.

Chedſey. Will you affirm, that it is abſurd which Chryſoſtom ſaith, that the body of Chriſt is touched?

I touch the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament, as Thomas touched Chriſt.

Thomas touched Chriſt, ſaying, "My Lord and my God."

Therefore, that which he touched was the Lord the God.

Cranmer. I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him who was God. Neither is it ſound doctrine to affirm, that God is touched.

Chedſey. This is becauſe of the union; ſo that God is ſaid to be touched, when Chriſt, who is both God and Man, is touched.

Tertullian, ſpeaking of the reſurrection of the body, ſaith, "Let us conſider as concerning the proper form of the chriſtian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul ſubſtance of our's hath with God. Although it were ſufficient to it, that no ſoul could ever get ſalvation, unleſs it believe while it is in the fleſh; ſo much the fleſh availeth to ſalvation; by the which fleſh it cometh, that whereas the ſoul is ſo linked unto God, it is the ſaid fleſh that cauſeth the ſoul to be linked: yet the fleſh moreover is waſhed, that the ſoul may be cleanſed; the fleſh is anointed, that the ſoul may be conſecrated; the fleſh is ſigned, that the ſoul may be defended; the fleſh is ſhadowed by the impoſition of hands, that the ſoul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the fleſh doth eat the body and blood of Chriſt, that the ſoul may be fed of God." Whereupon I gather this argument.

The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt.

Therefore, the body of Chriſt is eaten with the mouth.

Phoceus alſo, 1 Cor. chapter xi. upon theſe words, "Is guilty of the body and blood," declareth, "That like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and ſpiteful againſt him; ſo do they diſhonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not ſimply man that is ſacrificed, but the Lord himſelf.

Therefore, the body of Chriſt is touched with the hands.

Cranmer. You vouch two authors againſt me upon ſundry things. Firſt, I muſt anſwer Tertullian, and then the other.

Chedſey. They tend both to one meaning.

Cranmer. Unto Tertullian I anſwer, (becauſe our diſputation is wandering and uncertain) that he calleth that the fleſh which is the ſacrament. For although God works all things in us inviſibly beyond men's reach, yet they are ſo manifeſt, that they may be ſeen and perceived of every ſenſe. Thereſore he ſetteth forth baptiſm, unction, and laſt of all the ſupper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to ſignify his operation in us. The fleſh liveth by the bread, but the ſoul is inwardly fed by Chriſt.

Weſton. Stick to thoſe words of Tertullian, "The body eateth, that the ſoul may be fed."

Chedſey. The fleſh eateth the body of Chriſt, that the ſoul may be fed therewith.

Weſton. Here you ſee two kinds of food, of the ſoul and of the body.

Chedſey. He ſaith, that not only the ſoul, but the fleſh alſo is fed.

Cranmer. The ſoul is fed with the body of Chriſt, the body with the ſacrament.

Chedſey. Is the ſoul fed with the body of Chriſt, and not with the ſacrament?

Cranmer. Read that which followeth, and you ſhall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is underſtood. Inwardly we eat Chriſt's body, and outwardly we eat the ſacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptiſm, the external element, whereby the body is waſhed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the ſoul is cleanſed, is another.

Young. This diſputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I muſt go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common ſaying, againſt thoſe who deny principles, we muſt not diſpute; therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Chriſt, than his inſtrumental body?

Cranmer. There is no natural body of Chriſt, but his organical body.

Young. Again I demand, whether ſenſe and reaſon ought to give place to faith?

Cranmer. They ought.

Young. Thirdly, whether Chriſt be true in all his words?

Cranmer. Yes, he is truth itſelf.

Young. Fourthly, whether Chriſt at his ſupper, minded to do that which he ſpake, or no?

Cranmer. In ſaying he ſpake, but in ſaying he made not, but made the ſacrament to his diſciples.

Young. Anſwer according to the truth, whether did Chriſt that as God and Man which he ſpake, when he ſaid, "This is my body?"

Cranmer. This is ſophiſtical cavilling. There is ſome deceit in theſe queſtions.

Young. I demand, whether Chriſt by theſe words wrought any thing, or no?

Cranmer. He did inſtitute the ſacrament.

Young. But anſwer, whether he did work any thing?

Cranmer. He did work in inſtituting the ſacrament.

Young. Now I have you; for before you ſaid, it was a figurative ſpeech.

But a figure worketh nothing.

Therefore, it is not a figurative ſpeech. A lyar ought to have a good memory.

Cranmer. I underſtood your ſophiſtry before. You by working underſtand converting into the body of Chriſt: but Chriſt wrought the ſacrament, not in converting, but in inſtituting.

Young. Woe be to them, who make Chriſt a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he ſpake, or the ſelf-ſame thing?

Cranmer. He wrought the ſacrament, and by theſe words he ſignified the effect.

Young. A figurative ſpeech is no working thing.

But the ſpeech of Chriſt is working.

Therefore, it is not figurative.

Cranmer. It worketh by inſtituting, not by converting.

Young. The thing ſignified in the ſacrament, is it not the ſacrament?

Cranmer. It is. For the thing is miniſtered in a ſign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a ſign. Auguſtine ſeparateth the ſacrament from the thing. The ſacrament (ſaith he) is one, and the thing of the ſacrament another.

Weſton. Stick to this argument.

It is a figurative ſpeech.

Therefore, it worketh nothing.

Young. But the ſpeech of Chriſt is a working thing.

Therefore, it is not figurative.

Cranmer. Oh how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies, I ſaid not, that the words of Chriſt do work, but Chriſt himſelf, and he worketh by a figurative ſpeech.

Weſton. If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Chriſt.

Cranmer. A figurative ſpeech worketh not.

Weſton. A figurative ſpeech, by your own confeſſion, worketh nothing.

But the ſpeech of Chriſt in the ſupper (as you grant) wrought ſomewhat.

Therefore, the ſpeech of Chriſt in the ſupper was not figurative.

Cranmer. I anſwer, theſe are mere ſophiſms. The ſpeech doth not work, but Chriſt by the ſpeech doth work the ſacrament.

I look for ſcriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of diſputations.

This diſorderly diſputation, concluding with an univerſal cry of *Vincit veritas*, continued almoſt till two o'clock. Which being finiſhed, and the arguments written, and delivered into the hands of Mr. Say; the priſoner, Dr. Cranmer, was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined ſumptuouſly together, at the univerſity college.

A SECOND DISPUTATION *at* OXFORD, *between* Dr. RIDLEY, *Dr.* SMITH, *&c.*

THE next day being April 12th, Dr. Ridley was brought forth to diſpute; againſt whom Dr. Smith was appointed principal opponent. It may be proper to obſerve of Dr. Smith, that he had often changed his ſentiments; but not from a principle of conſcience, or real conviction, as will appear from his articles by him recanted.

Beſides Dr. Smith, there were other opponents; Dr. Weſton, Dr. Treſham, Dr. Oglethorp, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Cole, Dr. Watſon, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Pye, Mr. Harding Mr. Curton, and Mr. Fecknam; all of whom Dr. Ridley anſwered very learnedly.

The SPEECH *of* Dr. WESTON, PROLOCUTOR, *at the Commencement of the* DISPUTATION.

Good Chriſtian People and Brethren!

WE have begun this day our ſchool, by God's good ſpeed I truſt, and are entering into a controverſy, whereof no queſtion ought to be moved concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the Euchariſt. Chriſt is true, which ſaid the words. The words are true which he ſpake, yea, truth itſelf that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to ſend down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light that verity may appear. Let us alſo aſk leave and liberty of the church to permit the truth received to be called this day in queſtion without any prejudice to the ſame. Your parts thereof ſhall be to implore the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to pray for the proſperity of the queen's majeſty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your queſtion.

Dr. Smith. This day (right learned Mr. Doctor) three queſtions are propounded, whereof no controverſy among chriſtians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether the natural body of Chriſt our Saviour, conceived of the virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the croſs, is verily and really in the ſacrament by virtue of God's word ſpoken by the prieſts, &c.

2. Whether in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, be any other ſubſtance, &c.

3. Whether in the maſs be a ſacrifice propitiatory, &c.

Touching which queſtions, although you have publicly declared your judgment on Saturday laſt: yet I will again demand your anſwer on the firſt queſtion; upon which I ſtand here now to hear what may be anſwered.

Dr. RIDLEY's INTRODUCTORY DECLARATION, *or* PROTESTATION.

I Received of you the other day, right worſhipful Mr. Prolocutor, and you my reverend maſters, commiſſioners from the queen's majeſty and her honourable council, three propoſitions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare againſt this day, what I thought good to anſwer concerning the ſame.

Now whilſt I weighed with myſelf how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for which I am certain I muſt once render an account to my Lord God, (and how ſoon he only knoweth) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apoſtle Peter, I ought to be ready always to give a reaſon of the hope that is in me, with meekneſs and reverence, unto every one that ſhall demand the ſame: beſides this, conſidering my duty to the church of Chriſt, and to your worſhips, being commiſſioners by public authority; I determined with myſelf to obey your commandment, and ſo openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforeſaid propoſitions. And albeit, plainly to confeſs unto you the truth in theſe things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwiſe in times paſt than now I do, yet (God I call to record upon my ſoul, I lye not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by conſtraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly perſuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

Theſe things I do rather recite at this preſent, becauſe it may happen to ſome of you hereafter, as in times paſt it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwiſe of the matters propounded in theſe propoſitions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howſoever it ſhall be, I will in a few words do that which I think ye all look I ſhould do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit, of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly ſpeak in any point againſt God's word, or diſſent in any one jot from the ſame, or from the rules of faith, or chriſtian religion: which rules that ſame moſt ſacred word of God preſcribeth to the church of Chriſt, whereunto I now and for ever ſubmit myſelf and all my doings. And becauſe the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as alſo lack of books; therefore here I proteſt, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine anſwers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminiſh whatſoever ſhall ſeem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpoſe, through more ſound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and proteſtation, ſpoken theſe few words, I will come to the anſwer of the propoſitions propounded unto me, and ſo to the moſt brief explication and confirmation of my anſwers.

The FIRST PROPOSITION.

In the ſacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word ſpoken of the prieſt, the natural body of Chriſt born of the virgin Mary, and his natural blood, is really preſent under the forms of bread and wine.

BISHOP RIDLEY's ANSWER.

In matters appertaining to God, we may not ſpeak according to the ſenſe of man, nor of the world: therefore this propoſition or concluſion is framed after another manner of phraſe, or kind of ſpeech, than the ſcripture uſeth. Again, it is very obſcure and dark, by means of ſundry words of doubtful ſignification. And being taken in the ſenſe which the ſchoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is falſe and erroneous, and plainly contrary to the doctrine which is according to godlineſs.

The EXPLICATION.

How far the diverſity and newneſs of the phraſe in all this firſt propoſition is from the phraſe of the holy ſcripture, and that in every part almoſt, it is ſo plain and evident to any one who is but meanly exerciſed in holy writ, that I need not now (eſpecially in this company of learned men) ſpend any time therein, except the ſame ſhall be required of me hereafter.

Firſt, there is a double ſenſe in theſe words, "By virtue of God's word," for it is doubtful what word of God this is, whether it be that which is read in the evangeliſts, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangeliſts, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of ſuch virtue that it ſhould be able to work ſo great a matter.

Again, there is a doubt of theſe words, "of the prieſt," whether no man may be called a prieſt, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Chriſt alone.

It is likewiſe doubted after what order the ſacrificing prieſt ſhall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or elſe after the order of Melchiſedek. For as far as I know, the holy ſcriptures doth allow no more.

Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word [really,] whether it be taken as the logicians term it "*tranſcendenter*," that is, moſt generally, and ſo it may ſignify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Chriſt, by any means: after which ſort we alſo grant Chriſt's body to be really in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, (as in diſputation, if occaſion be given, ſhall be declared) or whether it be taken to ſignify the very ſame thing, having body, life, and ſoul, which was aſſumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of perſon. In which ſenſe, ſeeing the body of Chriſt is really in heaven, becauſe of the true manner of his body, it may not be ſaid to be here on the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulneſs in theſe words, [under the forms of bread and wine,] whether the forms be there taken to ſignify the only accidental and outward ſhews of bread and wine; or therewithal the ſubſtantial natures thereof, which are to be ſeen by their qualities, and perceived by the exterior ſenſes.

Now the error and falſeneſs of the propoſition, after the ſenſe of the Roman church and ſchoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be tranſubſtantiated and changed to the fleſh aſſumed of the word of God, and that (as they ſay) by virtue of the word, which they have deviſed by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangeliſts, or in St. Paul, and ſo they gather that Chriſt's body is really contained in the ſacrament of the altar. Which poſition is grounded upon the foundation of the tranſubſtantiation; which foundation is monſtrous, againſt reaſon, and deſtroyeth the analogy or proportion of the ſacraments: and therefore this propoſition alſo, which is built upon this rotten foundation, is falſe, erroneous, and to be counted as a deteſtable hereſy of the ſacramentaries.

The CONFIRMATION *of the aforeſaid* ANSWER.

There ought no doctrine to be eſtabliſhed in the church of God, which diſſenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many abſurdities that cannot be avoided.

But this doctrine of the firſt propoſition is ſuch.

Therefore, it ought not to be eſtabliſhed and maintained in the church of God.

The major, or firſt part of my argument is plain; and the minor, or ſecond part, is proved thus:

The doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal preſence of Chriſt's fleſh, aſſumed and taken of the word, in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but alſo by the whole eſſence and ſubſtance of the body and fleſh of Chriſt.

But ſuch a preſence diſagreeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many abſurdities.

Therefore, the ſecond part is true.

The firſt part of this argument is manifeſt, and the ſecond may yet farther be confirmed thus.

The SECOND PROPOSITION.

After the conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, neither any other ſubſtance, than the ſubſtance of God and man.

The ANSWER.

The ſecond concluſion is manifeſtly falſe, directly againſt the word of God, the nature of the ſacrament, and the moſt evident teſtimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two concluſions propounded by you, both of the firſt, and alſo of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this anſwer, being contented with that which is already added before to the anſwer of the firſt propoſition.

The CONFIRMATION *of this* ANSWER.

It is very plain by the word of God, that Chriſt did give bread unto his diſciples, and called it his body.

But the ſubſtance of bread is nother manner of ſubſtance, than is the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body, God and man.

Therefore the concluſion is falſe.

That which Chriſt did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he break, he gave to his diſciples, and called it his body.

But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.

Therefore, the firſt part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerom, Auguſtin, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede. Whoſe places I will take upon me to ſhew moſt manifeſt in this behalf, if I may be ſuffered to have my books, as my requeſt is.

Bread is the body of Chriſt.

Therefore, it is bread.

As the bread of the Lord's table is Chriſt's natural body, ſo is his myſtical body.

But it is not Chriſt's myſtical body by tranſubſtantiation.

Therefore, it is not his natural body by tranſubſtantiation.

We may no more believe bread to be tranſubſtantiate into the body of Chriſt, than the wine into his blood.

But the wine is not tranſubſtantiate into his blood.

Therefore, neither is that bread therefore tranſubſtantiate into his body.

The words of Chriſt ſpoken upon the cup, and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

But the words ſpoken upon the cup, have not virtue to tranſubſtantiate.

Therefore, it followeth, that the words ſpoken upon the bread have no ſuch virtue.

The circumſtances of the ſcripture, the analogy and proportion of the ſacraments, and the teſtimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy ſcripture touching the ſacrament.

But the words of the Lord's ſupper, the circumſtances of the ſcripture, the analogy of the ſacraments, and the ſayings of the fathers, do moſt effectually and plainly prove a figurative ſpeeh in the words of the Lord's ſupper.

Therefore, a figurative ſenſe and meaning is ſpecially to be received in theſe words, "This is my body."

The circumſtances of the ſcripture are, "Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread and one body," &c.

The THIRD PROPOSITION.

In the maſs is the lively ſacrifice of the church, propitiable and available for the ſins as well of the quick as of the dead.

The ANSWER *to this* PROPOSITION.

I anſwer to this third propoſition as I did to the firſt. And moreover I ſay, that being taken in ſuch ſenſe as the words ſeem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal ſo much to the derogation and defacing of the death and paſſion of Chriſt, that I judge it may and ought moſt worthily to be counted wicked and blaſphemous againſt the moſt precious blood of our Saviour Chriſt.

The EXPLICATION.

Concerning the Romiſh maſs which is uſed at this day, or the lively ſacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the ſins of the quick and the dead, the holy ſcripture has not ſo much as one ſyllable.

There is ambiguity alſo in the name of [maſs,] what it ſignifieth, and whether at this day there be any ſuch indeed as the ancient fathers uſed: ſeeing that now there be neither Catechiſts nor Pœnitentes to be ſent away.

Again, touching theſe words, [the lively ſacrifice of the church] there is doubt whether they are to be underſtood figuratively and ſacramentally, for the ſacrament of the lively ſacrifice, (after which ſort we deny it not to be in the Lord's ſupper) or properly and without any figure; of the which manner there was but one only ſacrifice, and that once offered, namely upon the altar of the croſs.

Moreover, in theſe words, [as well as,] it may be doubted whether they be ſpoken in mockage, as men are wont to ſay in ſport, of a fooliſh and ignorant perſon, that he is apt, as well in conditions as in knowledge; being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is alſo a doubt in the word [propitiable,] whether it ſignify here that which taketh away ſin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of ſin, that is to ſay, whether it is to be taken in the active, or in the paſſive ſignification.

ARGUMENTS *confirming his* ANSWER.

(1) No ſacrifice ought to be done, but where the prieſt is meet to offer the ſame.

(2) All other prieſts are unmeet to offer propitiatory ſacrifices, ſave only Chriſt.

(3) Therefore, no other prieſts ought to ſacrifice for ſin, but Chriſt alone. See Heb. chap. v.

The ſecond part of my argument is thus proved.

(1) No honour in God's church ought be taken, where a man is not called, as Aaron was.

(2) It is a great honour in God's church to ſacrifice for ſin.

(3) Therefore no other prieſt but Chriſt ought to ſacrifice for ſin, who only was called to that honour.

FIRST ARGUMENT.

(1) That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where there is no neceſſity it ſhould be done.

(2) To offer up any more ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, there is no neceſſity: for Chriſt our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

(3) Therefore, to do the ſame in the maſs, is in vain.

SECOND ARGUMENT.

(1) After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the ſame.

(2) But Chriſt coming an high biſhop, &c. found and obtained for us eternal redemption.

(3) Therefore, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the ſins of the quick and the dead.

THIRD ARGUMENT.

(1) All remiſſion of ſins cometh only by ſhedding of blood.

(2) In the maſs there is no ſhedding of blood.

(3) Therefore, in the maſs there is no remiſſion of ſins: and ſo it followeth alſo that there is no propitiatory ſacrifice.

FOURTH ARGUMENT.

In the maſs, the paſſion of Chriſt is not in verity, but in a myſtery repreſenting the ſame: yea, even there where the Lord's ſupper is duly miniſtered.

But where Chriſt ſuffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the apoſtle ſaith, "Not that he might offer up himſelf often times (for then muſt we have ſuffered often times ſince the beginning of the world:") now where Chriſt is not offered, there is no propitiatory ſacrifice.

Ergo, In the maſs there is no propitiatory ſacrifice: "For Chriſt appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put ſin to flight by the offering up of himſelf. And as it is appointed to all men that they ſhall once die, and then cometh the judgment; even ſo Chriſt was once offered, to take away the ſins of many. And unto them that look for him ſhall he appear again without ſin unto ſalvation." See Heb. chap. ix.

FIFTH ARGUMENT.

Where there is any ſacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to ceaſe from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory ſacrifices.

But in the New Teſtament there is one only ſacrifice now already long ſince offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

Ergo, In the New Teſtament they ought to ceaſe from offering any propitiatory ſacrifices.

ARGUMENTS *and* ANSWERS *between* Dr. SMITH, *and* BISHOP RIDLEY.

Dr. Smith. You have occaſioned me to go otherwiſe to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Methinks, in your ſuppoſition, you did abuſe the teſtimonies of ſcripture concerning the aſcenſion of Chriſt, to take away his preſence in the ſacrament, as though this were a ſtrong argument in your favour.

Chriſt did aſcend into heaven.

Ergo, He is not in the ſacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to diſprove this reaſon of your's.

Chriſt's aſcenſion is no bar to his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived, whereas you do ground yourſelf upon thoſe places.

Rid. You import as though I had made a ſtrong argument by Chriſt's going up into heaven. But howſoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only ſtay upon his aſcenſion, but upon his abiding there alſo.

Smith. Chriſt's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Ergo, You are deceived.

Rid. Of Chriſt's real preſence there may be a double underſtanding: if you take the real preſence of Chriſt according to the real and corporeal ſubſtance which he took of the virgin, that preſence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth alſo. But if you mean a real preſence, according to ſome thing that appertaineth to Chriſt's body, certainly the aſcenſion and abiding in heaven hinder not at all that preſence. Wherefore Chriſt's body after that manner is here preſent to us in the lord's ſupper; by grace I ſay, as Epiphanius ſpeaketh it.

Smith. Chriſt appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his aſcenſion and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom.

Ergo, His aſcenſion and abiding in heaven, are no bar to his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Rid. Mr. Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not ſtraightly tie Chriſt up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleaſure. For when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himſelf. Howbeit, I do affirm, That it is not poſſible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time.

Smith. Mark, I pray you, my maſters that be here, diligently, what he anſwereth. Firſt he ſaith, That the ſitting of Chriſt at the right hand of his Father, is a bar to the real preſence of his body in the ſacrament, and then afterwards he flieth from it again.

Rid. I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any ſuch manner of ſitting, as theſe men here ſit in the ſchool.

Smith. Ergo, It is lawful for Chriſt then to be here preſent on the earth, when he will himſelf

Rid. Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Smith. Ergo, He aſcending into heaven, doth not reſtrain his real preſence in the ſacrament.

Rid. I do not gainſay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will.

Smith. Then your anſwer dependeth upon the will of Chriſt, I perceive; therefore, I will join again with you in that ſhort argument.

Chriſt, notwithſtanding he doth always abide in heaven after his aſcenſion, was ſeen really and corporally on earth.

Rid. If the notaries ſhould ſo record your argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be aſhamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Chriſt after his aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally upon the earth.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the ſacrament.

Rid. I grant the antecedent, but I deny the conſequence.

Smith. Do you grant the antecedent?

Rid. Yes, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have ſo much. Becauſe I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you uſe that propoſition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was ſeen on earth after his aſcenſion.—

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it myſelf.

Chriſt after his aſcenſion was ſeen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually.

Ergo, Notwithſtanding his aſcenſion and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Rid. Let us firſt agree about the continual ſitting at the right hand of the Father.

Smith. Doth he ſo ſit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forſake the ſame?

Rid. Nay, I do not bind Chriſt in heaven ſo ſtraightly. I ſee you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be diſtinguiſhed. If you mean by his ſitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and alſo on earth. But if you underſtand his ſitting to be after a corporal manner of ſitting, ſo is he always permanent in heaven. For Chriſt to be corporal here on earth, when corporally he is reſident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy ſcriptures, as Auſtine ſaith; "The body of Chriſt is in heaven, but his truth is diſperſed in every place."

Smith. Acts iii. we read that Chriſt ſhall ſit perpetually at the right hand of God, until the conſummation of the world.

Weſt. I perceive you are come here to this iſſue, whether the body of Chriſt may be together both on earth and in heaven. I will tell you, that Chriſt in very deed is both on earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the ſame natural Chriſt, after the verity and ſubſtance of his very body: Ergo, &c.

Rid. I do not utterly deny Chriſt here to have been ſeen on earth. Of uncertain things I ſpeak uncertainly.

Smith. He was ſeen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his aſcending up to heaven, 1 Cor. xv.

But his viſion was a corporal viſion.

Ergo, He was ſeen corporally upon the earth after his aſcending into heaven.

Rid. He was ſeen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt.

Smith. I would know of you, whether this viſion may inforce the reſurrection of Chriſt?

Rid. I account this a ſound and firm argument to prove the reſurrection. But whether they ſaw him in heaven or on earth, I am in doubt: and to ſay the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like ſtrength. For whether he were ſeen in heaven, or whether he were ſeen on earth, either of both maketh ſufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he roſe again: for he could not have been ſeen, unleſs he had riſen again.

Smith. Paul ſaw him as he was here converſant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm.

Rid. You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you ſhould have proved.

Smith. You make delays for the purpoſe.

Rid. Say not ſo, I pray you. Thoſe that hear us are learned: they can tell both what you oppoſe, and what I anſwer well enough, I warrant you.

Treſh. He was ſeen after ſuch ſort, as that he might be heard.

Ergo, He was corporally on the earth, or elſe how could he be heard?

Rid. He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to paſs well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven.

Smith. As others ſaw him, ſo Paul ſaw him.

But he was ſeen of others being on earth, and appeared viſibly to them on earth.

Ergo, He was ſeen of Paul on earth.

Rid. Your controverſy is about [*exiſtens in terra,*] that is, "being on earth:" if [*exiſtere,*] "to be," be referred as unto the place, I deny that Chriſt after that ſort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover, I ſay, that Chriſt was ſeen of men on earth after his aſcenſion, is certain: for he was ſeen of Stephen; he was ſeen alſo of Paul. But whether he deſcended unto the earth, or whether he being in heaven did reveal or manifeſt himſelf to Paul, when Paul was wrapt into the third heaven, I know that ſome contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of thoſe things which be uncertain.

Smith. We have Egeſippus and Linus againſt you, which teſtify that Chriſt appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his aſcenſion. "Peter overcome with the requeſts and mournings of the people, which deſired him to get him out of the city, becauſe of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himſelf away from thence: And when he was come to the gate, he ſeeth Chriſt come to meet him, and worſhipping him, he ſaid, Maſter, whither walk you? Chriſt anſwered, I am come again to be crucified." Linus, writing of the paſſion of Peter, hath the ſelf ſame ſtory. St. Ambroſe hath the ſame likewiſe, and alſo Abdias, ſcholar to the apoſtles, which ſaw Chriſt before his aſcending into heaven.

Rid. I ſaid before that the doctors in that matter did vary.

Smith. Do you think this ſtory is not certain, being approved by ſo ancient and probable authority?

Rid. I do ſo think, becauſe I take and eſteem not their words for the words of ſcripture. And though I did grant you that ſtory to be certain, yet it maketh not againſt me.

Smith. Such things as are certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain.

Rid. The ſtory of Linus is not of ſo great authority: although I am not ignorant that Euſebius ſo writeth alſo in the ſtory of the church. And yet I account not theſe men's reports ſo ſure as the canonical ſcriptures. But if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his aſcenſion, that doth not diſprove my ſaying. For I go not about to tie Chriſt up in fetters, (as ſome do untruly report of us) but that he may be ſeen upon the earth according to his divine pleaſure, whenſoever it pleaſeth him. But we affirm, That it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he ſhould be together and at one inſtant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal ſubſtance.

Smith. Chryſoſtom calleth it a miracle, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the ſame time is held in the hands of men: not that he is handled with the hands of men: only in a myſtery, and is with them through grace.

Harpſ. The former part of Chryſoſtom is not to be let ſlip. Let me, before I begin, aſk this one queſtion of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his ſcholar?

Rid. Yes ſurely, it is a great matter.

Harpſ. Did not Elias then leave great grace?

Rid. He did ſo.

Harpſ. But Chriſt left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Chriſt doth both in his fleſh.

Rid. I am well content to grant, that Chriſt left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliſeus, although he be ſaid to have left his double ſpirit with him: for that the ſtrength and grace of the body of Chirſt, which Chriſt aſcending up here left us, is the only ſalvation and life of all men which ſhall be ſaved: which life Chriſt hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right adminiſtration of the ſacraments. This virtue and grace Chryſoſtom, after the phraſe and manner of John the evangeliſt, calleth Chriſt's fleſh.

Harpſ. But Chriſt performed a great matter. He carried up, and left behind. You underſtand not the compariſon. The compariſon is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him; Chriſt left his fleſh behind him, and carried it with him alſo.

Rid. True it is, and I myſelf did affirm no leſs before.

Harpſ. If you will give me leave, I will aſk you this queſtion. If Chryſoſtom would have meant ſo, that Chriſt left his body in the euchariſt, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have uſed than theſe?

Rid. Theſe things be not of ſo great force as they bear a great ſhew outwardly.

Harpſ. The compariſon lieth in this; That which was impoſſible to Elias, is poſſible with Chriſt.

I grant that was poſſible to Chriſt, which was to the other impoſſible. Elias left his cloak: Chriſt both left his fleſh and took it with him.

Weſt. You underſtand in the firſt place his fleſh for very true fleſh; and in the ſecond place for grace, and communion of his fleſh: and why do you not underſtand it in the ſecond place alſo for his true fleſh? I will make it evident how blockiſh and groſs your anſwer is.

Rid. Theſe be taunts and reproaches, not beſeeming, as I think, the modeſty of this ſchool.

Weſt. Elias left his cloak to his diſciples: but the Son of God going up to heaven, left his fleſh.

He carried his fleſh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his fleſh behind. Aſſurdly the anſwer is too unlearned.

Rid. Surely, I wiſh that all the whole world might underſtand your reaſons and my anſwers. He left his fleſh. This you underſtand of his fleſh, and I underſtand the ſame of grace. He carried his fleſh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his fleſh unto us.

Weſt. Ye judges, what think you of this anſwer?

Judges. It is a ridiculous and very weak anſwer.

Rid. Well, I take your words patiently for Chriſt's cauſe.

Weſt. Weſton here citeth, "We are ſprinkled with the blood of Chriſt."

Rid. Mr. Doctor, it is the ſame blood, but yet ſpiritually received. And whoſoever they be that are not ſprinkled with his blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlaſting ſalvation.

Weſt. Here (ſpeaking again to the people) I bring Bernard unto you. "Even from the weſt unto the eaſt, from the north unto the ſouth, there is one and the ſelf ſame Chriſt in many and divers places."

Ridley. The anſwer is ſoon made, that one Chriſt is here and in divers places. For God, according to his majeſty, and according to his providence, as St. Auſtin ſaith, is every-where with the godly, according to his indiviſible and unſpeakable grace. Or elſe, if ye would underſtand Bernard according to the corporal preſence, how monſtrous, or huge, and giant-like a body would you then make Chriſt's body to be, which would reach even from north to ſouth, from weſt to eaſt?

Weſton. Nay, nay, you make a monſtrous anſwer, and unlearned.

Ward. Before I come in with theſe reaſons which I had purpoſed to bring againſt you, I am minded to come again to Mr. Doctor's argument, by which you being brought into the briars, ſeemed to doubt of Chriſt's preſence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing elſe, than that which was agreed upon in the catechiſm of the ſynod of London, ſet out not long ago by you.

Ridley. Sir, I give you to underſtand, before you go any further, that I did ſet out no catechiſm.

Weſton. Yes, you made one ſubſcribe to it, when you were a biſhop in your ruff.

Ridley. I compelled no man to ſubſcribe.

Ward. Yes, truly, you are the very author of that hereſy.

Ridley. I put forth no catechiſm.

Cole. Did you never conſent to the ſetting out of thoſe things which you allowed?

Ridley. I grant that I ſaw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I peruſed it after it was made, and I noted many things for it. So I conſented to the book: I was not the author of it.

Judges. The catechiſm is ſo ſet forth, as though the whole convocation houſe had agreed to it. Cranmer ſaid yeſterday, that you made it.

Ridley. I think ſurely, that he would not ſay ſo.

Ward. The catechiſm hath this clauſe; "If viſibly on the earth."

Ridley. I anſwer, That thoſe articles were ſet out, I both knowing and conſenting to them. Mine own hand will teſtify the ſame, and Mr. Cranmer put his hand to them likewiſe, and gave them to others afterwards. Now, as for the place which you alledged out of it, that may be eaſily expounded, and without any inconvenience.

Ward. Chriſt is the power and virtue of his Father.

Therefore, he was not of ſo little ſtrength, that he could not bring to paſs whatſoever he would himſelf.

Ridley. Granted.

Ward. Chriſt was the wiſdom of the Father.

Therefore, what he ſpoke he ſpoke wiſely, and ſo as every man might underſtand: neither was it his mind to ſpeak one thing inſtead of another.

Ridley. All this I grant.

Ward. Chriſt was likewiſe the very truth: Therefore, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewiſe it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others.

Weſton. Hilarius hath theſe words, "All God's words or ſayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulneſs of ſuperfluous vanity, that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not abſolute and proper."

Ward. He is the truth of the Father: Therefore, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; eſpecially I mean when he ſpoke at his latter end, and his teſtament.

Ridley. Chriſt is the very truth of the Father: and I perceive well to what ſcope you drive your reaſon. This is but a far fetch compaſs of words. If theſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body," which you mean, be rightly underſtood, they are moſt true.

Ward. He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?

Ridley. Bread, his body.

Ward. What brake he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. What gave he?

Ridley. Bread.

Ward. Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?

Ridley. I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread.

Ward. I will prove the contrary by ſcripture:

(1) He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

(2) But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body.

(3) Therefore, he gave not material bread, but his own body.

Ridley. I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body ſacramentally in material bread: and after that ſort it was both bread which he bade them take, becauſe the ſubſtance was bread, and it was alſo his body, becauſe it was the ſacrament of his body, for the ſanctifying and the coming of the Holy Gaoſt, which is always aſſiſtant to thoſe myſteries which were inſtituted of Chriſt, and lawfully adminiſtered.

Harpsfield. What is he that ſo ſaith, By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?

Ridley. I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of ſpeaking. And here I bring him, that ye may underſtand that phraſe not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore, the ſaid Theophylact writing upon theſe words, "This is my body," ſheweth that the body of the Lord is bread, which is ſanctified on the altar.

Oglethorp. That place of Theophylact maketh openly againſt you. For he ſaith in that place, that Chriſt ſaid not, This is the figure of my body, but my body. For, ſaith he, by an unſpeakbble operation it is transformed, although it ſeem to us to be bread.

Ridley. It is not a figure that is to ſay, "*Non tantum eſt figura*;" that is, "It is not only a figure of his body."

Weſton. Where have you that word [*tantum*] "only."

Ridley. It is not in that place, but he hath it in another, and Auguſtine doth ſo ſpeak many times, and other doctors alſo.

Weſton. [Here Weſton, repeating the words of Theophylact in Engliſh, ſaid,] He ſaith it is no figure, and you ſay it is a figure.

And the ſame Theophylact ſaith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's fleſh.

That which Chriſt gave, we do give.

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body.

Therefore, we give no figure, but his body.

[Concerning the authority of Theophylact, what he thought, and might have ſpoken of that author, Doctor Ridley did not then ſpeak, nor could conveniently (as he himſelf afterwards declared, reporting and writing with his own word the diſputations in the priſon) becauſe of the uproars and clamours, which were ſo great, and he of ſo many called upon, that he could not anſwer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophylact, but anſwered ſimply to that which is brought out of that author in this manner.]

Ridley. I grant, the bread to be converted and turned into the fleſh of Chriſt, not by tranſubſtantiation, but by a ſacramental converſion or turning. It is transformed, ſaith Theophylact, in the ſame place, by a myſtical benediction, and by the acceſſion or coming of the Holy Ghoſt unto the fleſh of Chriſt. He ſaith not, by expulſion or driving away the ſubſtance of bread, and by ſubſtituting or putting in it's place the corporal ſubſtance of Chriſt's fleſh. And where he ſaith, It is not a figure of the body, we ſhould underſtand that ſaying, as he himſelf doth elſewhere add, [only], that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Chriſt is preſent in his myſteries, neither at any time, as Cyprian ſaith, doth the Divine Majeſty abſent himſelf from the divine myſteries.

Weſton. You put in [only], and that is one lye. And I tell you farther, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, becauſe the place was ſo plain againſt him. But mark his words, how he ſaith, It is no figure, but his fleſh.

Ridley. To take his words and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author.

Ward. No other doctor maketh more againſt you: for his words are, "Turned from one element into another." And ſhewing the cauſe why it is in the form of bread, he ſaith, "Becauſe we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw fleſh, ſpecially the fleſh of man; therefore it appeareth bread, but it is fleſh."

Ridley. That word hath not that ſtrength which you ſeem to give it. You ſtrain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not ſo much for your purpoſe. For the ſame author hath in another place, "We are tranſelemented, or transformed into the body of Chriſt." And ſo by that word, in ſuch meaning as you ſpeak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Chriſt.

Ward. Learned doctor, thus you expound the place, "This is my body;" that is, a figure of my body.

Ridley. Although I know there be ſome that ſo expound it, yet that expoſition is not full to expreſs the whole.

Ward. My ſheep here my voice, and follow me.

But all the ſheep of Chriſt hear this voice, "This is my body," without a figure.

Therefore, the voice of Chriſt here hath no figure.

Ridley. The ſheep of Chriſt follow the voice of Chriſt, unleſs they be ſeduced and deceived through ignorance.

Ward. But the fathers took this place for no figurative ſpeech.

Ridley. Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical ſpeeches.

Ward. Juſtine Martyr, in his ſecond apology, hath this paſſage (which place Cranmer hath corrupted), "For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour incarnate by the word of God, had fleſh and blood for our ſalvation; even ſo we are taught, the food wherewith our fleſh and blood is nouriſhed by alteration, when it is conſecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the fleſh and blood of the ſame Jeſus incarnate."

Dr. Cranmer hath thus tranſlated it; "Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they are ordained purpoſely to give thanks to God, and therefore are called *Euchariſtia*, and likewiſe the body and blood of Chriſt; and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but ſuch as profeſs Chriſt, and live according to the ſame; and yet the ſame meat and drink is changed into our fleſh and blood, and nouriſheth our bodies."

Ridley. O good Mr. Doctor, go ſincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is uſed.

[Here Ward repeated the place again out of Juſtine, "We are taught," &c. as above.]

Ridley. O what upright dealing is this! I have the ſelf ſame place of Juſtine here copied out. You know yourſelf who are ſkilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place, and without any juſt cauſe.

Ward. I ſtand ſtill upon mine argument. What ſay you?

Ridley. If you will that I ſhould anſwer to Juſtine, then you muſt hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot anſwer at once to you all.

Weſton. Chriſt gave us his very and true fleſh to be eaten.

But he never gave it to be eaten but in his laſt ſupper, and in the ſacrament of the altar.

Therefore, there is the very fleſh of Chriſt.

Ridley. If you ſpeak of the very true fleſh of Chriſt, after the ſubſtance of his fleſh taken in the womb of the virgin Mary, and not by grace and ſpiritually, I then do deny the firſt part of your reaſon. But if you underſtand it of the true fleſh, after grace and ſpiritual communication, I then grant the firſt part and deny the ſecond. For he giveth unto us truly his fleſh, to be eaten of all that believe in him. For he is the very and true meat of the ſoul, wherewith we are fed unto everlaſting life, according to his ſaying, "My fleſh is meat indeed," &c.

Ward. "I have deſired with my hearty deſire to eat this paſchal with you." What paſchal, I pray you, deſired he to eat? Did he underſtand by this paſchal the Judaical lamb? or that which he gave afterwards in his own ſupper?

Ridley. I ſuppoſe that the firſt he underſtood of the Judaical paſſover, and afterwards of the euchariſt.

Ward. Tertullian is againſt you, who ſaith,

"He deſired to eat this paſſover.

But the Judaical paſſover was not his, but ſtrange from Chriſt.

Therefore, he meant not the Judical paſſover."

Ridley. The Judaical paſſover was not ſtrange from Chriſt, but his own; for he is Lord of all; as well of the Judaical paſſover, as of his own ſupper.

Tertullian may here play with an analogical ſenſe. I know Cyprian hath theſe words, "He began then to inſtitute the holy euchariſt, but both were Chriſt's."

Ward. Auguſtine, in Pſalm xcvi. writing upon theſe words, "Worſhip his foot-ſtool," &c. "I aſk (ſaith he) what is the foot-ſtool of his feet? and the ſcripture telleth me, The earth is the foot-ſtool of my feet. And I turn myſelf to Chriſt, becauſe I ſeek him here on the earth, and find how, without impiety, the foot-ſtool of his feet may be worſhipped; for he took earth of earth, in that he is fleſh and earth; and of the fleſh of Mary he took fleſh, becauſe in the ſame fleſh he here walked; and he alſo gave the ſame fleſh to us to be eaten unto ſalvation. But no man eateth that fleſh, except he hath worſhipped before. And ſo it is found, how ſuch a foot-ſtool of the Lord is to be worſhipped, ſo that not only we ſin in not worſhipping, but alſo do ſin in not worſhipping the ſame."

He gave to us his fleſh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which alſo here he walked, &c.

But he never gave his fleſh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his ſupper, ſaying, "This is my body."

Therefore, in the euchariſt he gave his fleſh.

Ridley. You do alledge the place of Auſtin, where he ſaith, that Chriſt gave his fleſh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked, inferring herefrom, that Chriſt never gave the ſame his fleſh to be eaten, but only in the euchariſt. I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the euchariſt to be eaten, and alſo otherwiſe, as well in the word, as alſo upon the croſs.

Smith. What if Auguſtine ſay, that Chriſt did not only give himſelf to us in figure, but gave his own very fleſh indeed and really?

Ridley. I never ſaid that Chriſt gave only a figure of his body. For indeed he gave himſelf in a real communication, that is, he gave his fleſh after a communication of his fleſh.

[Here Weſton read the place of Auguſtine in Engliſh, and afterwards ſaid thus:]

Weſton. You ſay Chriſt gave not his body, but a figure of his body.

Ridley. I ſay not ſo; I ſay he gave his own body verily. But he gave it by real, effectual, and ſpiritual communication.

[After this, Dr. Glin began to reaſon, who, (notwithſtanding Dr. Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface againſt him. This preface Dr. Ridley therefore did the more take to heart, becauſe it proceeded from him. But he thought that Dr. Glin's mind was to ſerve the time. For, afterwards, he came to the houſe wherein Dr. Ridley was kept, and as far as Dr. Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorp, he deſired him to pardon his words. With this Dr. Ridley complied, even from his very heart, and wiſhed earneſtly, that God would give not only unto him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical ſincerity, that all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the houſe of their heavenly Father.]

Glin. I ſee that you evade all ſcriptures and fathers; I will go to work with you after another manner.

Chriſt hath here his church known on earth, of which you were once a child, although now you ſpeak contumeliouſly of the ſacraments.

Ridley. This is a grievous reproach, that you call me a ſhifter away of the ſcripture, and of the doctors: as touching the ſacraments, I never yet ſpake contumelioufly of them. I grant that Chriſt hath here his church on earth: but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the euchariſt to be a ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, yet not the body of Chriſt really; but the body of Chriſt by grace.

Glin. Then I aſk this queſtion; Whether the catholic church hath ever, or at any time, been idolatrous?

Ridley. The church is the pillar and ſtay of the truth, that never yet had been idolatrous in reſpect of the whole: but peradventure in reſpect of ſome part thereof, which ſometimes may be ſeduced by evil paſtors, and through ignorance.

Glin. That church ever hath worſhipped the fleſh of Chriſt in the euchariſt.

But the church hath never been idolatrous.

Therefore, it hath always judged the fleſh of Chriſt to be in the euchariſt.

Ridley. And I alſo worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament, but not becauſe he is included in the ſacrament; like as I worſhip Chriſt alſo in the ſcriptures, not becauſe he is really included in them. Notwithſtanding, I ſay, that the body of Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament; but yet ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to his grace giving life, and in that reſpect really, that is, according to his benediction giving life.

Furthermore, I acknowledge, gladly, the true body of Chriſt to be in the Lord's ſupper, in ſuch ſort as the church of Chriſt (which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and is taught of the Holy Ghoſt, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the ſame. But the true church of Chriſt doth acknowledge a preſence of Chriſt's body in the Lord's ſupper to be communicated to the godly, by grace, and ſpiritually, as I have often ſhewed, and by a ſacramental ſignification, but not by the corporal preſence of the body of his fleſh.

Glin. Auſtin ſaith, "Some there were which thought us, inſtead of bread and of the cup, to worſhip Ceres and Bacchus."

From whence I gather, that there was an adoration of the ſacrament among the fathers; and Eraſmus, in an epiſtle to the brethren of Low-Germany, ſaith, that the worſhipping of the ſacrament was before Auſtin and Cyprian.

Ridley. We do handle the ſigns reverently: but we worſhip the ſacrament as a ſacrament, not as a thing ſignified by the ſacrament.

Glin. What is the ſymbol or ſacrament?

Ridley. Bread.

Glin. Therefore, we worſhip bread.

Ridley. There is a deceit in the word [*adoramus.*] We worſhip the ſymbols, when reverently we handle them. We worſhip Chriſt whereſoever we perceive his benefits. But we underſtand his benefit to be greateſt in the ſacrament.

Glin. So I may fall down before the bench here, and worſhip Chriſt: and if any may aſk me what I do, I may anſwer, I worſhip Chriſt.

Ridley. We adore and worſhip Chriſt in the euchariſt. And if you mean the external ſacrament; I ſay, that alſo is to be worſhipped as a ſacrament.

Glin. So was the faith of the primitive church.

Ridley. Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church.

Glin. Think you that Chriſt hath now his church?

Ridley I do ſo.

Glin. But all the church adoreth Chriſt, verily and really in the ſacrament.

Ridley. You know yourſelf that the eaſtern church would not acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, as appeareth in the council of Florence.

Cole. That is falſe. For in the ſame they did acknowledge tranſubſtantiation, although they would not intreat of the matter, for that they had not in their commiſſion ſo to do.

Ridley. Nay, they would determine nothing of the matter, when the article was propounded unto them.

Cole. It was not becauſe they did not acknowledge the ſame, but becauſe they had no commiſſion ſo to do.

Curtop. Reverend ſir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Chriſt is really and truly in the euchariſt: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the weſt and eaſt church, have written both many things and no leſs manifeſt of the ſame matter, yet will I bring forth only Chryſoſtom.

That which is in the cup, is the ſame that flowed from the ſide of Chriſt.

But true and pure blood did flow from the ſide of Chriſt.

Therefore, his true and pure blood is in the cup.

Ridley. It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the ſame which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the ſame manner, in which it ſprang from his ſide. For here is the blood, but by way of a ſacrament.

Again, I ſay, like as the bread of the ſacrament and of thankſgiving is called the body of Chriſt given for us; ſo the cup of the Lord is called the blood which ſprang from the ſide of Chriſt. But as the ſacramental bread is called the body, becauſe it is the ſacrament of his body; even ſo likewiſe the cup is called the blood which flowed out of Chriſt's ſide, becauſe it is the ſacrament of that blood which flowed out of his ſide, inſtituted by the Lord himſelf for our ſingular advantage; namely, for our ſpiritual nouriſhment: like as baptiſm is ordained in water to ſpiritual regeneration.

Curtop. The ſacrament of the blood is not the blood.

Ridley. The ſacrament of the blood is the blood, and that is attributed to the ſacrament, which is ſpoken of the thing of the ſacrament.

[Here Weſton repeateth Curtop's argument in Engliſh.]

Weſton. That which is in the chalice, is the ſame which flowed out of Chriſt's ſide.

But there came out very blood.

Therefore, there is blood in the chalice.

Ridley. The blood of Chriſt is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real preſence, but by grace, and in a ſacrament.

Weſton. That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice.

Ridley. It is true, but by grace, and in a ſacrament.

[Here the people hiſſed at him.]

Ridley. O my maſters! I take this for no judgment: I will ſtand to God's judgment.

Watſon. Good ſir, I have determined to have reſpect of the time, and to abſtain from thoſe things which may hinder the progreſs of our diſputation; and therefore firſt I aſk this queſtion; when Chriſt ſaid in the ſixth of John, "He that eateth my fleſh," &c. doth he ſignify in thoſe words the eating of his true and natural fleſh, or elſe of the bread and ſymbol?

Ridley. I underſtand that place of the very fleſh of Chriſt to be eaten, but ſpiritually; and further I ſay, that the ſacrament alſo pertaineth unto the ſpiritual eating. For without the ſpirit to eat the ſacrament, is to eat it unprofitably. For whoſo eateth not ſpiritually, he eateth his own condemnation.

Watſon. I aſk then, whether the euchariſt be a ſacrament?

Ridley. The euchariſt, taken for a ſign or ſymbol, is a ſacrament.

Watſon. Is it inſtituted of God?

Ridley. It is inſtituted of God.

Watſon. Where?

Ridley. In the ſupper.

Watſon. With what words is it made a ſacrament?

Ridley. By the words and deeds which Chriſt ſaid and did, and commanded us to ſay and do the ſame.

Watſon. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the ſacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.

Ridley. True it is, that grace is given by the ſacrament, but as by an inſtrument. The inward virtue and Chriſt give grace through the ſacrament.

Watſon. What is a ſacrament?

Ridley. I remember there be many definitions of a ſacrament in Auguſtine: but I will take that which ſeemeth moſt fit to this preſent purpoſe. A ſacrament is a viſible ſign of inviſible grace.

Watſon. Therefore, grace is given to the receivers.

Ridley. The union or conjunction with Chriſt through the Holy Ghoſt is grace, and by the ſacrament we are made members of the myſtical body of Chriſt, for by the ſacrament part of the body is grafted in the head.

Watſon. But there is a difference between the myſtical body, and natural body.

Ridley. There is (I grant you) a difference, but the head of them both is one.

Watſon. The euchariſt is a ſacrament of the New Teſtament.

Therefore, it hath a promiſe of grace.

But no promiſe of grace is made to bread and wine.

Therefore, bread and wine are not the ſacraments of the New Teſtament.

Ridley. I grant that grace pertaineth to the euchariſt, according to this ſaying, "The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Chriſt?" And like as he that eateth, and he that drinketh unworthily of the ſacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even ſo he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant alſo, that there is no promiſe made to bread and wine. But inaſmuch as they are ſanctified, and made the ſacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promiſe of grace annexed unto them; namely, of ſpiritual partaking of the body of Chriſt to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them who worthily receive the ſacrament.

Watſon. If the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remain, then the union betwixt Chriſt and us is promiſed to them that take bread and wine.

But that union is not promiſed to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the fleſh and blood. John vi. "He that eateth my fleſh," &c.

Therefore, the ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth not.

Ridley. The promiſe undoubtedly is made to the fleſh and blood, but the ſame is to be received in the ſacrament through faith.

Watſon. Every ſacrament hath a promiſe of grace annexed unto it.

Therefore, the bread and wine are not ſacraments.

Ridley. True it is, every ſacrament hath grace annexed unto it inſtrumentally. But there are divers underſtandings of this word [*habet*] "hath." For the ſacrament hath not grace included in it; but to thoſe that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptiſm hath grace promiſed, and by that the Holy Spirit is given; not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water.

Watſon. This promiſe is made to the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and not to the bread and wine.

Therefore, the ſacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Chriſt.

Ridley. There is no promiſe made to him that taketh common bread and common wine, but to him that receiveth the ſanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promiſe of grace made; neither is the promiſe given to the ſymbols, but to the thing of the ſacrament. But the thing of the ſacrament is the fleſh and blood.

Watſon. Every ſacrament of the New Teſtament giveth grace, promiſed of God to thoſe that worthily receive it.

Ridley. This ſacrament hath a promiſe of grace made to thoſe that receive it worthily, becauſe grace is given by it, as by an inſtrument, not that Chriſt hath transfuſed grace into bread and wine.

Watſon. But this promiſe which is made, is only to thoſe that worthily receive the fleſh and blood; not the bread and wine.

Ridley. That propoſition of your's hath a double underſtanding. There is no promiſe made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to thoſe that worthily receive the ſanctified bread, there is a promiſe of grace made, as Origin doth teſtify.

Watſon. Where is that promiſe made?

Ridley. "The bread which he brake, is it not a communication of the body of Chriſt?" And, "We being many are one bread, one body of Chriſt."

Watſon. What doth he mean by bread in that place?

Ridley. The bread of the Lord's table; the communion of the body of Chriſt.

Watſon. Hear what Chryſoſtom ſaith upon that paſſage: "The bread which we break, is not the communication of Chriſt's body? Wherefore did he not ſay, participation? Becauſe he would ſignify ſome greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the ſame. For we do not communicate by participation only, and receiving, but alſo by co-uniting. For, like as that body is co-united to Chriſt, ſo alſo we by the ſame bread are united to him."

Ridley. Let Chryſoſtom have his manner of ſpeaking, and his ſentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudical to me to name it true bread.

Watſon. "All (ſaith Chryſoſtom) which ſit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call (ſaith he) this communicating? We are all the ſelf-ſame body. What doth bread ſignify? The body of Chriſt. What are they that receive it? The body of Chriſt. For many are but one body." Chryſoſtom doth interpret this place againſt you. "All we be one bread, and one myſtical body, which do participate together one bread of Chriſt."

Ridley. All we be one myſtical body, which do communicate of one Chriſt in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickening.

Watſon. Of what manner of bread ſpeaketh he?

Ridley. Of the bread of the Lord's table.

Watſon. Is that bread one?

Ridley. It is one, of the church being one, becauſe one bread is ſet forth upon the table: and ſo of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord.

Watſon. See how abſurdly you ſpeak. Do you ſay, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?

Ridley. All, I ſay, which at one table together have communicated in the myſteries might well ſo do. But the heavenly and celeſtial bread is likewiſe one alſo, whereof the ſacramental bread is a myſtery: the which being one, all we together do participate.

Watſon. A perverſe anſwer. Which all? Mean you all chriſtian men?

Ridley. I do diſtribute this word [All:] for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts. All, I ſay, which were one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table.

Watſon. What? Do you exclude then from the body of Chriſt, all them that did not communicate being preſent?

Fecknam. But Cyprian ſaith, "Bread which no multitude doth conſume." Which cannot be underſtood but only of the body of Chriſt.

Ridley. Alſo Cyprian in this place did ſpeak of the true body of Chriſt, and not of material bread.

Fecknam. Nay, rather he did there treat of the ſacrament in that treatiſe *De Cœna Domini*, writing upon "the ſupper of the Lord."

Ridley. Truth it is, that I grant he treateth there of the ſacrament: but alſo he doth mix ſomething therewithal of the ſpiritual eating.

Smith. When the Lord ſaith, "This is my body," he uſeth no tropical ſpeech.

Therefore, you are deceived.

Ridley. I deny your antecedent.

Smith. I bring here Auguſtine in pſ. xxxiii. expounding theſe words, *Ferebatur in manibus ſuis*, "He was carried in his own hands." "How may this be underſtood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of another. How this may be underſtood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Chriſt we find it. For Chriſt was born in his own hands, when he ſaith, "This is my body," for he carried that ſame body in his own hands," &c.

Auguſtine here did not ſee how this place after the letter could be underſtood of David, becauſe no man can carry himſelf in his own hands. Therefore, ſaith he, this place is to be underſtood of Chriſt after the letter. For Chriſt carried himſelf in his own hands in his ſupper, when he gave the ſacrament to his diſciples, ſaying, "This is my body."

Ridley. I deny your argument, and will explain the ſame. Auſtin could not find, after his own underſtanding, how this could be underſtood of David after the letter. Auſtin differs here from others in this expoſition, but I differ not from him. But let this expoſition of Auſtin be granted to you; although I know this place of ſcripture be otherwiſe read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is alſo otherwiſe to be expounded. Yet to grant to you this expoſition of Auſtin, I ſay, yet notwithſtanding it maketh nothing againſt my aſſertion: for Chriſt did bear himſelf in his own hands, when he gave the ſacrament of his body to be eaten of his diſciples.

Smith. Therefore, it is true of Chriſt after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands.

Ridley. He was borne literally, and after the letter, which was ſpoken of David: but not after the letter of theſe words, "This is my body."

Smith. Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body.

But Auſtin denieth that David could carry himſelf in his hands.

Therefore, he ſpeaketh of no figure of his body.

Ridley. If Auſtin could have found in all the ſcripture, that David had carried the ſacrament of his body, then he would never have uſed that expoſition of Chriſt.

Smith. But he did bear himſelf in his own hands: Therefore, he did not bear a figure only.

Ridley. He did bear himſelf, but in a ſacrament: and Auſtin afterwards added *Quodam modo*, that is, ſacramentally.

This place Dr. Weſton repeated again in Engliſh, which done, Dr. Treſham began thus to ſpeak:

I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council, repreſenting the univerſal church, wherein were congregated three hundred biſhops, and ſeventy metropolitans, beſides a great multitude of others, decreed, That bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was tranſubſtantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore, whoſoever ſaith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic.

Ridley. Good ſir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of biſhops and metropolitans, as you ſaid: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred.

Treſham. What do you not receive the council of Lateran?—Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, Write, write.

Ridley. No, ſir, I receive not that council; write, and write again.

Treſham. Evil men do eat the natural body of Chriſt.

Therefore, the true and natural body of Chriſt is on the altar.

Ridley. Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Chriſt ſacramentally, and no further, as St. Auguſtine ſaith: but good men do eat the very true body both ſacramentally, and ſpiritually by grace.

Treſham. I prove the contrary by Auguſtine, "Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morſel, did offend; not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner," &c. And a little after, "Becauſe ſome do not eat unto ſalvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body."

Ridley. It is the body to them, that is, the ſacrament of the body: and Judas took the ſacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Auſtin hath diſtinguiſhed theſe things well in another place; "The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord."

Another then came in, whom Mr. Ridley knew not, and ſaid, "The univerſal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the eaſt and of the weſt, have agreed in the council of Florence, uniformly in the doctrine of the ſacrament, that there is the true and real body in the ſacrament of the altar.

Ridley. I deny the Greek and the eaſt church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time elſe, with the Romiſh church, in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romaniſts; however I confeſs, it was left for every church to uſe, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread.

Dr. *Cole* now cried out, and ſaid, they agreed together concerning tranſubſtantiation of bread into the body of Chriſt. Dr. Ridley ſaid that was not poſſible.

Pye. What ſay you to that council, where it is ſaid, that the prieſt doth offer an unbloody ſacrifice of the body of Chriſt?

Ridley. I ſay, it is well ſaid, if it be rightly underſtood.

Pye. But he offered an unbloody ſacrifice.

Ridley. It was called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a myſtery, and as a repreſentation of that bloody ſacrifice, and he doth not lye, which ſaith Chriſt to be offered.

Weſton. I with one argument will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chryſoſtom, Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. And I will teach, not only a figure and a ſign, or grace only, but the very ſame body, which was here converſant on the earth, to be in the euchariſt.

(1) We worſhip the ſelf ſame body in the euchariſt, which the wiſe men did worſhip in the manger.

(2) But that was his natural and real body, not ſpiritual.

(3) Therefore, the real body of Chriſt is in the euchariſt.

Again, the ſame Chryſoſtom ſaith, "We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a prieſt."

Ridley. We worſhip, I confeſs, the ſame true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wiſe men worſhipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a myſtery, and in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and that in ſpiritual liberty, as ſaith St. Auguſtine, l. 3. *De Doctrina Chriſtiana*: not in carnal ſervitude; that is, we do not worſhip ſervilely the ſigns for the things; for that ſhould be as he alſo ſaith, a part of a ſervile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him preſent after grace, and ſpiritually ſet upon the table; and we worſhip him which ſitteth above, and is worſhipped of the angels. For Chriſt is always aſſiſtant to his myſteries, as the ſaid Auguſtine ſaith.

Weſton. That which the woman did hold in her womb, the ſame holdeth the prieſt.

Ridley. I grant, the prieſt holdeth the ſame thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the prieſt holdeth the myſtery of the body.

Now Weſton again repeated this argument out of Chryſoſtom in Engliſh.

Ridley. I ſay that the author meant it ſpiritually.

Dr. *Weſton*, the prolocutor, now put an end to the diſputation with theſe words: You ſee the ſtubborn, the boaſting, the crafty, the inconſtant mind of this man. Here you ſee, this day, that the ſtrength of the truth is without foil. Therefore, I beſeech you all moſt earneſtly to blow the note of triumph: having ſaid this, he began, and they followed, exclaiming, "*Truth hath the victory, Truth hath the victory.*"

In the courſe of the debate, Dr. Ridley diſplayed great acuteneſs of underſtanding, ſtrength of reaſoning, and extent of learning, though he had fourteen opponents to encounter; but he was determined to ſupport his opinions, and declared, that as long as God gave him life, he ſhould not only have his heart, but alſo his mouth and pen to defend his truth.

A THIRD DISPUTATION *at* OXFORD, *between the* Rev. Dr. HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP *of* WORCESTER, *and others, April 18th*, 1554.

ON Wedneſday the 18th of April, biſhop Latimer was brought out to diſpute. This diſputation began at eight o'clock, and was conducted in much the ſame manner as thoſe preceding, except that moſt part of it was in Engliſh: for the biſhop alledged that he was out of uſe with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

Mr. Smith, of Oriel college, Dr. Cartwright, Mr. Harpsfield, and others, replied to him, with many cruel inſinuations and bitter taunts. The old biſhop eſcaped no hiſſings, and ſcornful laughings, which thoſe who went before had patiently endured. Being very faint, he deſired that he might not long tarry; nor durſt he drink for fear of vomiting. The diſputation ended before eleven of the clock. Dr. Latimer was not ſuffered to read what he had, as he obſerved, painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor, after having read part thereof, proceeded unto the diſputation.

A Copy *of* Bishop Latimer's Protestation, *as delivered in writing to* Dr. Weston.

The concluſions whereunto I muſt anſwer are theſe:

1. The firſt is, That in the ſacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the prieſt, there is really preſent the natural body of Chriſt, conceived of the virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; in like manner his blood.

2. The ſecond is, That after conſecration there remaineth no ſubſtance of bread and wine, nor any other ſubſtance, but the ſubſtance of God and man.

3. The third is, that in the maſs there is the lively ſacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the ſins of the quick, as of the dead.

Concerning the firſt concluſions, I think it is ſet forth with certain new-found terms that are obſcure, and do not ſound according to the ſpeech of the ſcripture. But however I underſtand it, this I do anſwer plainly, (though not without peril) that to the right celebration of the Lord's Supper, there is no other preſence of Chriſt required, than a ſpiritual preſence: and this preſence is ſufficient for a Chriſtian man, as a preſence by which we abide in Chriſt, and Chriſt abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we perſevere. And this ſame preſence may be called moſt fitly a real preſence, that is, a preſence not feigned, but a true and faithful preſence. Which thing I here rehearſe, leſt ſome ſycophant, or ſcorner ſhould ſuppoſe me, with the Anabaptiſts, to make nothing elſe of the ſacrament, but a naked and a bare ſign. As for that which is feigned of many concerning their corporal preſence, I for my part take it but for a papiſtical invention: therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

Concerning the ſecond concluſion, I dare be bold to ſay, that it hath no ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man, and therefore to be taken as falſe; and I had almoſt ſaid, as the mother and nurſe of the other errors. It were good for my lords and maſters of the tranſubſtantiation, to take heed leſt they conſpire with the Neſtorians, for I do not ſee how they can avoid it.

The third concluſion (as I uuderſtand it) ſeemeth ſubtily to ſow ſedition againſt the offering which Chriſt himſelf offered for us in his own proper perſon, according to thoſe words of St. Paul, Heb. i. where he ſaith, "That Chriſt his ownſelf hath made purgation of our ſins." And afterwards, "That he might (ſaid he) be a merciful and faithful biſhop, concerning thoſe things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our ſins." So that the expiation or taking away of our ſins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Chriſt was an offering biſhop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himſelf: and therefore it is needleſs that he ſhould be offered of any other. I will ſpeak nothing of the wonderful preſumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifeſt vocation, eſpecially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitleſs (if not wholly, yet partly) of the croſs of Chriſt; for truly it is no baſe or mean thing to offer Chriſt. And therefore well may a man ſay to my lords and maſters, the offerers, by what authority do ye this? and who gave you this authority? Where? When? A man cannot (ſaith the baptiſt) take any thing, except it be given him from above: much leſs then may any man preſume to uſurp any honour, before he be thereto called.

Again, If any man ſin (ſaith St. John), we have not a maſter, or offerer at home, which can ſacrifice for us at maſs, but we have (ſaith he) an advocate, Jeſus Chriſt, which once offered himſelf long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is for ever, ſo that it is needleſs to have ſuch offerers.

What meaneth Paul, when he ſaith, "They that ſerve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?" and ſo addeth; "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the goſpel, ſhall live of the goſpel." Whereas he ſhould have ſaid, the Lord hath ordained, that they that ſacrifice at maſs, ſhould live of their ſacrificing, that there might be living aſſigned to our ſacrificers now, as was, before Chriſt's coming, to the Jewiſh prieſts. For now they have nothing to alledge for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the ſacrificing prieſthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching prieſthood, and the ſacrificing prieſthood ſhould ceaſe utterly, ſaving inaſmuch as all chriſtian men are ſacrificing prieſts.

The ſupper of the Lord was inſtituted to provoke us to thankſgiving, for the offering which the Lord himſelf did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers ſhould do there as they do.

"Feed (ſaith Peter) as much as ye may the flock of Chriſt:" nay, rather let us ſacrifice as much as we may for the flock of Chriſt. If the matter be as men now make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of ſacrificing, which at this day is in ſuch a price and eſtimation, that to feed is almoſt nothing with many. If thou ceaſe from feeding the flock, how ſhalt thou be taken? Truly catholic enough. But if thou ceaſe from ſacrificing and maſſing, how will that be taken? At the leaſt, I warrant thee, thou ſhalt be called an heretic.

And whence, I pray you, come theſe papiſtical judgments? Except perchance they think a man feedeth the flock in ſacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned paſtors? For no man is ſo fooliſh, but ſoon he may learn to ſacrifice and maſs it.

Thus I have taken the more pains to write, becauſe I refuſed to diſpute, in conſideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have ſo done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have.

I would as fain obey my ſovereign as any in this realm: but in theſe things I can never do it with an upright conſcience.

God be merciful unto us. Amen.

The prolocutor, on receiving this paper, thus addreſſed biſhop Latimer, artfully leading him by a train of familiar queſtions into an argument:

Weſton. Then refuſe you to diſpute? Will you here then ſubſcribe?

Latimer. No, good maſter, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it pleaſe God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility.

Weſton. You ſaid upon Saturday laſt, that you could not find the maſs, nor the marrow bones thereof, in your book: but we will find a maſs in that book.

Latimer. No, good Mr. Doctor, you cannot.

Weſton. What find you then there?

Latimer. A communion.

Weſton. Which communion, the firſt or the laſt?

Latimer. I find no great diverſity in them; they are one ſupper of the Lord: but I like the laſt very well.

Weſton. The firſt you do not approve of?

Latimer. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Weſton. Then cake bread, and loaf bread, are all one?

You call it the ſupper of the Lord; but you are deceived in that; for they had done the ſupper before, and therefore the ſcripture ſaith, "After they had ſupped:" St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, that ſome of them were drunken at this ſupper; and you know, no man can be drunken at your communion.

Latimer. The firſt was called [*Cœna Judaica*] "The Jewiſh ſupper," when they did eat the paſchal lamb together; the other was called [*Cœna Dominica*] "The Lord's Supper."

Weſton. That is falſe; for Chryſoſtom denieth that. St. Ambroſe on the x. chap. of the 1 Cor. ſaith, "The myſtery of the ſacrament, given as they were at ſupper, is not the ſupper of the Lord." Alſo Gregory Nazianzene ſaith the ſame. And that firſt ſupper was called *Aagapee*: can you tell what that is?

Latimer. I underſtand not Greek: yet I think it meaneth charity.

Weſton. Mr. Opponent, begin.

Smith. Becauſe I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to diſpute with you; to the end that the ſame may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propoſe three queſtions, ſo as they are put forth unto me. And firſt I aſk this queſtion of you, although the ſame indeed ought not to be called in queſtion; but ſuch is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked. I aſk, I ſay, whether Chriſt's body be really in the ſacrament?

Latimer. I truſt I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man ſhall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am ſorry that this worſhipful audience ſhould be deceived of their expectation for my ſake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatſoever you have given up, it ſhall be regiſtered among the acts.

Latimer. Diſputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone, and marvellouſly weakened, and never the better, I think, for the priſon.

Weſton. How long have you been of this opinion?

Latimer. It is not long, ſir, that I have been of this opinion.

Weſton. The time hath been when you ſaid maſs full devoutly.

Latimer. Yes, I crave God's mercy heartily for it.

Weſton. Where learned you this new fangleneſs?

Latimer. I have long ſought for the truth in this matter of the ſacrament, and have not been of this mind more than ſeven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath eſpecially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to anſwer any man in this matter.

Treſham. There are in that book ſix hundred errors.

Weſton. You were once a Lutheran.

Latimer. No, I was a Papiſt: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without tranſubſtantiation. The Tygurines once did write a book againſt Luther, and I often deſired God, that he might live ſo long to anſwer them.

Weſton. Luther in his book, "Of private maſs," ſays, "That the devil reaſoned with him, and perſuaded him, that the maſs was not good," fol. 14. So that Luther ſaid maſs, and the devil diſſuaded him from it.

Latimer. I do not take in hand to defend Luther's ſayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himſelf well enough. I told you before that I am not meet for diſputations. I pray you, read mine anſwer, wherein I have declared my faith.

Weſton. Do you believe this, as you have written?

Latimer. Yes.

Weſton. Then have you no faith.

Latimer. Then would I be ſorry, ſir.

Treſham. It is written, "Except you ſhall eat the fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye ſhall have no life in you." Which when the Capernaites, and many of Chriſt's diſciples heard, they ſaid, "This is a hard ſaying," &c. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I aſk of you, Whether Chriſt, ſpeaking theſe words, did mean of his fleſh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the ſpiritual eating of the ſame?

Latimer. I anſwer (as Auguſtine underſtandeth) that Chriſt meant of the ſpiritual eating of his fleſh.

Treſham. Of what fleſh meant Chriſt, his true fleſh, or no?

Latimer. Of his true fleſh, ſpiritually to be eaten in the ſupper by faith, and not corporally.

Treſham. Of that fleſh meant the Capernaites?

Latimer. Of his true fleſh alſo; but to be eaten with the mouth.

Treſham. They, as you confeſs, did mean his true fleſh to be eaten with the mouth. And Chriſt alſo (as I ſhall prove) did ſpeak of the receiving of his fleſh with the mouth.

Therefore, They both did underſtand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Latimer. I ſay, Chriſt meant not of the bodily mouth; but of the mouth of the ſpirit, mind, and heart.

Treſham. I prove the contrary, that Chriſt underſtandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas cuſtom is a good interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Chriſt, do certainly declare thoſe things which he firſt ſpake; Chriſt's deeds in his ſupper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the cuſtom which hath been ever ſince that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently intimate that Chriſt did underſtand his words, here cited by me, out of the vi. of John, of the eating with the mouth.

Latimer. He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the ſacrament of his body to be received with the mouth; he gave the ſacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind.

Weſton. Auguſtine in his Enchiridon, ſaith, "We muſt not deny that the ſouls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the ſacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them." Where he proveth the verity of Chriſt's body and praying for the dead. And it is ſaid, that the ſame Auguſtine ſaid maſs for his mother.

Latimer. But that maſs was not like your's, which thing doth manifeſtly appear in his writings, which are againſt it in every place. And Auguſtine is a reaſonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth ſcripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word.

Weſton. Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to wiſh you well, and to exhort you to come to yourſelf, and remember, that without Noah's ark, there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apoſtates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have ſet forth the ſame in this realm: a ſort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never conſtant in any one thing, as it was to be ſeen in the turning of the table, where like a ſort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day weſt, and another day eaſt; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they ſay) to the apoſtles, they will have no churches; a hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one ſaith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more more joy of thee, ſaith another. And in them was it true that Hilary ſaith, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worſhipping of Chriſt in the ſacrament, by whoſe procurement that hereſy was put into the laſt communion-book; ſo much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines, or Germans, or with the church, or with yourſelf. Your ſtubborneſs cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpoſe: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we ſee all, by your own confeſſions, how little cauſe you have to be ſtubborn, for your learning is in feoffers hold. The queen's grace is merciful, if you will turn.

Latimer. You ſhall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that ſhe may turn from this religion.

Weſton. Here you all ſee the weakneſs of hereſy againſt the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Thus we have given a full account of thoſe diſputations, that were maintained againſt three worthy confeſſors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein may be ſeen the diſorderly uſage of the univerſity men, their unmannerly deportment in the divinity ſchool, the tumult of a rude multitude, the paſſion, fierceneſs, and interruption of the grave doctors, the full ground of the reaſonings, the cenſure of the partial judges, the foul language, and indecent railing of the prolocutor, with his vain blaſt of triumph at the concluſion of each debate, by which he ſhewed himſelf both actor, moderator, and judge. We need not wonder then that this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, ſhould ſay of himſelf, *Vecit veritas*, though he ſaid not one true word, nor ever made a true concluſion, almoſt throughout the ſeveral diſputations.

The day after theſe were cloſed being the 19th of April, it happened that Mr. Harpsfield was called upon, to diſpute for his form, to be made a doctor of divinity; on which occaſion Dr. Cranmer was again brought forth, and permitted, among the reſt, to deliver an argument or two in deſence of his cauſe, as the ſequel will ſhew.

A DISPUTATION *with Mr.* HARPSFIELD, Batchelor *of* Divinity *when anſwering for his* Form *to be made* Doctor.

Harpsfield. I Am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to intreat of the whole order and trade of the ſcriptures: and moſt hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to ſhew the ready way whereby the ſcriptures may beſt be underſtood; for the often reading of them doth not bring the true underſtanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and ſenſes, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, who hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the ſame to her poſterity: but if the often reading of ſcriptures, and ever ſo painful comparing of places, ſhould bring the true underſtanding, then divers heretics might prevail even againſt whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of their knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithſtanding, I know right well, that divers places of the ſcripture do much warn us of the often reading of the ſame, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as "Search the ſcriptures, for they do bear witneſs of me," &c. "The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn ſouls." And that ſaying of St Paul, "All ſcripture inſpired from above doth make that a man may be inſtructed to all good works." Howbeit, doth the law of the Jews convert their ſouls? Are they by reading inſtructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Teſtament is the ſame that we have.

The heretics alſo have ever had the ſame ſcriptures, which we have that be catholics. But they are ſerved as Tantalus that the poets ſpeak of, who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is ſaid to be oppreſſed with hunger and thirſt. The ſwifter that men do ſeek the ſcriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never ſwerving from the catholic church, ſaith, "He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, ſhall not have God to his father." Therefore it is true divinity to be wiſe with the church, where Chriſt ſaith, "Unleſs ye eat my fleſh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you."

If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleaſant to the Capernaites, neither would they have forſaken him. The fleſh profiteth nothing to them that do take it. For the Capernaites did imagine Chriſt to be given in ſuch ſort as he lived. But Chriſt ſpake high things; not that they ſhould have him as fleſh in the market, but to conſider his preſence with the Spirit, under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courſes and times of ages; ſo there is no leſs variety in eating of bodies.

Theſe things which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpsfield did ſet out with many more words; and hereupon Dr. Weſton diſputed againſt him.

Weſton. Chriſt's real body is not in the ſacrament. Therefore, You are deceived.

Harpsfield. I deny the antecedent.

Weſton. John xvi. "I ſpeak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unleſs I do depart, the comforter cannot come," &c.

I will make this argument.

(1) Chriſt is ſo gone away, as he did ſend the Holy Ghoſt.

(2) But the Holy Ghoſt did verily come into the world.

(3) Therefore, Chriſt is verily gone.

Harpsfield. He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here.

Weſton. St. Auguſtine ſaith that theſe words, "I will be with you even to the end of the world," are accompliſhed, [*ſecundum majeſtatem*] "according to his majeſty:" but [*ſecundum præſentiam carnis non eſt hic*] "By the preſence of his fleſh he is not here." The church hath him not in fleſh, but by belief.

Harpsfield. We muſt diligently weigh that there are two natures in Chriſt; the divine nature, and human nature. The divine nature is of ſuch ſort that it cannot chuſe but be in all places. The human nature is not ſuch that of force it muſt be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So where the doctors do intreat of his preſence by majeſty, they do commend the majeſty of the divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural preſence here in the ſacrament.

Weſton. He ſaith further, "Ye ſhall not have me always with you," is to be underſtood in the fleſh.

Harpsfield. The preſence of the fleſh is to be conſidered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in converſation with them, to be ſeen, talked withal, or in ſuch ſort as man may give him any thing: after that ſort he is not preſent.

Weſton. But what ſay you to this of Auguſtine, "He is not here?"

Harpsfield. I do anſwer out of St. Auguſtine upon John, Tractat. 25, upon theſe words, "I go to the Father, ye ſhall not ſee me!" that is, "ſuch as I am now." Therefore I do deny the manner of his preſence.

Weſton. I will overthrow St. Auguſtine with St. Auguſtine, who ſaith this alſo, "How may a man hold Chriſt? ſend thy faith, and thou holdeſt him."

So he ſheweth, that by ſending our faith, we do hold Chriſt.

Harpsfield. Indeed no man holdeth Chriſt, unleſs he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Chriſt merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him preſent in the ſacrament.

There St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us.

Weſton. Nay, he ſpeaketh there how the fathers had him in the fleſh, and teacheth that we have him not ſo in the fleſh, as they had him long time, ſaying, "Your fathers did hold Chriſt preſent in the fleſh: do you hold him in your heart?" What words can be more plain? Further he ſaith, "He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forſaken us. He is here in majeſty, and gone touching the fleſh."

Harpsfield. I do underſtand Auguſtine thus, that Chriſt is here in his fleſh to them that receive him worthily: to ſuch as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not preſent in the fleſh. I judge, St. Auguſtine meaneth ſo. We have him, and have him not. We have him in receiving him worthily, otherwiſe not.

Weſton. I will proſecute another argument. Cyril doth ſay, "By the majeſty of his divinity he is ever here, but the preſence of his fleſh hath he taken away."

Harpsfield. The ſenſe of Cyril is thus to be underſtood. The moſt true fleſh of Chriſt is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and ſo they believed. Thus ſaid Cyril; thus ſaid Auguſtine: and becauſe this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore, when they prove this, (the body to be in heaven) they do not make againſt the preſence in the ſacrament.

So unleſs ye can plainly ſhew, that the fathers do directly ſay he is not in the ſacrament, you make nothing againſt me: for I have ſhewed why the fathers ſo ſpake.

They did teach the great difference between the divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before ſaid.

Weſton. I will then prove, that he is not in the ſacrament. Vigilius againſt the heretic Eutiches, upon theſe words, "Ye ſhall not have me always with you," ſaith, "The ſon of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us; by his divinity he remaineth with us." And the ſame Vigilius, in his fourth book, ſaith, "He that is in heaven, is not on earth;" ſpeaking of Chriſt.

Harpſfield. I will ſhew you the reaſon of theſe words, The heretic Eutiches did beleive that the divine nature of Chriſt was faſtened on the croſs, and believed that Chriſt had no natural body. To this Vigilius ſaid, That the human nature was taken up and aſcended, which could not ſo have done, unleſs he had a body. This he ſaid not, to take away the preſence in the ſacrament.

For what had he to refer this ſentence to the ſacrament? He never did ſo much as dream of the ſacrament.

Weſton. Cyril ſaith, "Although he be abſent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit."

Harpſfield. By theſe words he gave us a cheerfulneſs to aſpire upwards, ſeeking from thence our help. For as touching his converſation, he is not ſo in the ſacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us: for after that ſort he is there.

Weſton. You have ſatisfied me with your anſwers, in doing the ſame learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument

(1) Chriſt is now ſo abſent from the earth, by his body, as he was abſent from heaven when he lived here.

(2) But when he did live bodily on earth, the ſame natural body was out of heaven.

(3) Therefore now whilſt this natural body is in heaven, it is not on the earth.

Harpſfield. I deny the major.

Weſton. Theſe are Fulgentius's words, touching his human ſubſtance: "He was abſent from heaven, when he deſcended from heaven; and touching the ſame ſubſtance, now he is in heaven, he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine nature, he never forſook either heaven or earth.

Here upon, not waiting Harpſfield's anſwer, he offered Mr. Cranmer to diſpute; who began in the following manner.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently treat of the dignity of the ſcripture, which I do both commend, and wonder thereat. But whereas you refer the true ſenſe and judgment of the ſcriptures to the catholic church, you are herein much deceived; eſpecially, ſince, under the name of the church, you appoint ſuch judges as have judged corruptly, and contrary to the true ſenſe of ſcripture. I wonder, likewiſe, why you attribute ſo little to the diligent reading of the ſcriptures, and comparing of paſſages, ſeeing the ſcriptures do ſo much commend the ſame, in divers places, as alſo in thoſe which you yourſelf have already alledged. And as touching your opinion of theſe queſtions, it ſeemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. My firſt queſtion is: "How Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

A doctor anſwered, He is there as touching his ſubſtance, but not after the manner of his ſubſtance.

Harpſfield. He is there in ſuch ſort of manner, as he may be eaten.

Cranmer. My next queſtion is, "Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and ſuch like properties?

Harpſfield. Are theſe your queſtions? I may likewiſe aſk you, "When Chriſt paſſed through the virgin's womb, *An ruperit necne?*"

Various opinions took place upon theſe queſtions. A buzzing was heard among the doctors, who knew not what to anſwer. Some thought one way; ſome another; nor could theſe learned doctors agree on this matter.

Weſton. Tertullian doth call the ſacrament the ſign and figure of the Lord. St. Auguſtine to Dardanus, ſaith, "The Lord did not ſtick to ſay, This is my body, when he gave a ſign of his body."

Beſides this, he giveth rules how to underſtand the ſcriptures, ſaying, If the ſcriptures ſeem to command ſome heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example, "To eat the fleſh, and drink the blood, is a tropical ſpeech."

Harpſfield. Tertullian did write in that place againſt Marcion an heretic, who denied Chriſt to have a true body, and ſaid, he had only a fantaſtical body. He went about to ſhew that we had Chriſt both in heaven and on earth; and though we have the true body in the ſacrament, yet he would not go about ſo to confound him, as to ſay, that Chriſt was truly in the ſacrament; for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he ſhewed him, that it was the figure of Chriſt; and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

To the text of Auguſtine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the ſacrament, which ſometimes hath ſundry names. For it may be called a figure in this declaration, That body which is in the ſacrament, is a figure of Chriſt dwelling in heaven.

To the third, That which is wrote by Auguſtine, for example, about the underſtanding of ſcriptures, is thus to be underſtood, as tending to a general manner of eating; ſo, To eat the fleſh, and drink the blood, may be a figurative ſpeech to exclude *Anthropophagiam,* that is, "The eating of man's fleſh." The which is, when we eat man's fleſh, cut in morſels, as we eat common meat; ſo as we neither have, nor eat Chriſt in the ſacrament.

Weſton. I underſtand your ſhort and learned anſwer; which doth ſufficiently ſatisfy me. But now to the ſecond queſtion, which is of tranſubſtantiation.

The ſcripture calleth it bread.

Therefore, it is bread.

Harpſfield. In the name of bread all is ſignified which we do eat.

Weſton. Theodoret, an ancient writer, in his firſt dialogue ſays, "That Chriſt changed not the nature, but called it his body.

Harpſfield. He doth there ſpeak of a ſymbol, which is the outward form of the ſacrament. He meaneth, that doth tarry its own nature.

Weſton. Theodoret alſo, in his ſecond dialogue of thoſe kinds of bread and wine, ſaith, "They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own ſubſtance."

Harpſfield. They are underſtood to be of the ſame ſubſtance into which they are turned.

Weſton. But what ſay you to this? "They remain in their former ſubſtance."

Harpſfield. *Symbola manent;* that is, "The outward ſigns do tarry."

Weſton. But what is meant here by this word, (a ſymbol?)

Harpſfield. The outward form or ſhape only of the nature.

Weſton. Then you cannot call them a ſubſtance.

Harpſfield. Yes, ſir, every thing has a certain ſubſtance in its kind.

Weſton. That is true, but accidents are not ſubſtances in their kind.

Harpſfield. They are ſomething in their kind.

Weſton. Chryſoſtom to Cæſarius the monk ſaith, "Like as before it is conſecrated, it is bread; ſo after it is conſecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body, whereas the nature doth remain."

Harpſfield. Where read you this place, I pray you.

Weſton. Here in Peter Martyr I find it.

Harpſfield. The author ſhall be of more credit before I make ſo much of him as to frame an anſwer unto it.

Weſton. Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelaſius ſaith, That the nature of bread and wine do tarry?

Harpſfield. What is that Gelaſius?

Weſton. A biſhop of Rome.

Harpſfield. Then he allowed the maſs.

Weſton. Yes, and oftentimes ſaid it; and purgatory he alſo allowed, and prayer for the dead, relicks, and invocation to the ſaints.

Harpſfield. Then he meant nothing againſt tranſubſtantiation.

Weſton. It doth appear ſo indeed. But Origin ſaith, "That the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

Harpſfield. Tuſh, tuſh, this place appertaineth unto holy bread.

Weſton. What, doth it appertain to holy bread?

Harpſfield. Yes, unto holy bread.

Weſton. By what means can you ſhew how this miraculous work bringeth Chriſt into the ſacrament?

Harpſfield. By the ſcriptures I prove it, which ſay, "this is my body."

Weſton. It doth rejoice us all not a little, that you have ſo well maintained the ſound doctrine of the ſacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only ſtay of our religion.

When the diſputation of Mr. Latimer was ended, on the Friday following, April 20th, the commiſſioners ſat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weſton uſed particular diſſuaſions with every one of them, and would not ſuffer them to anſwer in any wiſe, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to ſay whether they would ſubſcribe or no. And firſt to Dr. Cranmer he ſaid, He was overcome in diſputations. To whom the biſhop anſwered, That whereas Dr. Weſton ſaid, he hath anſwered and oppoſed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor overturn the truth; all that he ſaid was falſe; for he was not ſuffered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſwer as he was required, unleſs he would have brawled with them, ſo thick their reaſons came one after another, four or five frequently interrupting him, that he could not ſpeak. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer were aſked, what they would do: they replied, that they would ſtand to what they had ſaid. Then they were all called together, and ſentence read over them, that they were no members of the church; and therefore, they, their favourers, and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were aſked, Whether they would turn or no? But they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So they were all three condemned.

After which ſentence of condemnation being awarded againſt them, they anſwered again, each in his turn, in manner and effect of words as follow; the archbiſhop ſpeaking firſt:

Biſhop Cranmer. "From this your judgment and ſentence, I appeal to the juſt judgment of God Almighty, truſting to be preſent with him in heaven, for whoſe preſence in the altar I am thus condemned.

Biſhop Ridley. "Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this ſentence will ſend us ſooner, than we ſhould by the courſe of nature have come."

Biſhop Latimer. "I thank God moſt heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this caſe glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weſton's anſwer unto Latimer. "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perſuaded."

On the enſuing Saturday they had a maſs, with a general proceſſion and great ſolemnity. Dr. Cranmer was cauſed to behold the proceſſion out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the ſheriff's houſe. Latimer alſo being brought to ſee it from the bailiff's houſe, thought that he ſhould have gone to burning, and ſpake to one Auguſtine, a catchpole, to make a quick fire: but when he came to Carfox, (Oxford market-place, where four ways meet) he ran as faſt as his old bones would carry him, to one Spencer's ſhop, and would not look towards it.

On the ſucceeding Monday, April 23, Dr. Weſton took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the univerſity to the queen, by whom the archbiſhop (Dr. Cranmer) directed his letters ſupplicatory unto the council; which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well near half-way to London, by the way he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the contents thereof, ſent them back again, refuſing to carry them. Likewiſe biſhop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, wrote to him his letters, wherein he deſired him to carry his anſwers up to certain biſhops in London: the form of which letters, firſt of Dr. Ridley, then of the Archbiſhop, and laſtly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the Archbiſhop, followeth here in order:

Bishop RIDLEY's Letter *to Dr.* WESTON.

MR. Prolocutor, I deſire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and ſhew all mine anſwers, written and ſubſcribed with mine own hand, unto the higher houſe of the convocation, and eſpecially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worceſter, Norwich, and Chicheſter; and alſo to ſhew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in theſe few lines here I write unto you: and that I did make this requeſt unto you by this my writing, know you, that I did take witneſs of them by whom I ſend you this writing, and alſo of thoſe which were then with them preſent, viz. the two bailiffs of Oxford, and of Mr. Iriſh alderman, then there called to be a witneſs.

By me Nicholas Ridley.
April 13, 1554.

Dr. CRANMER's Letter *to the* Council, *which* Dr WESTON *refuſed to deliver.*

IN right humble wiſe ſheweth unto your honourable lordſhips, Thomas Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, beſeeching the ſame to be a means for me unto the queen's highneſs for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late ſovereign lord king Edward the ſixth, and what I ſpake againſt the ſame, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worſhips. Furthermore, this is to ſignify unto your lordſhips, that upon Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday laſt paſt, were open diſputations here in Oxford againſt me, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, in three matters concerning the ſacrament: Firſt, of the real preſence. Secondly, of tranſubſtantiation. And thirdly, of the ſacrifice of the maſs. Upon Monday againſt me; upon Tueſday againſt Dr. Ridley; and upon Wedneſday againſt Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered I know not, for we were ſeparated, ſo that none of us knoweth what the other ſaid, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myſelf, I can report: Dr. Chedſey was appointed to diſpute againſt me; but the diſputation was ſo confuſed that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what he liked without order: and ſuch haſte was made, that no anſwer could be ſuffered to be taken fully, to any argument before another brought a new argument. And in ſuch weighty matters the diſputation muſt needs be ended in one day, which can ſcantly be ended in three months. And when we had anſwered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might anſwer us, being required by me thereunto

unto, whereas I myſelf have more to ſay, than can be well diſcuſſed, as I ſuppoſe, in twenty days. The means to reſolve the truth, had been to have ſuffered us to anſwer fully to all that they could ſay, and then they again to anſwer us fully to all that we can ſay. But why they would not anſwer us, what other cauſe can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to anſwer us, or elſe for ſome conſideration they made ſuch haſte, not to ſeek the truth, but to condemn us, that it muſt be done in poſt-haſte before the matters could be thoroughly heard: for in haſte we were all three condemned of hereſy. Thus much I thought good to ſignify unto your lordſhips, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wiſdoms. And I beſeech your lordſhips to remember me, a poor priſoner, unto the queen's majeſty, and I ſhall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preſervation of your good lordſhips in all godlineſs and felicity. April 23.

C H A P. V.

PROCEEDINGS *of the* PAPISTS *againſt the* PROTESTANTS.—*The* MARRIAGE *of* QUEEN MARY *with the* EMPEROR's SON, PHILIP, PRINCE *of* SPAIN.—*Events that followed the Solemnization of the* MARRIAGE.

HAVING finiſhed our account of the diſputations between the Roman catholics and proteſtant divines of the reformed religion, at Oxford, we ſhall now proſecute the hiſtorical narration, reſpecting various tranſactions in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. However, we ſhall return again to the month of July, 1553, when the duke of Northumberland was brought to London, by the earl of Arundel, on St. James's day, July 25th; and theſe are the names of thoſe who were committed with the duke to the Tower:

The Earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntington, lord Ambroſe, and lord Henry Dudley, lord Haſtings, who was delivered again the ſame night; ſir John Gates, ſir Henry Gates, Andrew Dudley, ſir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

July 26, the lord marquis of Northampton, the biſhop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and ſir Richard Corbet, were committed and ſent to the Tower.

July 27, the lord chief juſtice of England, and the lord Mountacute, chief juſtice of the common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

July 28, the duke of Suffolk and ſir James Cheek were committed to the Tower.

July 30, the lord Ruſſel was committed to the ſheriff of London's cuſtody.

July 31, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet; and on the ſame day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

Upon Thurſday, *Auguſt* 3, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and ſo to the Tower, where ſhe remained ſeven days, and then removed to Richmond.

Auguſt 4, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet; and the day after, the lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and Dr. Bonner delivered out of the Marſhalſea. The ſame day at night Dr. Cocks was committed to the Marſhalſea, and one Mr. Edward Underhill to Newgate. Alſo the ſame day Dr. Tonſtal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

Auguſt 7, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been ſent to the French king by his couſin the duke of Northumberland, after the diſpatch of his ambaſſage with the French king, returned to Guines, and was this day brought to the Tower.

Auguſt 7, *Dirige* in Latin was ſung within the Tower by all the king's chapel, and the biſhop of Wincheſter was chief miniſter, the queen being preſent, and moſt of the council.

Auguſt 8, the king's body was brought to Weſtminſter, and there buried; where Dr. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, preached. The ſame day a maſs of *Requiem* was ſung within the Tower by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had on his mitre; and did all things as in times paſt was done; the queen being preſent.

Upon Thurſday the duke of Norfolk came out of the Tower, with whom the ducheſs of Somerſet was alſo delivered.

Auguſt 16, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Beacon, and Mr. Vernon, were committed to the Tower: with whom alſo Mr. Samſon ſhould have been committed, and was ſought for the ſame time, at Mr. Elſing's houſe in Fleetſtreet, where Mr. Bradford was taken: and becauſe he was not found, the biſhop of Wincheſter was greatly diſpleaſed with the meſſenger.

Auguſt 18, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

Auguſt 19, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John Gates, ſir Henry Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, the lord marquis of Wincheſter being high judge.

Auguſt 21, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer, heard maſs within the Tower, and after maſs they all five received the ſacrament in one kind only, as in the popiſh time was uſed. On which day alſo queen Mary ſet forth a proclamation, ſignifying to the people, that ſhe could not hide any longer the religion which ſhe from her infancy had profeſſed, &c. prohibiting, in the ſaid proclamation, printing and preaching.

Auguſt 22, the duke of Northumberland, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at Tower-hill. The ſame day certain noble perſonages heard maſs within the Tower, and likewiſe after maſs received the ſacrament in one kind.

Auguſt 27, Dr. Chedſey preached at Paul's Croſs, and the ſame day the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſir Thomas Smith, and the dean of St. Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commiſſioners, in the biſhop's conſiſtory within St. Paul's.

September 7, lord Montacute, chief juſtice, and lord chief baron were delivered out of the Tower.

September 13, the reverend father, Hugh Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, was committed to the Tower.

September 14, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Mr. Cranmer, was committed to the Tower.

September 28, the queen came to the Tower of London, and on the 30th ſhe rode from the Tower through the city, where were made many pageants to receive her, and ſo ſhe was triumphantly brought to Whitehall.

October 1, the queen's highneſs went from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-Abbey, accompanied with moſt part of the nobility of the realm, where ſhe was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord Chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation, Dr. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, made a ſermon to the queen's majeſty, and to the reſt of the nobility.

October 3, the vice chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Mr. Pierſon, for that he miniſtered ſtill the communion in his own pariſh, and did receive ſtrangers of other pariſhes to the ſame, and would not ſay maſs. Whereupon, within two days after, he was diſcharged from farther miniſtring in his cure.

Upon the Wedneſday following, the archbiſhop of York was committed to the Tower.

October 5, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her; and when they were ſet in the parliament-houſe, the biſhop of Wincheſter made to them a ſolemn oration, and ſerjeant Pollard was choſen ſpeaker. The ſame day the biſhops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Weſt-cheſter, were diſcharged from the parliament and convocation.

Alſo *October* 10, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

Sunday *Octobor* 15, Mr. Laurence Saunders preached at Alhallows in Bread-ſtreet, in the morning; where he fully declared the abomination of the maſs, with divers other matters. But about noon of the ſame day, he was ſent for by the biſhop of London, and committed to the Marſhalſea.

October 26, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the preſence of Dr. Walker, diſplaced Dr. Madew, and placed Mr. Swyborne in the maſterſhip there, by virtue of the lord chancellor's letters, for that he was married.

November 6, Mr. Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his ſermon approved purgatory.

November 28, the archdeacon's official viſited in Hinton, where he gave in charge to impriſon all ſuch as did diſturb the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin ſervice, the ſetting up of their altars, and ſaying of maſs, or any part thereof.

December 15, there were two proclamations at London; the one for repealing of certain acts made by king Edward, and for the ſetting up of the maſs the 20th of December following. The other was, that no man ſhould interrupt any of thoſe who would ſay maſs.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 5th of December. In which parliament were diſſolved, as well as all the ſtatutes made of Præmunire in the reign of king Henry VIII. &c. as alſo other laws and ſtatutes concerning religion and adminiſtration of ſacraments, decreed under king Edward VI. In which parliament was appointed, that on December 20, then next enſuing, the ſame year 1553, the old form and manner of church-ſervice, uſed in the laſt year of king Henry, ſhould again be reſtored.

December 31, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

January 13, 1554, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet: alſo the Sunday following, one Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower. The ſame Sunday likewiſe, the biſhop of Wincheſter declared openly in the court, that the marriage between the queen's majeſty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, January 15, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court, and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the ſaid king of Spain.

Saturday, *January* 20, the court of the firſt-fruits and tenths was diſſolved.

January 17, juſtice Hales was committed to the Marſhalſea; and the ſame day Mr. Rogers was committed to Newgate.

Thurſday night, *January* 25, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and ſir Edward Warner with him, who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

About the latter end of *January*, the duke of Suffolk, with his brethren, departed from his houſe at Shene, and went into Leiceſterſhire; after whom the earl of Huntington was ſent, to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the ſaid duke traitor by the way as he rode.

February 17, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and the ſame day condemned to die by his peers; the earl of Arundel was chief judge.

Monday 19th, lord Cobham's three ſons, and four other men, were arraigned at Weſtminſter: of which ſons the youngeſt was condemned, whoſe name was Thomas; the other two came not to the bar; and the other four men were condemned.

Tueſday 20th, lord John Gray was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and condemned the ſame day, and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

Wedneſday 21ſt, lord Thomas Gray, and ſir James Croft, were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horſemen.

Thurſday 22d, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

Friday 23d, 1554, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower-hill. His behaviour on the day of execution was remarkably devout.

The ſame day ſeveral priſoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks, in number about two hundred and forty.

Saturday, *February* 24th, ſir Willam Bentlow, was committed as priſoner to the maſter of the horſe. This ſir William was at this time one of lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

Sunday 25th, ſir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all ſuch prieſts, within the dioceſe of London, as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewiſe divorced from them; this the biſhop did of his own power.

February 27th, certain gentlemen of Kent were ſent into that county to be executed, among whom we find the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. Mr. Rudſtone alſo, with others, were condemned, and would have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As to Mr. Mantel, ſenior, it is to be noted, that, when under the gallows, upon his being turned off, the rope broke. Upon which, they urged him to recant, and receive the ſacrament of the altar, promiſing him the queen's pardon; but this worthy gentleman rejected their inſidious counſel, and choſe rather to die, than to live, by diſhonouring God.

It was reported of this Mr. Mantel, but falſely, that he had recanted; to clear himſelf from which aſperſion, he wrote the following apology.

March 20th, 1554.

PERCEIVING that already certain falſe reports are raiſed of me concerning my anſwer in the behalf of my belief, while I was priſoner in the Tower of London, and conſidering how ſore a matter it is to be an occaſion of offence to any of thoſe little ones that believe in Chriſt; I have thought it the duty of a chriſtian man, as near as I can (with the truth), to take away this offence. It pleaſed the queen's majeſty to ſend unto me Dr. Bourne, unto whom at the firſt meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of *Nicene*, *Quicunque vult*, and *Te Deum laudamus*.

Further, as concerning confeſſion and penance, I declared that I could be content to ſhew unto any learned miniſter of Chriſt's church any thing that troubled my conſcience, and of ſuch a man I would moſt willingly hear abſolution pronounced.

Touching the ſacrament of the altar (as he termed it) I ſaid, that I believe Chriſt to be there preſent as the Holy Ghoſt meant, when theſe words were written, "This is my body."

Further, when this would not ſatiſfy, I deſired him to conſider, that I was a man condemned to die by law, and that it was more meet for me to ſeek a readineſs and preparation for death. And inaſmuch as I diſſented not from him in any article of the chriſtian faith neceſſary to ſalvation, I deſired him for God's ſake no more to trouble me with ſuch matters, as which to believe, is neither ſalvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He anſwered, that if I diſſented but in the leaſt matter from the catholic church, my ſoul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alledging this text, "He that offendeth in the leaſt of theſe, is guilty of them all." Yes, ſaid I, "It is true of theſe commandments of God." To this I deſired him to conſider it was not my matter, nor could I in theſe things hold diſputation, nor minded ſo to do; and therefore to take theſe few words for a full anſwer, that I not only in the matter of the ſacrament, but alſo in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Chriſt (grounded upon the prophets and apoſtles) believeth. But upon this word [Church] we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichriſtian popiſh church.

Then fell we in talk of the maſs, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occaſion of the idolatry, and alſo the clear ſubverſion of Chriſt's inſtitution, thought it naught; and he, on the contrary, upon certain conſiderations, ſuppoſed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a ſacrifice propitiatory for ſin, and at certain other applications of it. But he ſaid that it was not a propitiatory ſacrifice for ſin (for the death of Chriſt only was the ſacrifice), and this but a commemoration of the ſame. Then, if you think ſo, (certain blaſphemous collects left out) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Chriſt, which know not ſo much) to hear your maſs. See, ſaid he, how vain-glory toucheth you. Not ſo, ſir, I am not now, I thank God, in caſe to be vain-glorious.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yes, ſaith he, one prieſt ſaying maſs here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c. is a communion. This agreeth not, ſaid I, with theſe words of Paul, "Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worſe." Yes, and it is a communion too, ſaid he, when they come together. Now draweth on the time, ſaid he, that I muſt depart from you to the court, to ſay maſs before the queen, and muſt ſignify unto her in what caſe I find you, and methinks I find you ſore ſeduced. Then I ſaid, I pray you report the beſt: for I truſt you find me not obſtinate. What ſhall I ſay? are you content to hear maſs, and to receive the ſacrament of the maſs? I beſeech you, ſaid I, ſignify unto her majeſty, that I am neither obſtinate nor ſtubborn; for time and perſuaſion may alter me, but as yet my conſcience is ſuch, that I can neither hear maſs, nor receive the ſacrament after that ſort.

To be ſhort, Dr. Bourne came often unto me, and I always ſaid unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to diſpute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Chriſt, grounded upon the prophets and apoſtles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the ſacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Auguſtine, do write, and believed; and this anſwer and none other they had of me in effect; what words ſoever have been ſpread abroad of me, that I ſhould be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard maſs, nor received the ſacrament during the time of my impriſonment.

Thus I have left behind me written with my own hand the effect of all the talk, eſpecially of the worſt that ever I granted unto, to the uttermoſt I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written, for it were both too long and too fooliſh ſo to do. Now I beſeech the living God, which hath receiveth me to his mercy, and brought to paſs, that I die ſtedfaſt and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and deteſtation of all papiſtical and antichriſtian doctrine; I beſeech him, I ſay, to keep and defend all his choſen, for his name's ſake, from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, that antichriſt, and from the aſſaults of all his ſatellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who are his. Amend your lives. Deny not Chriſt before men, leſt he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to loſe your lives for him; for ye ſhall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the ſame. God ſave the queen, and grant her knowledge in his truth. Amen.

Written the 2d of March, ann. 1554, by me
Walter Mantel, priſoner.

Transactions *in the Second Year of* Queen Mary's Reign.

SATURDAY, March 3d, ſir Gawen Carew and M. Gibbes, were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horſemen.

March 17th, every houſholder in London was commanded to appear before the aldermen of their ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives, and ſervants, ſhould prepare themſelves for confeſſion, and receive the ſacrament at Eaſter, and that neither they, nor any of them, ſhould depart out of the city until Eaſter was paſt.

The Sunday following, March 18th, lady Elizabeth, the queen's ſiſter, was brought to the Tower.

Upon Eaſter-eve, March 24th, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and ſir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

March 25, being Eaſter-day, in the morning, at St. Pancraſe in Cheap, the crucifix with the pyx [the veſſel in which the hoſt was kept] were taken out of the ſepulchre, before the prieſt roſe to the reſurrection: ſo that when, after his accuſtomed manner, he put his hand into the ſepulchre, and ſaid very devoutly, "He is riſen, he is not here," he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon being half diſmayed, they conſulted among themſelves, whom they thought to be the likelieſt to do this thing: in which conſultation they remembered one Marſh, who a little before had been put from that parſonage, becauſe he was married, to whoſe charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burthened him to have kept company with his wife, ſince that they were by commandment divorced. Whereunto he anſwered, That he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife: which words were then noted, and taken very grievouſly, and he and his wife were both committed to ſeparate compters, notwithſtanding that he had been very ſick.

April 8, a cat was hanged upon a gallows, at the croſs, in Cheapſide, apparelled like a prieſt ready to ſay maſs, with a ſhaven crown: her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon aroſe great ill will againſt the city of London. For the queen and the biſhops were very angry; and the ſame afternoon there was a proclamation iſſued, that whoſoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, ſhould have twenty nobles, which was afterwards increaſed to twenty marks, but none could, or would earn them.

As to the firſt occaſion of ſetting up this gallows in Cheapſide, here is to be underſtood, that after the biſhop of Wincheſter's ſermon above-mentioned, made before the queen, for the ſpeedy execution of Wyat's ſoldiers, immediately upon the ſame, February 13, there were ſeveral gibbets ſet up in divers parts of the city; namely, two in Cheapſide, one at Leadenhall, one at Billingſgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-ſtreet, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Biſhopſgate, one at Aldgerſgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's-park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which remained for the terror of others, from February 13, to June 4; and then at the coming in of king Philip they were taken down.

April 11, ſir Thomas Wyat was beheaded and quartered on Tower-hill, where he ſpoke theſe words concerning the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonſhire: "Concerning, ſaid he, what I have ſaid of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuſe neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonſhire. I cannot accuſe them, neither am I able to ſay, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my riſing." And when Dr. Weſton told him, that his confeſſion was otherwiſe before the council, he anſwered: "That which I ſaid then, I ſaid; but that which I ſay now, is true."

Tuesday, April 17, ſir James Croft and Mr. Winter were brought to Guildhall, with whom alſo was brought ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treaſon, for that he was ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the reſt, againſt the queen; where he ſo learnedly and wiſely behaved himſelf, (as well in clearing his own caſe, as alſo in opening ſuch laws of the realm as were then alledged againſt him) that the jury which were charged with this matter, could not in conſcience but find him not guilty; for which, the ſaid twelve perſons of the queſt, being ſubſtantial men of the city, were each bound in the ſum of 500 pounds, to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed, there to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt them. Which jury appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber, upon Wedneſday, April 25: from whence, after certain queſtioning, they were committed to priſon, Emanuel Lucar and Mr. Whetſtone to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

Concerning the condemnation of Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the 20th of this month, and alſo of their diſputations, having ſaid enough before, we need not here rehearſe the ſame.

On Friday after their condemnation, April 27, the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the late duke of Suffolk, was beheaded on Tower-hill.

Saturday, April 28, ſir James Croft and Mr. Winter were again brought to Guildhall, where ſir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and becauſe the day was far ſpent, Mr. Winter was not arraigned.

Thurſday, May 17, William Thomas was arraigned at Guildhall, and the ſame day condemned, who the next day after was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accuſation was, for conſpiring the queen's death. He made a godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and ſonnets, in the priſon, before his death.

In the month of May it was given out, that a ſolemn diſputation ſhould be held at Cambridge, between Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, Mr. Rogers, and others of that ſide, and the doctors of both univerſities on the other ſide, like as had been before in Oxford. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in priſon, having notice thereof, notwithſtanding they were deſtitute of their books, and not ignorant of the purpoſe of their adverſaries, and how the cauſe was prejudged before, alſo how the diſputations were confuſedly handled at Oxford; nevertheleſs, they thought not to refuſe the offer of diſputation, ſo that they might be quietly heard; and therefore wiſely pondering the matter with themſelves, by a public conſent, directed out of priſon a declaration of their mind by writing, the 8th of May. Wherein firſt, as touching the diſputation, although they knew that they ſhould do no good, becauſe all things were pre-determined before; yet, nevertheleſs, they would not deny to diſpute, if the diſputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament, or if they might diſpute by writing; for elſe, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own ſchools, they had ſufficient proof, they ſaid, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge; and, conſequently, declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to ſubmit themſelves with all patience and humility, either to the will or puniſhment of the higher powers, they appealed, in the end, from them to be their judges in this behalf, and thus ended their proteſtation, ſigned by them on the 8th of May.

On the 19th of the ſaid month, lady Elizabeth, the queen's ſiſter, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of ſir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams of Tame, by whom her highneſs was gently and courteouſly treated: who afterwards was had to Woodſtock, and there committed to the keeping of ſir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxborough, in Norfolk; who, on the other ſide, both forgetting her eſtate, and his own duty, ſhewed himſelf more hard and ſtraight unto her, than either cauſe was given on her part, or reaſon of his own ſhould have led him.

July 25, being St. James's day, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England, were ſolemnly married in the cathedral church at Wincheſter, in the preſence of a great number of noblemen of both realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambaſſador being preſent, openly pronounced, that, in conſideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given unto his ſon the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon the firſt of Auguſt following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the ſtile of all manner of writings ſhould be altered, and this following uſed:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Auſtrich, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counteſs of Haſpurge, Flanders, and Tyrol."

Of this marriage as the papiſts chiefly ſeemed to be very glad, ſo ſeveral of them, after divers ſtudies to ſhew forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants; ſome drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt. Among others, Mr. White, then biſhop of Lincoln, (his poetical vein being drunk with joy of the marriage) made the following verſes:

JOHN of Gaunt, father of princes, did beget
John the puiſſant earl of Somerſet:
From him John, duke of Somerſet, did ſpring,
Whoſe daughter Marg'ret brought forth England's king,
Henry the ſeventh, who, of life bereft,
The throne unto his ſon prince Henry left:
His daughter Mary, England's ſcepter bears,
And may ſhe bear it long, exempt from cares.

Other VERSES *of* MR. WHITE, *Biſhop of* LINCOLN, *concerning the* MARRIAGE *of* PHILIP *and* MARY.

THE devil, that old enemy of mankind,
Strives to prevent, though to it God's inclin'd,
That Mary, England's queen, ſhould join her hands
To Spaniſh Philip in hymeneal bands.
Againſt the match, with the dark of prince of night,
The helpleſs Scots and tim'rous French unite.
With theſe hell's prelates join, Caiaphas's race,
Eight married fathers, void of heav'nly grace,
*John Dudley, Wyat, and rebellious Kent,
With †Gray, conſpire the marriage to prevent.
But that the nuptials ſhould performed be,
‡Cæſar and Flanders would, and Italy,
Catholic biſhops, and with theſe comply
Five holy fathers, for their ſanctity
In fetters bound, the ſenate of the nation,
And all true catholics in every ſtation,
Lords, commons, learned, ignorant, and we,
'Cauſe God himſelf doth thereunto agree.
When Philip to queen Mary ſhall be join'd,
Their blood its wonted courſe ſhall run refin'd.

* Duke of Northumberland.

† Duke of Suffolk.

‡ Charles V. Emperor of Germany.

ANSWER *to* MR. WHITE, *Biſhop of* LINCOLN, *by the Biſhop of* NORWICH.

THAT Mary ſhould to Spaniſh Philip wed,
And England's glory be extirpated,
The devil wills; jointly with him agree,
All Flanders, Italy, and Germany,
Caiaphas's race, the mitred company
Of popiſh biſhops, five for impiety
In priſon caſt: but God's extended arm
Kindly ſupports us, and averts the harm:
He nills the match, gives England liberty,
With him the warlike Scots and French agree,
Eight married in the Lord: and Dudley you,
Foreboding dreadful things, the marriage view,
The ſenate nills; brave Wyat doth eſpouſe
With pious zeal his country's injur'd cauſe;
With him Gray, and the Kentiſh folk comply,
Either to gain their liberty, or die.
Then ſay, what profits will the Spaniſh king,
Having wedded Mary, to the Engliſh bring.

After the conſummation of the marriage, the king and queen removed from Wincheſter to ſeveral other places, and by eaſy journeys came to Windſor-caſtle, where he was inſtalled with the order of the garter, on Sunday Auguſt 12; at which time, an herald took down the arms of England at Windſor, and in the place of them would have ſet up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to ſet them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and, by water, to London, and landed at the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, through which they paſſed both into Southwark-park, and ſo to Southwark-houſe, called Suffolk-place, where they lay that night, being the 18th of Auguſt.

The next day the king and queen rode from Suffolk-place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall; and at London-bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great ſpectacle ſet up, two images repreſenting two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verſes, which for the vain oſtentation of flattery I overpaſs.

As they paſſed over the bridge, there was a number of ordnance ſhot off at the Tower, ſuch, as by old men's report, the like hath not been heard or ſeen theſe 100 years.

From London-bridge they paſſed the conduit in Gracechurch-ſtreet, which was finely painted, and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henry VIII. was one. He was painted in harneſs, having in one hand a ſword, and in the other hand a book, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, "the word of God," delivering the ſame book, as it were, to his ſon king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But this gave great offence: for the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor, ſent for the painter, and not only called him knave for painting a book in king Henry's hand, and eſpecially for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*, but alſo rank traitor and villain, ſaying to him that he ſhould rather have put the book into the queen's hand, who was alſo painted there, for that ſhe had reformed the church religion, with other things according to the pure and ſincere word of God indeed. The painter anſwered, and ſaid, That if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his lordſhip ſent for him, he could have remedied it, and not troubled his lordſhip. The biſhop anſwered, That it was the queen's majeſty's will and commandment that he ſhould ſend for him: and ſo commanding him to wipe out the book and *Verbum Dei* too, he ſent him home. The painter departed, but fearing leſt he ſhould leave ſome part either of the book, or of *Verbum Dei*, in king Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal.

Here I paſs over other pageants ſhewed to him in paſſing through London, with the flattering verſes in Latin, wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world, Philip of Macedon, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain, and king of England.

In another poetry, king Philip was reſembled by an image repreſenting Orpheus, and all Engliſh people reſembled to brute and ſavage beaſts, following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verſes, which was fine and cunning, but that I paſs over the matter, having weightier things in hand; and alſo the fight at St. Paul's church ſide, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements, with his head before, neither ſtaying himſelf with his hand nor foot; which ſhortly after coſt him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let paſs, touching the rood newly ſet up againſt this time, to welcome king Philip into St. Paul's church. The ſetting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the beſt.

In the 2d year of Mary, Bonner, biſhop of London, in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him, in St. Paul's quire, the rood (or croſs) laid along upon the pavements, and alſo the doors of St. Paul's being ſhut, the biſhop, with others, ſaid and ſung divers prayers by the rood: that being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places, and after anointing, crept unto it, and kiſſed it. After that, they took the ſaid rood and weighed it up, and ſet it in it's old accuſtomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole quire ſang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into St. Paul's, and ſpied the rood, with Mary and John now ſet up; whereto, among a great ſort of people, he made low courtſey, and ſaid, Sir, your maſterſhip is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your maſterſhip, but that you be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that you be but a ſummer's bird, in that you are dreſſed in white and green.

The prince being in the church of St. Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finiſhed his oration in Latin, ſet forward through Fleet-ſtreet, and ſo came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after, and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with ſtrait commandment, to bring all their harneſs and artillery into the Tower of London with all ſpeed. Now remained there no Engliſh lord at the court, but the biſhop of Wincheſter. From Richmond they removed to Hampton-court, where the hall-door within the court was continually ſhut, ſo that no man might enter.

About the 8th of *September*, biſhop Bonner began his viſitation, who charged ſix men, in every pariſh, to inquire (according to their oaths) and to preſent before him, the 30th of September, all ſuch perſons as either had or ſhould offend in any of his articles, which he had ſet forth, to the number of 37. Of the which viſitation of Bonner, I have ſomewhat more largely to treat.

September 17, was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and maſterleſs men, as well ſtrangers as Engliſhmen, ſhould depart the city within five days; and ſtraitly charging all innholders, victuallers, tavern-ers, and alehouſe-keepers, with all others who ſell victuals, that they (after the ſaid five days) ſhould not ſell any meat, drink, or any kind of victuals to any ſerving-man whatſoever, unleſs he brought a teſtimonial from his maſter, to declare whoſe ſervant he was, and were in continual houſhold with his ſaid maſter, upon pain of the law if they offended herein.

Upon the Sunday following, the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor of England, preached at St. Paul's Croſs, at whoſe ſermon were preſent all the council that were at the court; namely, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Arundel, lord North, ſir Anthony Brown, Mr. Rocheſter, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefield, lord Fitzwater, and ſecretary Peter, and the biſhops of London, Durham, and Ely, which three ſat under the biſhop's arms. The goſpel whereof he made his ſermon, is written in the xxii. chapter of Matthew, where the Phariſees came unto Chriſt, and among them one aſked Chriſt which was the greateſt commandment; Chriſt anſwered, "Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c. and thy neighbour as thyſelf, in theſe two is comprehended the law and the prophets."

After this long declaration of theſe words, ſpeaking very much of love and charity, at laſt he had occaſion upon St. James's words, to ſpeak of the true teachers, and of the falſe teachers; ſaying, that all the preachers almoſt in king Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuouſneſs, and filthy and blaſphemous lies, affirming their doctrine to be that falſe doctrine whereof St. James ſpeaketh in his third chapter, ſaying, that it was full of perverſe zeal, earthly, full of diſcord and diſſention, that the preachers afore-named would report nothing truly, and that they taught that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another, and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleaſure, with many other things which I omit. And when he ſpake of the ſacrament, he ſaid, that all the church from the beginning have confeſſed Chriſt's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the ſacrament, and ſo concluded that matter: and then willed all men to ſay with Joſeph's brethren, "We have all ſinned againſt our brother;" and ſo, ſaid he, have I too. Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, ſaying, that if he ſhould go about to ſhew that the king came hither for no neceſſity or need, and what he had brought with him, it would be ſuperfluous, ſeeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and poſſeſſion of, affirming him to be as wiſe, ſober, gentle, and temperate a prince as ever was in England, and if it were not ſo proved, then to take him for a falſe lyar for his ſo ſaying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilſt we had him, and ſo ſhould we alſo win all ſuch as he hath brought with him: and ſo concluded.

Tueſday, *October* 7, twenty carts came from Weſtminſter, laden (as it was noiſed) with gold and ſilver, and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treaſurer, and had cuſtody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almoſt half a foot thick, and in every cart were ſix of thoſe bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth, for it is to us uncertain.

About the ſame time, or a little before, upon Corpus-Chriſti day, the proceſſion being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the prieſt, with his box, went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain ſimple man, named John Street, a joiner, of Coleman-ſtreet, who having ſome haſte in his buſineſs, and finding no other way to paſs through, by chance went under the canopy by the prieſt. The prieſt ſeeing the man ſo to preſume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worſe feared than hurt, let his pyx fall down. The poor man, being ſtraightway apprehended, was had to the compter, the prieſt accuſing him before the council, as though he had come to ſlay him; whereas the poor man, as himſelf hath ſince declared unto us, had no ſuch thought ever in his mind. Then from the compter, he was had unto Newgate, where he was caſt into the dungeon, there chained to a poſt, where he was cruelly and miſerably handled, and ſo extremely dealt withal, that being but ſimple before, he was now out of his wits altogether, and ſo upon the ſame had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himſelf in Newgate to be mad: which thing we in writing of this hiſtory, by due inquiſition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the 5th of *October*, divers, as well houſholders, as ſervants, and apprentices, were apprehended and taken, and committed to ſundry priſons, for having and ſelling of certain books, which were ſent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books touched a great number ſo near, that within one fortnight there were little leſs than threeſcore impriſoned for this matter: among whom was Mr. Brown, a goldſmith, Mr. Spark, a draper, Randal Tirer, a ſtationer, Mr. Beſton, a merchant, with many others.

Sunday, *October* 14, the old biſhop of Durham preached in the ſhrouds.

October 18, the king came from Weſtminſter to St. Paul's church, accompanied with a great number of noblemen, and there he was received under a canopy, at the weſt door, and ſo came into the chancel, where he heard maſs, which a Spaniſh biſhop and his own chapel ſung; and that done, he returned to Weſtminſter to dinner.

Friday, *October* 26, certain men, whereof I ſpake before, which were of Mr. Throgmorton's jury, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of priſon, having ſubmitted themſelves), whereof Mr. Emanuel Lucas, and Mr. Whetſtone were chief, were called before the council in the Star-chamber: where they all affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conſciences, even as they ſhould anſwer before God at the day of judgment. When Mr. Lucas ſaid openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faithful ſubjects, and therefore they humbly beſought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to intercede with the king and queen, that they might be diſcharged and ſet at liberty, and ſaid that they were all contented humbly to ſubmit themſelves to their majeſties, ſaving and reſerving their truth, conſciences, and honeſty. Some of the lords ſaid, that they deſerved to pay a 1000l. a-piece, and others ſaid, that Mr. Lucas and Mr. Whetſtone deſerved to pay a 1000 marks a-piece, and the reſt 500l. a-piece. At laſt, ſentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they ſhould pay a thouſand marks a-piece, and that they ſhould go to priſon again, and there remain till further orders were taken for their puniſhment.

Tueſday, *October* 30, the lord J. Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and ſet at liberty.

Sunday, *November* 4, five prieſts did penance at Paul's Croſs, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to miniſter. Each of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did diſpel them.

Wedneſday, *November* 7, the lord Paget, and ſir Edward Haſtings, maſter of the horſe, were ſent as ambaſſadors, I know not whither, but, as it was judged, to Cardinal Poole, who lay all that ſummer before at Bruſſels: and it was thought they were ſent to accompany and conduct him into England, where at that time he was nominated and appointed biſhop of Canterbury.

Friday, *November* 9, Mr. Barlow, late biſhop of Bath, and Mr. Cardmaker, were brought before the council, in the Star-chamber, where after communication they were commanded to the Fleet.

Saturday, *November* 10, the ſheriffs of London had orders to take an inventory of every one of their goods, which were of Mr. Throgmorton's jury, and to ſeal up their doors, which was done the ſame day. Mr. Whetſtone, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Kytely, were adjudged to pay 1000l. a-piece, and the reſt 1000 marks a-piece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this payment were exempted only four, who ſubmitted themſelves, whoſe names are theſe, Mr. Loe, Mr. Poynter, Mr. Beſwike, and Mr. Carter.

Mention has been made of the viſitation of Edmund Bonner, biſhop of London, which begun (as is ſaid) about the month of September; for the better preparation whereof were ſet forth certain articles, to the number of 37; which articles, partly for the tediousneſs of them, partly for that Mr. Bale in a certain treatiſe hath ſufficiently painted out the ſame in proper colours, partly alſo, becauſe I will not infect this book with them, I paſs them over, proceeding in the progreſs of this biſhop in his viſitation in the county of Eſſex; who paſſing through the ſaid county of Eſſex, being attended with divers worſhipful of the ſhire, (for ſo they were commanded) arrived at Sterford in Hertfordſhire, where he reſted certain days, ſolacing himſelf after that painful peregrination, with no ſmall feaſting and banqueting with his attendants, at the houſe of one Parſons, his nephew, whoſe wife he commonly called his fair niece: (fair ſhe was indeed) and he took there great pleaſure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein ſhe excelled, inſomuch that every dinner (ſitting by his ſweet ſide) ſhe aroſe and played three ſeveral times at his requeſt, of his good and ſpiritual devotion towards her. After ſome days were paſſed in this faſhion, he proceeded in his popiſh viſitation toward Hadham, his own houſe and pariſh, not more than two miles from Sterford, being there moſt ſolemnly rung out, as in all other places where he paſſed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no ſtirring there in honour of his holineſs, he grew into ſome choler, and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit: and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus rode he on, chafing and fuming with himſelf: "What meaneth (ſaith he) that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parſon, that he meeteth me not?" with other paſſionate expreſſions. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, ſince, as they pretended, he had come two hours before his time; whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, ſo as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour ſo far incorporated in his breaſt. At laſt, the church door being opened, the biſhop entered, and finding no ſacrament hanged up, no rood-loft decked after the popiſh precept, (which had commanded about the ſame time a well-favoured rood, croſs, or image, and of tall ſtature, univerſally in all churches to be ſet up) curtailed his ſmall devotions, and fell from choler and melancholy to madneſs in the greateſt degree, ſwearing and raging, with an hunting oath or two, (and by no ſmall oaths) that in his own church, where he hoped to have ſeen beſt order, he found moſt diſorder, to his honour's moſt heavy diſcomfort, as he ſaid, calling the parſon (whoſe name was Dr. Bricket) knave and heretic; who there humbled himſelf, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, ſaying, He was ſorry his lordſhip was come before that he and his pariſh looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly: and as for thoſe things which were lacking, he truſted in ſhort time hereafter he ſhould compaſs that which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleaſed his lordſhip to come to his poor houſe, where his dinner was prepared, he would ſatiſfy him in thoſe things, which his lordſhip thought amiſs. Yet this reaſonable anſwer neither could ſatiſfy, nor aſſuage his unreaſonable paſſion. For the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his ſight, ſaying, as his bye-word was, "Before God thou art a knave, avaunt heretic," and therewithal, whether thruſting, or ſtriking at him, ſo it was, that with his hand he gave ſir Thomas Joſſelin (who then ſtood next the biſhop) a good blow upon the ear; whereat, being ſomewhat aſtoniſhed, ſir Thomas ſaid, What meaneth your lordſhip? have you been trained in Will Somer's ſchool, to ſtrike him who ſtandeth next you? The biſhop, ſtill in a rage, either heard not, or would not hear. Upon which Mr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, addreſſing the knight, ſaid, "O Mr. Joſſelin, you muſt bear with my lord, for truly his long impriſonment in the Marſhalſea, and the miſuſing of him there hath altered him, that in theſe paſſions he is not maſter of himſelf, nor will it avail to give him counſel until his heat be paſſed, and then aſſure yourſelf Mr. Joſſelin, my lord will be ſorry for thoſe abuſes, and that miſconduct which he cannot now ſee in himſelf." To whom ſir Thomas merrily replied, "So it ſeems, Mr. Fecknam, that now he is come forth from the Marſhalſea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which conceit ſome laughed, and more ſmiled, becauſe the nail was hit ſo truly upon the head. The biſhop appeared not in the leaſt abaſhed at his own folly; and it is no wonder he was not aſhamed to ſtrike a ſtranger, who ſpared not the burning of ſo many good men.

This combat being finiſhed, the martial prelate preſently taketh him to his horſe again, notwithſtanding he at firſt intended to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and had made proviſions in his own houſe accordingly; but leaving his dinner, he rode that night with a ſmall company of his houſhold to Ware, to the great wonder of all the country, who looked not for his coming till three days after.

But though the biſhop poſted haſtily away, his retinue thought it moſt prudent to tarry behind; and his doctors and chaplains, a few excepted, dined at Dr. Bricket's, as merrily as the biſhop rode to Ware chafingly. Now the cauſes which induced him to leave a good dinner, were ſuppoſed to be, that his lordſhip was offended at not receiving thoſe ſolemnities he was accuſtomed to be ſaluted withal in other places, and becauſe his wooden god was not elevated ſeemly in the rood-loft to entertain ſtrangers: on which account he took occaſion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket; for the biſhop had iſſued out his precept, that in every pariſh a rood, (a croſs, crucifix, and other images) ſhould be erected, both well favoured, and tall in ſtature: which brings to my mind (ſays Mr. Fox) what happened in a certain town in Lancaſhire, near to Lancaſter, called Cockram, where the pariſhioners and church-wardens, having at the ſame time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their pariſh church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint ſuch idols, for the framing of their rood; who, according to his promiſe, made them one, and ſet it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they miſliking his workmanſhip, refuſed to pay him, whereupon he arreſted them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaſter, who was a very fit man for ſuch a purpoſe, and an old favourer of the goſpel, which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and ſet up in their church, which he according to his promiſe had done; and now demanding his money, they refuſed to pay him. Is this true? quoth the mayor to the wardens. Yes, ſir, ſaid they. And why do you not pay the poor man his due? quoth he. May it pleaſe you, maſter mayor, quoth they, becauſe the rood we had before was a well-favoured man, and he promiſed to make us ſuch another; but this that he hath ſet us up now, is the worſt favoured thing that ever you ſet your eyes on, gaping and grinning in ſuch ſort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him. The mayor thinking that it was good enough for that purpoſe, if it had been worſe, My maſters, quoth he, howſoever you like the rood, the poor man's labour hath been never the leſs, and it is a pity that he ſhould have any hindrance or loſs thereby. Therefore I will tell you what you ſhall do: pay him the money you promiſed him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not ſerve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and ſo he will make an excellent devil. This the pariſhioners took exceeding well; the poor man had his money, and divers laughed well thereat: but ſo did not the Babyloniſh prieſts.

This mayor continued a proteſtant almoſt 50 years, and was the only reliever of Mr. March, the martyr, (whoſe ſtory followeth hereafter) with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaſter-caſtle, the ſpace of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Cheſter to be burned, &c.

C H A P. VI.

BISHOP BONNER'S MANDATE.—*The* QUEEN'S *ſuppoſed* PREGNANCY.—POOLE'S ORATION.—SUBMISSION *to the* QUEEN.—*A* LETTER *to the* POPE.—PRAYERS *on Account of* MARY'S CONCEPTION.—TRANSACTIONS *of the* PRIVY COUNCIL, *&c.* in 1555.

ABOUT this time came forth a precept, or mandate, from Bonner, biſhop of London, to all biſhops and curates within his dioceſe, for aboliſhing of ſuch ſcripture paſſages and writings as had been painted upon church-walls in king Edward's days; the copy whereof is inſerted here, that the preſent generation may ſee the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage againſt the Lord and his word; as alſo againſt the edifying of chriſtian people; and hence will appear, not only how blaſphemouſly they ſpake againſt the holy ſcriptures, but likewiſe how ſtudiouſly they ſought by all manner of means to keep the people ſtill in ignorance.

Biſhop BONNER'S MANDATE *to aboliſh the* SCRIPTURE WRITINGS *upon* CHURCH-WALLS.

EDMUND (by God's permiſſion) biſhop of London, to all and every parſons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the pariſh of Hadham, or within the precinct of our dioceſe of London, whereſoever being, ſendeth greeting, grace and benediction.

Becauſe ſome children of iniquity, given up to carnal deſires and novelties, have by many ways enterprized to baniſh the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and eſtabliſh ſects and hereſies; taking from thence the picture of Chriſt, and many things beſides inſtituted and obſerved of ancient time laudably in the ſame, placing in the room thereof ſuch things, as in ſuch a place it behoved them not to do, and alſo have procured as a ſtay to their hereſies (as they thought) certain ſcriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church-walls, all which perſons tend chiefly to this end; that they might uphold the liberty of the fleſh, and marriage of the prieſts, and deſtroy, as much as lay in them, the reverend ſacrament of the altar, and might extinguiſh and enervate holy days, faſting days, and other laudable diſcipline of the catholic church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly cloſing up the way unto virtue: wherefore we being moved with a chriſtian zeal, judging that the premiſes are not to be longer ſuffered, do, for diſcharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and ſeverally, and by the tenor hereof do ſtraitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all ſpeed convenient, you do warn, or cauſe to be warned, firſt, ſecond, and third time, and peremptorily, all and ſingular church-wardens and pariſhioners whoſoever within our foreſaid dioceſe of London, whereſoever any ſuch ſcriptures or paintings have been attempted, that they aboliſh and extinguiſh ſuch manner of ſcriptures, ſo that by no means they be either read or ſeen, and therein to proceed moreover as they ſhall ſee good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the ſaid monition, the ſaid churchwardens and pariſhioners ſhall be found remiſs and negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and ſeverally ſhall ſee the foreſaid ſcriptures to be razed, aboliſhed and extinguiſhed forthwith: citing all and ſingular thoſe church-wardens and pariſhioners, (whom we alſo for the ſame do cite here by the tenor hereof) that all and ſingular the church-wardens and pariſhioners being ſlack and negligent, culpable therein, ſhall appear before us, our vicar general and principal official, or our commiſſary ſpecial in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the conſiſtory there, at the hour appointed for the ſame, the ſixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or elſe at the next court-day after enſuing, where either we or our official or commiſſary ſhall ſit; there to ſay and alledge for themſelves ſome reaſonable cauſe, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwiſe puniſhed for ſuch their negligence, ſlackneſs, and fault, to ſay and to alledge, and further to do and receive, as law and reaſon requireth. And what you have done in the premiſes, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and ſuch our commiſſary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate. In witneſs whereof we have ſet our ſeals to theſe preſents. Dated in the biſhop's palace at London, the 25th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our tranſlation the 16th.

About this time the Lord Chancellor ſent M. Chriſtopherſon unto the univerſity of Cambridge with theſe three articles, which he enjoined them to obſerve.

The firſt, that every ſcholar ſhould wear his apparel according to his degree in the ſchools.

The ſecond was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there ſhould declare the whole ſtile of the king and queen in their ſermons.

In this univerſity of Cambridge, and alſo of Oxford, by reaſon of introducing theſe things, and eſpecially for the alteration of religion, many wiſe and learned men departed from the univerſities: of whom, ſome of their own accord gave over, ſome were thruſt out of their fellowſhips, ſome were miſerably handled: inſomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were 24 places void together, in whoſe rooms were taken in 24 others, which neither in virtue nor religion were to be compared to thoſe that were before. And no leſs miſerable was the eſtate of Oxford, by reaſon of the time, and the ſtrait dealing of the viſitors, who for ſetting forward their papiſtical proceedings, had no regard or reſpect to the forwardneſs of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters.

We muſt not paſs over in ſilence the famous exhortation of Dr. Treſham, after he had called the ſtudents together; to allure them to the catholic ſervice of the church, he uſed theſe reaſons, declaring that there were a goodly company of copes, that were appointed to Windſor, but he had found the queen ſo gracious unto him, that they ſhould come to Chriſt's-church. Now, if they like honeſt men would come to church, they ſhould wear them on holy days. And beſides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Bampton, and that ſhould make the ſweeteſt ring in all England. And as for holy water to ſprinkle, he had already the faireſt that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be ſo mad to forego theſe commodities, &c.

On Monday, *November* 22d, the parliament met; at the opening whereof, both the king and queen rode to the houſe of lords in their robes, having two ſwords borne before them.

Wedneſday, 21ſt, Cardinal Poole landed at Dover, on which day an act paſſed for his reſtitution in blood, utterly repealing, as falſe and moſt ſlanderous, that act made againſt him in the reign of Henry VIII: and on the next day, November 22d, the king and queen came to the parliament-houſe to give the royal aſſent to this act, and to eſtabliſh the ſame againſt his coming.

Saturday, 24th, the cardinal came by water to London, and ſo to Lambeth-houſe, which was ready prepared againſt his coming.

Wedneſday, 18th, there was a general proceſſion in St. Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as was declared in the letter ſent from the council to the biſhop of London. At this proceſſion ten biſhops, and all the prebendaries of St. Paul's were preſent, and alſo the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the city in their beſt array. The following is a copy of the council's letter.

A LETTER,

From the COUNCIL *to* EDMUND BONNER, *concerning* QUEEN MARY's CONCEPTION.

AFTER our hearty commendations unto your good lordſhip: whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God amongſt other his infinite benefits of late moſt graciouſly poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majeſty in ſuch ſort, as ſhe is conceived and quick of child: whereby her majeſty (being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain ſucceſſion in the crown is given unto us, and conſequently the great calamities (which for want of ſuch ſucceſſion might otherwiſe have fallen upon us and our poſterity) ſhall by God's grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourſelves with earneſt repentance to thank, honour and ſerve him, as we are moſt bounden: theſe are not only to advertiſe you of theſe good news, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your dioceſe, but alſo to pray and require you, that both yourſelf do give God thanks with us for this his eſpecial grace, and alſo give order that thanks may be openly given by ſinging of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your ſaid dioceſe; and that likewiſe all prieſts and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters, in their maſſes, and other divine ſervices, may continually pray to Almighty God ſo to extend his holy hand over his majeſty, the king's highneſs, and this whole realm, as this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciouſly thus begun, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not, ye would of yourſelf have had ſpecial regard without theſe our letters, yet for the earneſt deſire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have alſo written theſe letters, to put you in remembrance; and ſo bid your lordſhip moſt heartily well to fare. From Weſtminſter, the 27th of November, 1554.

Your aſſured loving friends,

S. Winton
Arundel
F. Shrewſbury
Edward Darby
Henry Suſſex
John Bathon
R. Rich
Thomas Watthom
John Huddilſtone,
R. Southwell.

The ſame day, in the afternoon, cardinal Poole came to the parliament houſe, which at that time was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then ſick, and could not go abroad: where the king and queen's majeſty ſitting under the cloth of ſtate, and the cardinal ſitting on the right hand, with all the other eſtates of the parliament being preſent the biſhop of Wincheſter, being lord chancellor, began in this manner.

MY lords of the upper houſe, and you my maſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Poole, come from the apoſtolic ſee of Rome, as ambaſſador to the king and queen's majeſties, upon one of the weightieſt cauſes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your univerſal benefit. The which ambaſſage their majeſties pleaſure is to be ſignified unto you all by his own mouth, truſting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wiſe as their highneſſes have done, and that you will give an attentive and inclinable ear unto him.

The lord chancellor having ended, the cardinal began his oration, wherein he declared the cauſes of his coming, and what were his deſires and requeſts. In the mean time, the court gate was kept ſhut until he had made an end of his oration.

The next day the three eſtates aſſembled again in the great chamber of the court at Weſtminſter: where the king, queen, and the cardinal being preſent, they did exhibit (all kneeling) a ſupplication to their highneſſes; which being read, the king and queen delivered the ſame unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to anſwer his expectation) did receive the ſame moſt gladly from their majeſties: and after he had in a few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cauſe he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken ſuch happy ſucceſs, he, by the pope's authority, did give them this abſolution following.

OUR Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with his moſt precious blood hath redeemed and waſhed us from all our ſins and iniquities, that he might purchaſe unto himſelf a glorious ſpouſe without ſpot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy abſolve you. And we by apoſtolic authority given unto us (by the moſt holy lord pope Julius the third, his vicegerent on earth) do abſolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all hereſy and ſchiſm, and from all and every judgment, cenſures, and pains, for that cauſe incurred; and alſo we do reſtore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, as in our letters more plainly it ſhall appear: in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Having finiſhed this buſineſs, they went into the chapel, and there ſinging *Te Deum*, with great ſolemnity declared the joy that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of which was with great ſpeed ſent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as alſo otherwiſe. Whereupon the pope cauſed three proceſſions to be made at Rome, and thanks to be given to God, with great joy for the converſion of England to his church; and therefore praiſing the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen, on Chriſtmas eve, by his bulls he ſet forth a general pardon to all ſuch as did truly rejoice for the ſame.

On Sunday, December 2, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's-Croſs, at which ſermon the king and cardinal Poole were preſent. He took for his text the xiiith chapter of the epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans, "This alſo we know the ſeaſon, brethren, that we ſhould now awake out of ſleep, for now is our ſalvation nearer than when we believed," &c.

Firſt, he ſhewed how the ſaying of St. Paul was verified upon the gentiles, who had a long time ſlept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: therefore St. Paul, ſaid he, to ſtir up their heavy dulneſs, willed them to awake out of their long ſleep, becauſe their ſalvation was nearer than when they believed. In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with their's, he took occaſion to declare what difference the Jewiſh ſacraments had from thoſe of the Chriſtians, wherein he uſed theſe words:

"Even as the ſacrament of the Jews did declare Chriſt to come, ſo do our ſacraments declare Chriſt to be already come: but Chriſt to come, and Chriſt to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' ſacraments are done away, and our's only remain which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law; for they had him but in ſigns, but we have him in the ſacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now alſo it is time that we awake out of our ſleep, who have ſlept, or rather dreamed theſe twenty years paſt, as ſhall more eaſily appear by declaring at large ſome of the properties and effects of a ſleep or a dream. And firſt, As men intending to ſleep, do ſeparate themſelves from company, and deſire to be alone; even ſo have we ſeparated ourſelves from the ſee apoſtolic of Rome, and have been alone, unlike any other realm in Chriſtendom.

Secondly, As in ſleep men dream ſometimes of killing, ſometimes of maiming, ſometimes of burning or drowning, ſometimes of ſuch beaſtlineſs as I dare not name, but will ſpare your ears; ſo we have in this our ſleep, not only dreamed of beaſtlineſs, but we have done it indeed. For in this our ſleep hath not one brother deſtroyed another? Hath not half our money been wiped away at one time? And again, thoſe that would defend their conſcience, were ſlain, and others alſo otherwiſe troubled; beſides infinite other things which you all know as well as I, whereof I appeal to your own conſciences. Further, in a man's ſleep all his ſenſes are ſtopped, ſo that he can neither ſee, ſmell nor hear; even ſo, whereas the ceremonies of the church were inſtituted to move and ſtir up our ſenſes, they being taken away, were not our ſenſes (as ye would ſay) ſtopped, and we faſt aſleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly ſleep, he will put out the candle, leſt peradventure it may hinder his ſleep, and awake him: ſo of late all ſuch writers as did hold any thing with the apoſtolic ſee, were condemned and forbidden to be read: and images (which were laymen's books) were caſt down and broken.

The ſleep hath continued with us theſe twenty years, and we all that while without a head. For when king Henry did firſt take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whoſe death, king Edward (having over him governors and protectors, which ruled as they liſted) could not be head of the church, but was only a ſhadow or ſign of a head, and at length it came to paſs, that we had no head at all; no, not ſo much as our two archbiſhops. For on the one ſide, the queen being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other ſide, they were both convicted of one crime, and ſo depoſed. Thus while we deſired to have a ſupreme head among us, it came to paſs that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north, in the time of king Henry VIII. (I am ſure) the king was determined to have given over the ſupremacy again to the pope; but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, leſt ſome would have ſaid, that he did it for fear.

After this, Mr. Knevet and I were ſent ambaſſadors unto the emperor, to deſire him that he would be a means between the pope's holineſs and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the ſee of Rome, but the time was not yet come. For it might have been ſaid, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of king Edward's reign, the matter was moved, but the time was not yet: for it would have been ſaid, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and ſold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been ſaid, that it was done in a time of weakneſs. Likewiſe when the king firſt came, if it had been done, they might have ſaid it had been done by force and violence. But now, even now, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holineſs, pope Julius III. ſent unto us this moſt reverend father, cardinal Poole, an ambaſſador from his ſide. What to do? not to revenge the injuries done by us againſt his holineſs, but to give his benediction to thoſe that defamed and perſecuted him.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the ſaid benediction, I ſhall deſire you that we may always acknowledge ourſelves offenders againſt his holineſs; I do not exclude myſelf from the number; I will "weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice." And I ſhall deſire you, that we may defer the matter no longer, for now the hour is come. The king and queen's majeſties have already reſtored our holy father the pope to his ſupremacy; and the three eſtates aſſembled in the parliament, repreſenting the whole body of the realm, have alſo ſubmitted themſelves to his holineſs, and his ſucceſſors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer ſtay. And even as St. Paul ſaid to the Corinthians, that he was their father, ſo may the pope ſay, that he is our father; for we received our doctrine firſt from Rome, therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cauſe to rejoice, for his holineſs hath ſent hither and prevented us, before we ſought him: ſuch care hath he for us. Therefore let us ſay, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it." Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that ſuch a noble birth is come, yea, ſuch a holy father (I mean my lord cardinal Poole) which can ſpeak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto ſtrangers, who hath been a long time abſent. And let us now awake, who have ſo long ſlept, and in our ſleep have done ſo much miſchief to the ſacraments of Chriſt, denying the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himſelf would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Chriſt."

This was the ſum of his ſermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed firſt for pope Julius the third, with all his college of cardinals, the biſhop of London, with the reſt of that order; then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and laſtly, for the commons of the ſame, with the ſouls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in St Paul's to ring their evening ſong, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which cauſed him to make an end of his ſermon.

About this time a meſſenger was ſent from the parliament to the pope, to deſire him to confirm and eſtabliſh the ſale of abbey lands and chauntry lands: for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchaſes were fully confirmed.

Thurſday, *December* 6, the whole convocation, both biſhops and others, were ſent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the ſame day forgave them all their perjurations, ſchiſms, and hereſies, and they all there kneeled down, and received his abſolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their converſion to the catholic church, made by the cardinal, they departed.

Wedneſday, *December* 12, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Mr. Throgmorton's jury, were diſcharged, and ſet at liberty upon paying a fine of 220l. a-piece: and the other three put up a ſupplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the ſum that they were appointed to pay; upon which declaration, paying 40l. a piece, they were delivered out of priſon on the 21ſt of December.

Saturday, *December* 22, the parliament had a ſtrict command that none of them ſhould depart into the country this Chriſtmas, nor before the parliament were ended. Which command was very contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as alſo many of the commons, had ſent for their horſes, and had them brought hither.

Friday, *December* 28, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Weſtminſter.

On New-year's-day, 1555, at night, ſeveral honeſt men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and Mr. Roſe, a miniſter, were taken as they were in a houſe in Bow-church-yard, at the communion, and the ſame night were all committed to priſon. And on the third of January following, Mr. Roſe was before the biſhop of Wincheſter, the lord chancellor, and from thence the ſame day committed to the Tower, after ſome communication between the biſhop and him.

The ſame day the act of ſupremacy paſſed in the parliament, and at night a great tumult was at Weſtminſter, between ſome Spaniards and Engliſhmen, whereof a great miſchief had like to have enſued, by means of a Spaniſh friar, who got into the church, and rung the alarum. The occaſion was about two proſtitutes then in the cloyſter at Weſtminſter, with a ſort of Spaniards, whereof whilſt ſome played the knaves with them, others kept the entry of the cloyſter with dags in harneſs. In the mean time, ſome of the dean's men came into the cloyſter, and the Spaniards diſcharged their dags, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the noiſe of this came into the ſtreets, ſo that the whole town was up almoſt, but never a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwithſtanding, the noiſe of this doing with the dean's men, and alſo the ringing of the alarum, made much ado, and a great number to be ſore afraid.

We have before mentioned the council's letter ſent to biſhop Bonner, ſignifying the good news of queen Mary to be not only conceived, but alſo quick with child, which was the twenty-eighth of November. Of this child great talk at this time began to riſe in every man's mouth, eſpecially amongſt ſuch as ſeemed to carry Spaniſh hearts in Engliſh bodies. In which number here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his commendation for his worthy affection towards his prince and her iſſue, one ſir Richard Southwell, who being the ſame time in the parliament-houſe, when, as the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, ſuddenly ſtarting up, for fulneſs of joy burſt out in theſe words following: "Tuſh, my maſters, ſaid he, why talk ye of theſe matters? I would have you take ſome order for our maſter that is now coming into the world apace, leſt he find us unprovided," &c. By which words, and alſo by the aforeſaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an aſſured opinion was then conceived in men's heads, of queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child. Inſomuch that at the ſame time, and in the ſame parliament, there was a bill exhibited, and the following act made upon the ſame.

The WORDS *of the* ACT.

ALBEIT, we the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in the preſent parliament aſſembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodneſs of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouſly preſerved the queen's majeſty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even ſo he will of his infinite goodneſs give her highneſs ſtrength, the rather by our continual prayers, to paſs well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great comforts) to bleſs her: yet foraſmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconſtant government, during the time of the reign of the late king Edward the ſixth, do plainly ſee the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils that may enſue in this whole realm, if foreſight be not uſed to prevent all evil chances, if they ſhould happen; for the eſchewing hereof, we the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpecial truſt and confidence that we have and repoſe in the king's majeſty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and adminiſtration of this realm, in the time of the young years of the iſſue or iſſues of her majeſty's body to be born, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the queen's highneſs out of this preſent life, during the tender years of ſuch iſſue or iſſues, (which God forbid) according to ſuch order and manner, as hereafter in this preſent act his highneſs's moſt gracious pleaſure is, ſhould be declared and ſet forth, have made our humble ſuit, by the aſſent of the queen's highneſs, that his majeſty would vouchſafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, and education, and government of the ſaid iſſue or iſſues to be born, as is aforeſaid: upon which our ſuit, being of his ſaid majeſty moſt graciouſly accepted, it hath pleaſed his highneſs not only to declare, That like as for the moſt part his majeſty verily truſteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preſerved the queen's majeſty, to give this realm ſo good an hope of certain ſucceſſion in the blood royal of the ſame realm) will aſſiſt her highneſs with his graces and benedictions, to ſee the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern; wherefore neither all this realm, nay all the world beſides, ſhould or could receive more comfort than his majeſty ſhould or would) yet if ſuch chance ſhould happen, his majeſty at our humble deſires is pleaſed and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the care and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of ſuch iſſues as of this moſt happy marriage ſhall be born between the queen's highneſs and him; but alſo, during the time of ſuch government, would by all ways and means, ſtudy, travel, and employ himſelf to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the ſaid truſt in his majeſty repoſed, with no leſs good will and affection, than if his highneſs had been naturally born amongſt us. In conſideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's moſt excellent majeſties, by the aſſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, &c. [As it is to be ſeen in the act more at large ratified and confirmed by the ſame parliament, to the ſame intent and purpoſe.]

Thus we ſee how man doth purpoſe, but God depoſeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great labour, proviſion, and order, taken in the parliament-houſe for their young maſter long-looked for, coming ſo ſurely into the world, in the end, appeared neither young maſter, nor young miſtreſs, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay-ſort was herein deluded; ſo no leſs ridiculous was it to behold, what little effect the prayers of the papiſts had with Almighty God, who travelled no leſs with their proceſſions, maſſes, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young maſter to come, as what follows will ſhew.

A PRAYER *by* DR. WESTON, DEAN *of* WESTMINSTER, *to be daily ſaid for the* QUEEN's DELIVERANCE.

O Moſt righteous Lord God, which for the offence of the firſt woman, hath threatened unto all women, a common, ſharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they ſhould conceive in ſin, and being conceived, ſhould be ſubject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives; we beſeech thee for thine exceeding great goodneſs and bottomleſs mercy, to mitigate the ſtrictneſs of that law. Aſſwage thine anger for a while, and cheriſh in the boſom of thy favour and mercy our moſt gracious queen Mary, being now at the point of being delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life ſhe may overcome the ſorrow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterwards, ſhe forgetting the trouble, may with joy laud and praiſe the bountifulneſs of thy mercy, and together with us, praiſe and bleſs both thee and thy holy name world without end.

Another ſolemn PRAYER *for* KING PHILIP *and* QUEEN MARY's CHILD, *that it may be a* MALE-CHILD, *&c.*

O Moſt mighty Lord God, who regardeſt the prayer of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy to us wretched ſinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep ſighs bewailing our ſins and offences humbly with eyes intent, and hands diſplayed, praying and beſeeching thee, with the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy ſervant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou haſt willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciouſly with the help of thy right hand deliver her, and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preſerve.

It is well known unto us how marvellouſly thou didſt work in Sarah of the age of 90 years, and in Elizabeth the barren, and alſo fair ſtricken in age: for thy council is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the ſearcher of hearts and thoughts thou knoweſt that thy ſervant never luſted after man, never gave herſelf to wanton company, nor made herſelf partaker with them that walk in lightneſs: but ſhe conſented to take an huſband with thy fear, and not with her luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſervant took an huſband not for carnal pleaſure, but only for the deſire and love of poſterity, wherein thy name might be bleſſed for ever and ever.

Tueſday, *January*, 10th, nineteen members of the lower-houſe, with their ſpeaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm, and of the iſſue, if the queen ſhould fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

Wedneſday, 26th, the parliament was diſſolved. In this parliament the biſhop of Rome was eſtabliſhed, and all ſuch laws as were made againſt him ſince the twentieth year of king Henry VIII. were repealed, and cardinal Poole, biſhop Pates, Lilly, and others, were reſtored to their blood. Alſo an act was made, that whoever ſhould ſpeak any thing againſt the king or queen, or that might move any ſedition or rebellion, at the firſt time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit an hundred marks; and at the ſecond time, to have both his ears cut off, or elſe to forfeit an hundred pounds; and whoſoever ſhould write, cypher, or print any of the premiſes, to have their right hand cut off.

Likewiſe in this parliament three ſtatutes were revived for trial of hereſy: one made in the fifth year of Richard II. another in the ſecond year of Henry IV. and the third in the ſecond year of Henry V. Alſo the affair of Mr. Roſe, and others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament, and upon that occaſion an act was made, that certain evil prayers ſhould be treaſon againſt the queen's highneſs. The prayers of theſe men were thus: "God turn the heart of queen Mary from idolatry, or elſe ſhorten her days."

At the apprehending of Mr. Roſe, and his companions, word was brought thereof to biſhop Hooper, being then in the Fleet; whereupon the biſhop ſent a letter of conſolation to the ſaid priſoners; enjoining them not to fear their adverſaries, though he acknowledged the papiſt's church was more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the ſword of the heathens and gentiles.

Upon Friday, January 18th, all the council went to the Tower, and ſet at liberty moſt part of the priſoners, among whom were the late duke of Northumberland's ſons, Ambroſe, Robert, and Henry, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John Rogers, ſir James Crofts, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, ſir Nicholas Arnal, ſir George Harper, ſir Edward Warner, ſir William Sentlow, ſir Gawen Carew, Mr. Gibbes, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

Tueſday, 22d, all the preachers who were in priſon, were called before the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the biſhop's houſe, in St. Mary Overy's. From whence, (after communication, being aſked whether they would convert, and enjoy the queen's pardon, or elſe ſtand to that they had taught; they all anſwered, that they would ſtand to that they had taught) they were committed to ſtraighter priſon than before, with charge that none ſhould ſpeak with them: of whom, one James George, the ſame time, died in priſon, being there in bonds for religion and righteouſneſs' ſake, who therefore being exempted burial in the popiſh church-yard, was buried in the fields.

Wedneſday, 23d, all the biſhops, with the reſt of the convocation-houſe, were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he deſired them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to treat their flock with all mildneſs, and to endeavour to win the people rather by gentleneſs, than by extremity and rigour, and ſo let them depart.

Friday, 25th, being the day of converſion of St. Paul, there was a general and ſolemn proceſſion through London to give God thanks for their converſion to the catholic church: wherein (to ſet out their glorious pomp) there were fourſcore and ten croſſes, one hundred and ſixty prieſts and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, ſinging loudly. There followed alſo, for the better eſtimation of the ſight, eight biſhops; and laſt of all came Bonner, biſhop of London, carrying the popiſh pyx under a canopy.

There were alſo preſent the mayor, and aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover the king alſo himſelf, and the cardinal, came to St. Paul's church the ſame day. From whence after maſs they returned to Weſtminſter again. As the king was entering the church, at the ſteps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were ſet at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themſelves and their ſervices.

After the proceſſion, there was alſo commandment given to make bonfires at night. Whereupon did riſe among the people a doubtful talk why all this was done: ſome ſaying it was, that the queen being with child, might have a ſafe delivery; others thought, that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the ſee of Rome.

Monday, 28th, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other biſhops, had commiſſion from the cardinal to ſit upon, and order, according to the laws, all ſuch preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in priſon; and according to this commiſſion, the ſame day the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other biſhops, with certain of the council, ſat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them biſhop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the ſheriffs; from whence, after communication, they were committed to priſon till the next day, but Cardmaker ſubmitted himſelf.

Tueſday, 29th, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford, were brought before them, where ſentence of excommunication, and judgment eccleſiaſtical, were pronounced upon biſhop Hooper, and Mr. Rogers, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who ſat as judge in Caiaphas's ſeat, and drove them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to priſon till the next day.

Wedneſday, 30th, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, ſometime biſhop of St. David's, were before the ſaid biſhops, when Dr. Taylor, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Bradford, were likewiſe excommunicated; and, ſentence being pronounced upon them, they were committed to the ſheriffs. Dr. Crome deſired two months reſpite, which was granted him; and Mr. Ferrar was again committed to priſon till another time. All theſe men ſhewed themſelves to be learned, as indeed they were: but what availeth either learning, reaſon, or truth itſelf, where arbitrary will alone beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of theſe good men and preachers, commiſſions and inquiſitors were ſent abroad into all parts of the realm: by reaſon whereof, a great number of moſt godly and true chriſtians (out of all the quarters, but eſpecially Kent, Eſſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, caſt into priſon, and afterwards (moſt of them) either conſumed cruelly by fire, or elſe through evil handling died in priſons, and were buried on the dung-hills, in the fields, or in ſome back-ſide of the priſon.

What the cruel ſufferings, perſecutions, tortures, and agonizing deaths were, which theſe, and numberleſs other ſubjects of the bloody queen Mary, endured from her hands, and thoſe of her no leſs bloody inſtruments, the biſhops Bonner and Gardner, ſhall (God willing) be the ſubſtance of the next book.

As to the queen (chief cauſe of all theſe barbarities) her health had been, for ſome time in a declining ſtate; and on miſtaking her dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had uſed an improper regimen, which daily increaſed her diſorder. Every reflection was now a ſubject of torment begun in this world, and ſtruck a dagger in her heart. The corroding worm, that never dies began to gnaw it's vital ſtrings. The conſciouſneſs of having incurred the hatred of her ſubjects; the idea of Elizabeth's ſucceeding to the crown; her fear that the catholic religion would be expoſed to danger; her dejection for the loſs of Calais with which ſhe was deadly affected; and above all, her grief for the loſs of her huſband, whom, ſhe knew, intended ſoon to return to Spain, to ſettle there during the remainder of his life: theſe melancholy reflections, preying upon her mind, with the greteſt violence, threw her into a complication of diſorders, attended with a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, November 17th, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, after a ſhort, cruel, and unhappy reign of five years, four months, and eleven days. She was interred at Weſtminſter, in the chapel of her grandfather Henry VII. Some writers have been of opinion, that this unworthy queen had a ſerious ſenſe of religion, but can we call that profeſſion ſerious, however diſtinguiſhed by the peaceful, ſacred name of religion, which prompts us to be guilty of ſavage cruelty, and deſtitute of all the ſocial virtues? There are, we acknowledge, a few devout pieces extant, compoſed by Mary.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The LIFE, EXAMINATIONS, WRITINGS, *and* CONDEMNATION, *of the* Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, *and alſo the* LIFE *and* MARTYRDOM *of the* Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS; *who were burned, the former in* SMITHFIELD, *February 4th, the latter at* COVENTRY, *February 8th*, 1555.

THE Rev. Mr. John Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and reader of St. Paul's London, was educated in the univerſity of Cambridge, and at length was choſen chaplain to the Engliſh factory at Antwerp, in Brabant; there he became acquainted with Mr. William Tindal, whom he aſſiſted in his tranſlation of the New Teſtament, and with Miles Coverdale, who, with ſeveral other worthy proteſtants, had been driven out of England on account of the perſecutions for five articles, in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. By means of converſing with theſe worthy and pious ſervants of God, Mr. Rogers came to the knowledge of the ſcriptures, and finding, according to thoſe ſacred oracles, that matrimony was both honeſt and honourable, he entered into that ſtate, and went with his wife to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where, through indefatigable ſtudy and application in a ſhort time he attained to ſuch a knowledge of the Dutch language as to be capable of taking charge of a chriſtian congregation in that part of Europe.

Having caſt off all popiſh ſuperſtitions, idolatry and reſtrictions, this aged miniſter ſerved his cure faithfully and diligently for many years, until ſuch time that it pleaſed God to diſpel the miſts of popiſh darkneſs from his native country, and reſtore the glorious light of the pure goſpel of Chriſt, by the introduction of his choſen ſervant Edward VI. to the throne of England.

Mr. Rogers then, being orderly called, left his living in Saxony, and came into England to preach the goſpel without any previous condition, appointment, or eſtabliſhment whatever: but after having laboured in the vineyard of his maſter for a time, with great ſucceſs, Dr. Ridley, then biſhop of London, gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's: of which he was afterwards choſen by the dean and chapter, one of the divinity lecturers, or a reader of divinity in that church. Here he continued till queen Mary ſoon after her acceſſion, baniſhed the true religion and again introduced the ſuperſtition and idolatry of the church of Rome with all the horrid cruelties of blood-thirſty Antichriſt.

When queen Mary was in the Tower of London imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counſels, Mr. Rogers preached at Paul's Croſs, confirming thoſe doctrines which he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, and exhorted the people, with peculiar energy, to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſame, and to beware of the falſe tenets of peſtilent popery. For this ſermon the preacher was ſummonſed before the council, then filled with popiſh and bloody biſhops; before whom he pleaded his own cauſe in ſo pious, bold, and yet prudent a manner, as to obviate their diſpleaſure for that time, and he was diſmiſſed. But after Mary's proclamation, to prohibit the preaching of the doctrines of the reformed religion, Mr. Rogers, for a contempt of the ſame, was again ſummonſed before a council of biſhops, who, after having debated upon the nature of his offence, ordered him to keep cloſe priſoner in his own houſe, where he remained a conſiderable time, till at the inſtigation of the cruel Bonner, biſhop of London, he was removed to Newgate, and placed among the common felons. What paſſed between him and the adverſaries of Chriſt, during the time of his impriſonment, is not certainly known; but the following examinations he left in his own hand-writing: and it is the will of God they ſhould be handed down to us, and remain a perpetual teſtimony in the cauſe of true religion.

The FIRST *and* SECOND EXAMINATIONS *of the* Rev. Mr. JOHN ROGERS, *before the* LORD CHANCELLOR, GARDINER, BISHOP *of* WINCHESTER, *and* OTHERS *of the* COUNCIL *of* BISHOPS, *January 22d*, 1555.

FIRST, the lord Chancellor ſaid unto me thus: Sir, you have heard the ſtate of the realm in which it ſtandeth now.

Rogers. No, my lord, I have been kept in cloſe priſon, and except there have been ſome general things ſaid at the table, when I was at dinner or ſupper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing, whereupon any ſpecial thing might be grounded.

Then ſaid the lord chancellor, General things, mockingly: you have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his bleſſing, not one reſiſting it, except one man which did ſpeak againſt it. Such an unity, and ſuch a miracle hath not been ſeen. And all they, of which there are eight ſcore in one houſe, (ſaid one that was by, whoſe name I know not) have with one aſſent received pardon of their offences, for the ſchiſm that we have had in England, in refuſing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How ſay you? are you content to unite yourſelf to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the ſtate in which it is now in England? will you do that?

Rogers. The catholic church I never did nor will diſſent from.

Lord Chancellor. Nay, but I ſpeak of the ſtate of the catholic church, in that wiſe in which we ſtand now in England, having received the pope to be ſupreme head.

Rogers. I know none other head but Chriſt of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the biſhop of Rome to have any more authority than any other biſhop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrines of the old and pure catholic church, four hundred years after Chriſt.

Lord Chancellor. Why didſt thou then acknowledge king Henry the eighth to be ſupreme head of the church, if Chriſt be the only head?

Rogers. I never granted him to have any ſupremacy in ſpiritual things, as are the forgiveneſs of ſins; giving of the Holy Ghoſt; authority to be a judge above the word of God.

Lord Chancellor. Yea, ſaid he and Tonſtall biſhop of Durham, and N. biſhop of Worceſter, if thou hadſt ſaid ſo in his days, (and they nodded their head at me with a laughter) thou hadſt not been alive now.

Rogers. Which thing I denied. The lord chancellor ſaid, What ſayeſt thou? make us a direct anſwer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that ſtate in which we are now?

Rogers. My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourſelves do think in your hearts that he is ſupreme head in forgiving of ſins, &c. (as is before ſaid) ſeeing you and all the biſhops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and ſome of you alſo written to the contrary, and the parliament hath ſo long ago condeſcended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus:

Lord Chancellor. Tuſh, that parliament was with moſt great cruelty conſtrained to aboliſh and put away the primacy from the biſhop of Rome.

Rogers. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to perſuade men's conſciences. For it ſhould appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then uſed hath not perſuaded your conſciences. How would you then have our conſciences perſuaded with cruelty?

Lord Chancellor. I talk to thee of no cruelty but that they were ſo often and ſo cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this parliament it was uniformly received. Here are two things, mercy and juſtice: if thou refuſe the queen's mercy now, then ſhalt thou have juſtice miniſtered unto thee.

Rogers. I never offended, nor was diſobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuſe her mercy. I cannot be ſo perſuaded.

Lord Chancellor. If thou wilt not receive the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the catholic church, then thou ſhalt never have her mercy, thou mayeſt be ſure. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that; or elſe thou ſhalt never have ſo much proffered thee again as thou haſt now.

Rogers. I will find it firſt in the ſcripture, and ſee it tried thereby, before I receive him to be ſupreme head.

Worceſter. Why, do you not know what is in your creed: "I believe in the holy catholic church?"

Rogers. I find not the biſhop of Rome there. For [catholic] ſignifieth not the Romiſh church: it ſignifieth the conſent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how ſhould the biſhop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth ſo many doctrines that are plainly and directly againſt the word of God? Can that biſhop be the true head of the catholic church, that doth ſo? That is not poſſible.

Lord Chancellor. Shew me one of them, one: let me hear one.

Rogers. The biſhop of Rome and his church, ſay, read, and ſing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly againſt the 1ſt. to the Corinthians, the xiv. chapter.

Lord Chancellor. I deny that; I deny that is againſt the word of God. Let me ſee you prove that: how prove you that?

Rogers. Thus I began to ſay the text from the beginning of the chapter, "He that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue," &c. To ſpeak with tongues, is to ſpeak with a ſtrange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and ſo to ſpeak, is not to ſpeak unto men, but to God. But ye ſpeak in Latin, which is a ſtrange tongue, wherefore ye ſpeak not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the moſt). This he granted, that they ſpake not unto men, but unto God.

This a point of ſophiſtry, quoth ſecretary Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Haward, that when he was in High-Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and uſed their ſervice all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worceſter. Yes, and at Wittenberg too.

Rogers. Yes, (but I could not be heard for the noiſe). And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in theſe days and ſo have come again to my purpoſe, but it was impoſſible: for one aſked one thing, another ſaid another; ſo that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor ordered me to priſon again: and away, away, ſaid he, we have more to talk withal; if I would not be reformed (ſo he termed it) away, away. Then up I ſtood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southell, who ſtood by in a window, ſaid to me, Thou wilt not burn in this cauſe when it cometh to the purpoſe; I know well that.

Rogers. Sir, I cannot tell, but I truſt in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majeſty's pleaſure and meaning, and ſet out with large words, ſaying, That ſhe took them that would not receive the pope's ſupremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

Rogers. I ſaid I would not refuſe her mercy; and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I beſought her grace, and all her honours, to be good to me, reſerving my conſcience.

Divers ſpake at once. No? quoth they then a great many of them, and eſpecially ſecretary Bourne, a married prieſt, and have not offended the law?

Rogers. I ſaid, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that? ſaid they: thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers. In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that prieſts might have had wives, I would never have come home again: for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be ſure that I would not have done if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before.

And one ſaid (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever yet granted that a prieſt might have a wife.

Rogers. I ſaid, the catholic church never denied marriage to prieſts, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the ſerjeant which brought me thither, having me by the arm.

Then the biſhop of Worceſter turned his face towards me, and ſaid, that I knew not where that church was or is.

Rogers. I ſaid, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith the ſerjeant went with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was ſpoken unto me, and of all that I anſwered thereunto.

The SECOND EXAMINATION, 28*th of* Jan. 1555.

BEING aſked again by the lord chancellor, what I thought concerning the bleſſed ſacrament, whether I belived in the ſacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the croſs, really and ſubſtantially.

I anſwered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore ſuſpected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithſtanding, even as the moſt part of your doctrine in other points is falſe, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty; ſo in this matter I think it to be as falſe as the reſt. For I cannot underſtand [really and ſubſtantially] to ſignify otherwiſe than corporally: but corporally Chriſt is only in heaven, and ſo cannot Chriſt be corporally alſo in your ſacrament. And here I ſomewhat ſet out his charity after this ſort: My lord, ſaid I, you have dealt with me moſt cruelly: for you have put me in priſon without law, and kept me there now almoſt a year and a half, for I was almoſt half a year in my houſe, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and ſpake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great coſts and charges, having a wife and ten children to provide for, and have not received a penny from my livings, which was againſt the law.

He replied, that Dr. Ridley, who had given them me, was an uſurper, and therefore, I was the unjuſt poſſeſſor of them.

Was the king then an uſurper, ſaid I, who gave Dr. Ridley the biſhopric?

Yes, ſaid he, and began to ſet out the wrongs that the king had done to the biſhop of London, and to himſelf alſo. But yet I do miſuſe my terms, ſaid he, to call the king uſurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very ſorry for it in heart.

I aſked him wherefore he put me in priſon. He ſaid, becauſe I preached againſt the queen.

I anſwered that it was not true; and I would be bound to prove it, and to ſtand to the trial of the law, that no man ſhould be able to diſprove it, and thereupon would ſet my life. I preached, I confeſſed, a ſermon at the Croſs, after the queen came to the Tower: but therein was nothing ſaid againſt the queen.

But you did read lectures after, ſaid he, againſt the commandment of the council?

That I did not, ſaid I; let that be proved, and let me die for it.

I might and would have added, if I could have been ſuffered to ſpeak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and then to have impriſoned them after that they had offended laws: for they are good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praiſe, and not of puniſhment. But their purpoſe is to keep men in priſon, until they may catch them in their laws, and ſo kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a crafty deviſed law was caſt into the lion's den. I might alſo have declared, that I moſt humbly deſired to be ſet at liberty, ſending my wife to him with a ſupplication, being great with child, and with her eight honeſt women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Chriſtmas was a twelve-month, while I was yet in my houſe.

I wrote likewiſe two ſupplications to him out of Newgate, and ſent my wife many times to him. Mr. Goſnold alſo, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and ſo did divers other worthy men alſo take pains in the matter. Theſe things declare my lord chancellor's antichriſtian charity, which is, that he hath and doth ſeek my blood, and the deſtruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a ſhort ſum of the words which were ſpoken on the 28th of January, in the afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the firſt, and Mr. Cardmaker the ſecond in examination before me.

Then the clock being, as I gueſſed, about four, the lord chancellor ſaid, that he and the church muſt yet uſe charity with me, and gave me reſpite till to-morrow, to ſee whether I would return to the catholic church again, (for ſo he called his antichriſtian falſe church) and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I ſaid that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into his church would I, by God's grace, never come.

Well, ſaid he, then is our church falſe and antichriſtian?

Yes, ſaid I.

And what is the doctrine of the ſacrament?

Falſe; and I caſt my hands abroad.

Then one ſaid that I was a player. To whom I anſwered not; for I took no notice of his mock.

Come again, ſaid the lord-chancellor, to-morrow, between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whenſoever you call.

And thus was I brought up by the ſheriffs to the compter in Southwark, Mr. Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being preſent, ſo that we had much ado to go in the ſtreets. Thus much was done January 28.

The THIRD EXAMINATION, *and* CONDEMNATION, JANUARY 29, 1555.

THE next day, *January* 29, we were ſent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and by the ſheriffs fetched from the compter in Southwark, to St. Mary Overy's: and when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I underſtood afterwards, then ſent they for me. My lord chancellor ſaid:

Rogers, here thou waſt yeſterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyſelf laſt night, whether thou wouldſt come to the holy catholic church of Chriſt again or not. Tell us now what thou haſt determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and ſorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My lord, ſaid I, I remember well what you yeſterday ſaid to me, and deſire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to ſay thereunto; and that done, I ſhall anſwer to your demanded queſtion.

When I yeſterday deſired that I might be ſuffered by the ſcripture and authority of the firſt, beſt, and pureſt church, to defend my doctrine by writing, (meaning not only of the primacy, but alſo of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) you anſwered, that it might not, and ought not to be granted me, for I was a private perſon; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private perſons, and therefore the ſentence thereof might not be found faulty and uſeleſs by me, being but a private perſon. Yet, my lord, I am able to ſhew examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, ſome one man coming in afterwards, hath by the word of God proved ſo clearly that the council had erred in decreeing the ſaid article, that he cauſed the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of theſe examples, I am able to ſhew two. I can alſo ſhew the authority of St. Auguſtine; that when he diſputed with an heretic, he would neither himſelf, nor yet have the heretic to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that diſputed againſt him; but ſaid, that he would have the ſcriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

I could alſo ſhew the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitanus, who ſaith, That unto a ſimple lay-man that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By theſe things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to ſpeak my mind, and to be heard againſt a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church 400 years after Chriſt, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without reſpect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; eſpecially ſeeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefeſt councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the biſhops of Rome ought to be compared. For if Henry VIII. were alive, and ſhould call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alledged the example of the act of making the queen a baſtard, and of making himſelf the ſuperior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one, whom God forgive) then would you (pointing to my lord chancellor) and ye, and all (pointing to the reſt of the biſhops) ſay Amen: yea, and it pleaſe your grace, it is meet that it be ſo enacted.

Here my lord chancellor would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more; but bade me ſit down, mockingly, ſaying, That I was ſent for to be inſtructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their inſtructor.

My lord, ſaid I, I ſtand, and ſit not: ſhall I not be ſuffered to ſpeak for my life?

Shall we ſuffer thee to tell a tale, and prate? ſaid he. And with that he ſtood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud faſhion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them ſomewhat, which he thought to hinder by daſhing me out of my tale, and ſo he did; for I could never be ſuffered to come to my tale again, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and, as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that caſe, being God's cauſe, I told him he ſhould not make me afraid to ſpeak.

Lord Chancellor. See what a ſpirit this fellow hath, ſaith he, finding fault at mine accuſtomed earneſtneſs, and hearty manner of ſpeaking.

Rogers. I have a true ſpirit, agreeing to, and obeying the word of God, and would further have ſaid, that I was never the worſe, but the better, to be earneſt in a juſt and true cauſe, and in my maſter Chriſt's matters: but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him, that his church of Rome was the church of Antichriſt, meaning the falſe doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel perſecutions uſed by the biſhops of the ſaid church of which the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the reſt of his fellow biſhops that are now in England, are the chief members): of laws I mean, ſaid I, and not all men and women which are in the pope's church. Likewiſe, when I was ſaid to have denied their ſacrament (where he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Chriſt's inſtitution; more for his own and his popiſh generation's ſake, than for religion or God's ſake; I told him after what order I did ſpeak of it, (for the manner of his ſpeaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had Jan. 28.) wherewith he was not contented, but aſked the audience, whether I had not ſimply denied the ſacrament. They would have ſaid, and did what he deſired, for moſt of them were of his own ſervants on this day. At laſt I ſaid, I will never deny what I ſaid, that your doctrine of the ſacrament is falſe; but yet I tell you after what order I ſaid it.

To be ſhort, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles: firſt, that I affirmed the Romiſh catholic church to be the church of Antichriſt; and that I denied the reality of their ſacrament. He cauſed me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity, and ſo he gave me over into the ſheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

After his ſentence was read, biſhop Gardiner ſent Mr. Hooper and me to the Clink, there to remain till night; and when it was dark, they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with one ſheriff, and coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enough, out of the Clink, and led us through the biſhop's houſe, and St. Mary Overy's church-yard, and ſo into Southwark, and over the bridge in proceſſion to Newgate, through the city. When the biſhop had read the condemnation, I petitioned to ſee and ſpeak to my wife, who was a ſtranger, and had ten children; but he ſaid ſhe was not my wife. I declared ſhe was, for we had been married 18 years. He ſtill denied it, ſaid I maintained open whoredom, and that I ſhould not ſee her.

The WRITINGS *of the* Rev. Mr. ROGERS, *while in Priſon, containing the Subſtance of what he intended, might he have been permitted to plead in his own Defence, when examined by the* Bench *of* Popish Bishops.

DEARLY beloved, ye have heard what was ſaid: now hear what I purpoſed the night before to have ſaid, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purpoſed to have touched upon. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reaſon and write againſt a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me; the other was to prove, that proſperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purpoſed to ſpeak of, becauſe the lord chancellor boaſted of himſelf, that he was delivered forth of priſon, as it were by miracle, and preſerved of God to reſtore true religion, and to puniſh me and ſuch others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning theſe two points, in this manner I purpoſed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that king Henry VIII. in his time made his daughter, the queen that now is, a baſtard: he pulled down abbeys; and all this he did by the conſent of parliament.

King Edward VI. in his time made lawful the marriage of prieſts, turned the ſervice into Engliſh, aboliſhed the idolatrous maſs, with all like ſuperſtitious trumpery, ſet up the holy communion, and all by conſent of parliament.

The queen that now is, hath repealed the act that made her a baſtard; hath brought in the biſhop of Rome, and ſet him in his old authority; beginneth to ſet up abbeys again; hath made the marriage of prieſts unlawful; hath turned the Engliſh ſervice into Latin again; hath ſet up maſs again, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by conſent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament, made in king Henry's time, and in king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all poſitive law ought to be grounded: then theſe which are eſtabliſhed in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, ſo are they wicked, and therefore to be both ſpoken and written againſt of all men, as well of private as of public perſons.

I am an Engliſhman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wiſh well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared ſhould come to paſs, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my gueſſing in this behalf.

And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had ſet you aloft to puniſh us by miracle, (for ſo you report and brag openly of yourſelf) and to miniſter juſtice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and our's falſe; to that I anſwer thus: God's works are wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wiſdom, nor by the wit of the moſt wiſe and prudent.

But here they will cry out, Lo theſe men will be ſtill John Baptiſt, the apoſtles, and prophets, &c.

I anſwer, We make not ourſelves like unto them, in the ſingular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The ſimilitude and likeneſs of them and us conſiſteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the ſuffering of perſecution and infamy for the ſame.

We have preached their very doctrine, and no other thing: that we are able ſufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the ſame, as is often ſaid. And for this cauſe we ſuffer the like reproach, ſhame, and rebuke of the world, and the like perſecution, loſing of our lives and goods, forſaking (as our maſter Chriſt commandeth) father, mother, ſiſter, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being aſſured of a joyful reſurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promiſes made unto us in Chriſt, our only and ſufficient mediator, reconciler, prieſt, and ſacrifice, which hath pleaſed the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath againſt our ſins, and made us without ſpot or wrinkle in his ſight by imputation, although we, of and in ourſelves, are blotted with many filthy ſins, which if the great mercy granted in Chriſt did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his unſpeakable mercy and love to ſave us, they would have brought us to everlaſting damnation: and herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourſelves to be like unto our head Chriſt, and all his apoſtles, prophets, martyrs, and ſaints. And herein ought all chriſtian men to be like them, and herein are all true chriſtian men and women like them, every one according to the meaſure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them and to the diverſity of the gifts of the ſpirit given unto them. But let us now conſider, that if it be God's good will and pleaſure to give his own beloved heart, that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chaſten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural ſtubbornneſs, diſobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readineſs, and deſire to love creatures, to ſeek their own luſts, pleaſures, and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earneſt repentance, and ſorrowfulneſs thereof, and to make them ſigh and cry for the forgiveneſs of the ſame, and for the aid of the ſpirit, daily to mortify and kill the ſaid evil deſires and luſts: yea, and often falling into groſs outward ſins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to riſe again alſo, with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other cauſes. Let us alſo conſider, what he hereafter doth with the ſame enemies, into whoſe hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chaſtened and tried: whereas he but chaſteneth and croſſeth them for a ſmall while, according to his good pleaſure,

ſure, as all fathers do with their children, Heb. xii. Prov. iii. he utterly deſtroyeth, yea, and everlaſtingly damneth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he got by killing James, and proſecuting Peter and his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death miniſtered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures; but thoſe ſmall, and yet moſt vile vermin, lice and worms, muſt conſume and kill his beaſtly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and moſt mighty power, muſt at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands, that God's congregation might have true mercy miniſtered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of theſe our days, that is to ſay, extreme cruelty, and even the very, and that moſt horrible and cruel death, God aroſe and awoke out of his ſleep, and deſtroyed thoſe enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and ſtretched-out arm. Pharaoh did with moſt great and intolerable labours and burdens oppreſs and bring under the poor Iſraelities, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noiſe abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to ſuffer them to live in the land, and to ſet them to work, that they might get them their livings. If he could thruſt them out of his land, whither ſhould they go, like a ſort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and ſo did his flattering falſe courtiers ſpread his vain praiſe abroad. Have not we the like example now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Wincheſter's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and my good brethren, I will not ſpeak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's moſt innocent daughter, and to her as innocent huſband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deſerved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgements. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there are many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues; and his moſt flouriſhing land was, in conſequence of his counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and tyranny, utterly deſtroyed. And think you that bloody butcherly biſhop of Wincheſter, and his moſt bloody brethren ſhall eſcape? Or that England ſhall for their offences, and eſpecially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? yes undoubtedly.

After Mr. Rogers had been long and ſtraitly impriſoned, and lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjuſtly and moſt cruelly condemned by Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter: on the fourth of February, being Monday in the morning, he was ſuddenly warned by the keeper of Newgate's wife, to prepare himſelf for the fire; who being then found aſleep, could ſcarce be awaked. At length being raiſed and awaked, and bid to make haſte, Then, ſaid he, if it be ſo, I need not tie my points; and ſo was had down, firſt to biſhop Bonner to be degraded; which being done, he craved of Bonner but one petition; and Bonner aſking what that ſhould be? Mr. Rogers replied, that he might ſpeak a few words with his wife before his burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then, ſaid he, you declare what your charity is; and ſo he was brought into Smithfield by Mr. Cheſter and Mr. Woodrooſe, then ſheriffs of London, there to be burnt; at the place of execution, the ſheriff aſked him, if he would recant his opinions? To this he anſwered, "That what he had preached, he would ſeal with his blood." Then, ſaid the ſheriff, thou art an heretic. To which Mr. Rogers replied, "That ſhall be known at the day of judgement." Well, ſaid Mr. Woodrooſe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, ſaid Mr. Rogers; and ſo he was brought the ſame day, Monday, February 4th, by the ſheriffs towards Smithfield, ſaying the Pſalm *Miſerere* by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his conſtancy, with great praiſes and thanks to God for the ſame. And there in the preſence of Mr. Rocheſter, comptroller of the queen's houſhold, ſir Richard Southwell, both the ſheriffs, and a great number of people, he was burnt to aſhes, waſhing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted; but he utterly refuſed it. He was the firſt martyr, of all the bleſſed company that ſuffered in queen Mary's time, that gave the firſt adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one ſucking at her breaſt, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield: this ſorrowful ſight of his own fleſh and blood could nothing move him, but he conſtantly and chearfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of the goſpel of Chriſt.

The LIFE *and* MARTYRDOM *of the* Rev. Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, *who was burned at* COVENTRY, *February 8th*, 1555.

AFTER queen Mary, by public proclamation, in the firſt year of her reign, had prohibited the ſincere preaching of God's holy word, ſeveral pious miniſters who had the cure and charge of ſouls committed to them, did notwithſtanding, according to their duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of bleſſed king Edward) but as the private paſtors of particular flocks, among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of good parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpoſe, as in the ſchool of Eaton. From whence (according to the manner there uſed) he was choſen to go to the king's college in Cambridge, where he continued a ſcholar three whole years, and profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time: ſhortly after, he did forſake the univerſity, and went to his parents, upon whoſe advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good eſtimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, ſhe thought to ſet him up wealthily, and ſo he coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant named ſir William Cheſter, (who afterwards chanced to be ſheriff of London the ſame year that Saunders was burnt at Coventry.)

It happened that the maſter, being a good man, and hearing his 'prentice thus in his ſecret prayers inwardly to mourn by himſelf, called him unto him, to know what the cauſe was of his ſolitarineſs and lamentations: who then perceiving him not to fancy that kind of life, (for ſo Saunders declared unto him) and perceiving alſo his whole purpoſe to be bent to the ſtudy of books, and ſpiritual contemplation, like a good man, directed his letters unto his friends, and giving him his indentures, ſet him free. Thus Mr. Laurence Saunders being raviſhed with the love of learning, and eſpecially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long in the traffic of merchandize, but ſhortly returned to Cambridge again to his ſtudy, where he began to add to the knowledge of the Latin, the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited very much in a little time; therewith alſo he joined the ſtudy of the Hebrew. Then he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy ſcripture, to furniſh himſelf for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was introduced, after licence obtained, he began to preach, and was ſo well liked of them who then had authority, that they had appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringham, where, by doctrine and life, he edified the pious, drew many ignorant to the true knowledge of God, and ſtopped the mouths of adverſaries. He married about that time, and in the married ſtate led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fothringham being diſſolved, he was placed to be a reader in the minſter at Litchfield: where he ſo behaved himſelf in teaching and living, that his very adverſaries did give a full report as well of his learning, as of his piety. After a certain ſpace, he departed from Litchfield to a benefice in Leiceſterſhire, called Church-langton, where he keeping reſidence taught diligently, and kept a liberal houſe. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Alhallows in Bread-ſtreet. Then he was minded to give over his cure in the country; and therefore after he had taken poſſeſſion of his benefice in London, he departed from thence into the country, clearly to diſcharge himſelf thereof.

Sunday, October 15th, in the forenoon, he made a ſermon in his pariſh, treating on that place which St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians: "I have coupled you to one man, that ye ſhould make yourſelves a chaſte virgin unto Chriſt. But I fear leſt it come to paſs, that as the ſerpent beguiled Eve, even ſo your wits ſhould be corrupt from the ſingleneſs which ye had toward Chriſt." He recited the ſum of that true chriſtian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Chriſt, to receive of him free juſtification through faith in his blood. The papiſtical doctrine he compared to the ſerpent's deceiving: and leſt they ſhould be deceived by it, he made a compariſon between the voice of God, and the voice of the popiſh ſerpent; deſcending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly ſee the difference that is between the order of the church ſervice, ſet forth by king Edward in the Engliſh tongue, and comparing it with the popiſh ſervice then uſed in the Latin tongue.

The firſt he ſaid was good, becauſe it was according to the word of God, 1 Cor. xiv. and the order of the primitive church. The other, he ſaid, was evil, and though in that evil, be intermingled ſome good Latin words, yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poiſon. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the biſhop of London interrupted him by ſending an officer for him.

Mr. Saunders continued in priſon one year and three months. In all which ſpace he ſent ſeveral letters to divers men; as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and alſo to others, certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and alſo of his private afflictions, and of his ſundry conflicts with his adverſaries; and in writing to his friend, he ſpeaketh of Dr. Weſton's conferring with him in the priſon.

LETTER I.

Which the Rev. Mr. SAUNDERS *ſent to* Bishop GARDINER, *exculpating himſelf from* CERTAIN CHARGES *laid againſt him.*

TOUCHING the cauſe of my impriſonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, foraſmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to uſe, according to our conſciences, ſuch ſervice as was then eſtabliſhed. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conſcience and the ſame ſervice then uſed. The act which I did (meaning his public teaching of God's word in his own pariſh, called Alhallows in Bread-ſtreet, in the city of London) was ſuch as being indifferently weighed, founded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at leaſt no wilful breaking of it, foraſmuch as I cauſed no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of ſermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in priſon may be thought to be more than a ſufficient puniſhment for ſuch a fault.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I ſay with St. Paul; this I confeſs, "That after the way which they call hereſy, ſo worſhip I the God of my fore-fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God," &c. Acts xxiv. And herein ſtudy I to have always a clear conſcience towards God and towards men; ſo that God I call to witneſs, I have a conſcience. And this my conſcience is not grounded upon vain fantaſy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witneſſing of his choſen church agreeable unto the ſame.

It is an eaſy thing for them which take Chriſt for their true paſtor, and be the very ſheep of his paſture, to diſcern the voice of their true ſhepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and ſtrangers: foraſmuch as Chriſt ſaith, "My ſheep hear my voice," John x. yea, and thereby they ſhall have the gift to know the right voice of the true ſhepherd, and ſo to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he alſo ſaith, "The ſheep follow the ſhepherd, for they know his voice: a ſtranger they will not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of a ſtranger." Such inward inſpiration doth the Holy Ghoſt put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwiſe unable to underſtand the true way of their ſalvation. And although the wolf (as Chriſt ſaith) cometh in ſheeps cloathing, yet by their fruits you ſhall know them. That the Romiſh religion is ravening and wolfiſh, is apparent in three principal points.

Firſt, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, It taketh away the true comfort of conſcience, in obſcuring, or rather burying of Chriſt and his office of ſalvation.

Thirdly, It ſpoileth God of his true worſhip and ſervice in ſpirit and truth, appointed in his commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, againſt which Chriſt with the prophet Iſaiah doth ſpeak ſharply; "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me. They worſhip me in vain, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men." And in another place, "Ye caſt aſide the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions."

LETTER II.

From the Rev. Mr. AUNDERS *to his* WIFE.

GRACE, mercy, and peace in Chriſt our Lord, intirely beloved wife, even as unto my own ſoul and body, ſo do I daily in my hearty prayer wiſh unto you; for I do daily, twice at leaſt, in this ſort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, ſo we ſhall together enjoy the ſame everlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Chriſt. And for this preſent life, let us wholly appoint ourſelves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that ſame merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaſeth him, Amen. I am chearful, I thank my God and my Chriſt, in whom and through whom I ſhall (I know) be able to fight a good fight, and finiſh a good courſe, and then receive the crown, which is laid up in ſtore for me, and all the true ſoldiers of Chriſt. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight luſtily to overcome the fleſh, the devil, and the world. What our harneſs and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in the ſixth chapter unto the Epheſians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no ſuit for me in any wiſe. Thank you know whom, for her moſt ſweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am paſſing. God ſend us all good ſpeed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few ſuch friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greateſt friendſhip. The bleſſing of God be with you all, Amen.

A priſoner in the Lord. L. SAUNDERS.

The conſtancy of this faithful ſervant of Chriſt, even unto the death, is ſufficiently manifeſted and declared by his valiant conteſt with thoſe two powerful enemies, Antichriſt and death: to neither of theſe did he give place, and in the end got the victory over them both.

When Mr. Saunders was in priſon, an order was ſent to the keeper, that no perſon ſhould ſpeak with him; but his wife coming to the priſon-gate with her young child in her arms, to viſit her huſband, the keeper, though he durſt not, on account of his charge, ſuffer her to come into the priſon, yet he took the infant out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Mr. Saunders, ſeeing the child, ſaid, that he rejoiced more to have ſuch a boy, than he ſhould if two thouſand pounds were given him. And to the ſtanders-by, who praiſed the goodlineſs of the child, he ſaid, "What man fearing God, would not loſe his life, rather than by prolonging it, he ſhould adjudge this boy to be a baſtard, his wife a whore, and himſelf a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cauſe, for which a man of my eſtate ſhould loſe his life, yet who would not give it, to vouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

After this good and faithful martyr had been kept in priſon one year and a quarter, the biſhops at length called him, as they did his fellow-priſoners, openly to be examined; and the purport of his examination, as written by himſelf, here followeth.

The EXAMINATION *of the* Rev. Mr. SAUNDERS *before the* QUEEN'S COUNCIL; GARDINER, Biſhop *of* WINCHESTER, *the then* CHANCELLOR, *and other* BISHOPS, *being preſent.*

In this examination the Lord Chancellor thus ſpake:

Lord Chancellor.

IT is not unknown that you have been a priſoner for ſuch abominable hereſies and falſe doctrine as have been ſown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be ſhewed to ſuch as ſeek for it. Wherefore if now you will ſhew yourſelf conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We muſt ſay that we have fallen in manner all: but now we are riſen again, and returned to the catholic church; you muſt riſe with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct anſwer.

Saunders. My lord, and my lords all, may it pleaſe your honours to give me leave to anſwer with deliberation.

Chancellor. Leave off your painting and pride of ſpeech: for ſuch is the faſhion of you all, to pleaſe yourſelves in your glorious words. Anſwer yes, or no.

Saunders. My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cauſe why it ſhould be in me; my learning I confeſs to be but ſmall; and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Notwithſtanding, it ſtandeth me in hand to anſwer your demand circumſpectly, conſidering that one of theſe two extreme perils is like to fall upon me, the loſing of a good conſcience, or the loſing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conſcience.

Chancellor. Conſcience? you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourſelves by ſingularity from the church.

Saunders. The Lord is the knower of all men's conſciences. And where your lordſhip layeth to my charge this dividing myſelf from the church, (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do underſtand) I do aſſure you that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up ſince I was fourteen years of age, being taught that the power of the biſhop of Rome is but uſurped, with many other abuſes ſpringing thereof. Yes, this I have received even at your hands that are here preſent, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority.

Chancellor. But have you received by conſent and authority all your hereſies of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar?

Saunders. My lord, it is leſs offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he doth loſe an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. Now you, all the whole ſort of you, had agreed to cut off the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the church again.

Biſhop of London. And if it pleaſe your lordſhip, I have his hand againſt the bleſſed ſacrament. How ſay you to that?

Saunders. What I have written, that I have written, and further I will not accuſe myſelf. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws ſince they were in force.

Chancellor. Well, you are obſtinate, and refuſe liberty.

Saunders. My lord, I may not buy liberty at ſuch a price: but I beſeech your honours to be means to the queen's majeſty for ſuch a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our conſciences unclogged, and we ſhall live as moſt obedient ſubjects. Otherwiſe, I muſt ſay for myſelf, that by God's grace I will abide the utmoſt extremity that man may do againſt me, rather than act againſt my conſcience.

Chancellor. Ah ſirrah, you will live as you like. The Donatiſts did deſire to live in ſingularity; but indeed they were not fit to live on earth: no more are you, and that you ſhall underſtand within theſe ſeven days; and therefore away with him.

Saunders. Welcome it, whatſoever the will of God ſhall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of ſhedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God reſt upon all your honours, Amen. This is the ſum and form of my firſt examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and ſtayed until the reſt of his fellow-priſoners were likewiſe examined, that they might have them altogether to priſon. Laurence Saunders, ſtanding among the officers, ſeeing there a great multitude of people, ſpoke freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Chriſt to Antichriſt they deſerved; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to riſe again, and to embrace Chriſt with ſtronger faith, to confeſs him to the end, in the defiance of Antichriſt, ſin, death, and the devil: ſo ſhould they retain the Lord's favour and bleſſing.

Having been excommunicated and delivered over to the ſecular power, he was brought by the ſheriffs of London to the Compter, a priſoner in his own pariſh of Bread-ſtreet, whereat he rejoiced greatly, both becauſe he found there a fellow-priſoner, Mr. Cardmaker, with whom he had much chriſtian and comfortable diſcourſe; and becauſe out of priſon, as before out of a pulpit, he might have an opportunity of preaching to his pariſhioners.

On the fourth day of February, Bonner, biſhop of London, came to the priſon to degrade him: which when he had done, Mr. Saunders ſaid to him, "I thank God I am none of your church."

The day following in the morning, the ſheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned.

When they were arrived at Coventry, a poor ſhoemaker, who uſed to ſerve him with ſhoes, came to him, and ſaid, O my good maſter, God ſtrengthen and comfort you. Good ſhoemaker, (Mr. Saunders replied) and I deſire thee to pray for me, for I am the moſt unfit man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me ſtrong enough. The ſame night he was put into the common jail among other priſoners, where he ſlept little, but ſpent the night in prayer, and inſtructing of others.

The next day, being the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park, without the city, going in an old-gown and a ſhirt, bare-footed, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to ſee the execution done, ſaid to Mr. Saunders, that he was one of them who marred the queen's realm with falſe doctrine and hereſy, wherefore thou haſt deſerved death: but yet if thou wilt revoke thine hereſies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. Saunders anſwered, It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourſelf, and ſuch as you are, which have always reſiſted God's holy word; it is you who have and do marr the queen's realm. I do hold no hereſies, but the doctrine of God, the bleſſed goſpel of Chriſt; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke. With that, this tormentor cried, Away with him. And away from him went Mr. Saunders, with a chearful courage, towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he roſe up again and took the ſtake to which he ſhould be chained, in his arms, and kiſſed it, ſaying, Welcome the Croſs of Chriſt, welcome everlaſting life: and being faſtened to the ſtake, and fire put to him, full ſweetly he ſlept in the Lord.

Mr. Saunders often told his friends, that many would ſuffer, if ever Mary aſcended throne. He knew the temper of that princeſs, and probably it was that which made him expect ſufferings.

Some modern unbelievers have ſaid, that the martyrs had good hearts, but confuſed heads; and to this they have added, that they were madmen. Suppoſing we ſhould turn the argument againſt the deiſts, by begging the queſtion, and aſked them, whether Socrates, whom they ſo much glory in, was a madman, for aſſerting that there was but one divine being? For this crime (if it was one) Socrates ſuffered death, by being condemned to drink the hemlock. Now let any man read the Phædon of Plato, and then let him anſwer whether Socrates did not die an enthuſiaſt.

It is alſo ſaid, they had good hearts, but their heads were not clear. Let us admit the aſſertion to be true, and let us conſider the circumſtances from which it took its riſe. The whole truth will appear from a careful attention to the following things:

Firſt, many of theſe men had, from motives of conſcience, left that ſyſtem of ſuperſtition in which they had been educated, and embraced the truth perhaps in a more violent manner than was conſiſtent with that calmneſs of reflection, which muſt, at all times, conduct thoſe to the knowledge of the truth, who would willingly obey the goſpel.

Secondly, It may be obſerved, that however deſirable it may be to have a head well informed, it is much better to have a good heart. A man may have much knowledge, and at the ſame time be deſtitute of piety. There have been many learned men who were ſtrangers to religion; there have been ſufferers for the truth, who knew but little of what is commonly called human knowledge.

Laſtly, Let them conſider the circumſtances of the times: light breaking out from darkneſs is apt to bewilder the rational faculties; and men are frequently led into extravagancies, without any intention to deceive. Indeed, the martyrs knew they had nothing to expect but ſufferings; and therefore they thought they might avow their ſentiments.

This may ſerve to ſhew, that all the objections which, from time to time, have been brought againſt the martyrs, are extremely inſignificant, and not worthy of a ſerious anſwer.

We ſhall here relate the converſation which paſſed between Mr. Saunders, in the beginning of his troubles, and Dr. Pendleton.

A CONVERSATION *between the Rev.* Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS *and* Dr. PENDLETON.

AT the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of queen Mary's reign, doctor Pendleton and Mr. Saunders, men known to the world, not only to be learned, but alſo earneſt preachers of God's word in the time of bleſſed king Edward, met together in the country, where by occaſion they were at that time, and as the caſe required (by reaſon of the perſecution that was then at hand) fell to debate what was beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon. Whereunto Mr. Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak fleſh, that was loth to taſte the bitter cup, though his ſpirit was ready thereunto: or whether it were upon the miſtruſt of his own ſtrength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the ſaid cauſes alone, but for both together, or ſuch like; ſeemed ſo fearful and feeble-ſpirited, that he ſhewed himſelf in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at leaſt, to fly the land, rather than ſtick to his profeſſion. Whereas Dr. Pendleton took upon him to comfort Mr. Saunders all that he might (who, on the contrary ſide, appeared not ſo big of body, but as bold in courage, nor ſo earneſt before in the pulpit, but as ready now to ſeal the ſame with his blood), admoniſhing him, as he could do it very well, not to forſake cowardly his flock when he had moſt need to defend them from the wolf; neither having put his hand to God's plough, to ſtart now aſide, and give it over; nor yet (what is worſt of all) having once forſaken Antichriſt, to fall either himſelf, or ſuffer others by his example to return to their vomit again.

After which, and ſuch like perſuaſions, bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him; What, man! (ſaid he) there is a great deal more cauſe in me to be afraid than in you: foraſmuch as you ſee, I carry a greater maſs of fleſh upon my back than you do; and being ſo laden with a heavier lump of the vile carcaſe, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you: and yet, ſaid he, I will ſee the laſt drop of this greaſe of mine melted away, and the laſt particle of this fleſh conſumed to aſhes, before I will forſake God and his truth. Whereunto the other anſwered but little, wiſhing that God would give him more ſtrength than he then felt in himſelf, acknowledging his own weakneſs; but conſented notwithſtanding, though it were ſomewhat faintly, to join with him in the profeſſion of the goſpel, and ſo to go up to London, and ſet forth the ſame; whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, behold, what a great change was there between theſe two perſons! The poor, feeble, and faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodneſs of Almighty God, taking heart of grace to him, ſeeking the ſame in humility, boldly and ſtoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichriſt, and zealouſly preaching Chriſt his maſter, for which he afterwards ſuffered moſt willingly, as is before declared. Whereas, on the other ſide, Dr. Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the ſequel, had been more ſtout in words than conſtant in deeds, and a greater boaſter than a good warrior) no ſooner came to London, than he changed his mind, and played the apoſtate, preaching, inſtead of ſound doctrine, nothing almoſt but errors and lies, advancing Antichriſt, and overthrowing Chriſt with all his might: ſo his former boldneſs came to nothing, unleſs it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful paſtor, a falſe runagate; and of a true preacher, a ſworn enemy to God's everlaſting teſtament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own ſoul. Wherein is eſpecially to be conſidered the deep and marvellous judgement of God, who as he can and doth make ſtrong whom he pleaſeth, when he ſeeth his time, and moſt commonly ſuch as appear moſt feeble; ſo on the other hand, he throweth down others, ſeem they ever ſo ſtout, ſtand they ever ſo much in their own conceits. Wherefore let him that ſtandeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increaſe our faith, that in him it may be made ſtrong, which of itſelf is ſo weak, that it is ſoon overthrown.

While this good man was confined in priſon, he did not paſs all his time in unfruitful idleneſs, but ſtill from time to time did viſit his friends, (as is ſaid) and eſpecially his wife, with many letters; particularly biſhop Ferrar, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Philpot, Mr. and Mrs. Harrington, and other friends.

CHAP. II.

The LIFE *and* MARTYRDOM *of* JOHN HOOPER, Bishop *of* WORCESTER *and* GLOUCESTER, *who was Burned for maintaining and defending the* TRUE RELIGION, *February 9th*, 1555.

JOHN HOOPER, ſtudent and graduate in the univerſity of Oxford, after the ſtudy of the ſciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, was ſtirred with fervent deſire to the love and knowledge of the ſcriptures. Growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeneſs and ſpiritual underſtanding, and ſhewing withal ſome ſparkles of his fervent ſpirit, being then about the beginning of the ſix articles, in the time of king Henry VIII. fell quickly into diſpleaſure, and hatred of certain doctors in Oxford, who by and by began to ſtir coals againſt him, whereby, and eſpecially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to quit the univerſity; and removing from thence, was retained in the houſe of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his ſteward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no caſe did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the perſon and conditions of the man, found the means to ſend him with a meſſage to the biſhop of Wincheſter, writing his letter privily to the biſhop, by conference or learning to do ſome good unto him, but in any caſe requiring him to ſend home his ſervant to him again.

Wincheſter, after long conference with Mr. Hooper, four or five days together, at length perceiving, that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Mr. Arundel's requeſt, he ſent home his ſervant again, right-well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breaſt a grudge againſt Mr. Hooper.

Not long after this, as malice is always working miſchief, intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himſelf, for danger was working againſt him: whereupon Mr. Hooper left Mr. Arundel's houſe, and borrowing a horſe of a certain friend (whoſe life he had ſaved a little before from the gallows), took his journey to the ſea-ſide to go to France, ſending back the horſe again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Mr. Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in a ſhort time returned into England again, and was retained by Mr. Sentlow, till the time that he was again moleſted and ſought for; whereby he was compelled (under the pretence of being captain of a ſhip going to Ireland) to take to the ſeas, and ſo eſcaped (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany. Where, commencing acquaintance with learned men, he was by them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Baſil, and eſpecially at Zurich, by Mr. Bullinger, being his ſingular friend. Where alſo he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very ſtudiouſly to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God ſaw it good to ſtay the bloody time of the ſix articles, and to give us king Edward to reign over this realm, with ſome peace and reſt unto the church, amongſt many other Engliſh exiles, who then repaired homeward, Mr. Hooper alſo, moved in conſcience, thought not to abſent himſelf, but ſeeing ſuch a time and occaſion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermoſt of his ability. And coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required) to give them thanks for their ſingular kindneſs and humanity towards him many ways declared, with like humanity again propoſed to take his leave of them at his departing, and ſo he did. Unto whom Mr. Bullinger (who had always a ſpecial favour to Mr. Hooper) ſpake on this wiſe: "Mr. Hooper, (ſaith he) although we are ſorry to part with your company for our own cauſe, yet much greater cauſe have we to rejoice, both for your ſake, and eſpecially for the cauſe of Chriſt's true religion, that you ſhall now return out of long baniſhment into your native country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but alſo the cauſe and ſtate of Chriſt's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it will. Another cauſe moreover why we rejoice with you and for you, is this; that you ſhall remove not only out of exile into liberty, but you ſhall leave here a barren, a ſour, and an unpleaſant country, rude and ſavage, and ſhall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, repleniſhed with all pleaſure and fertility. Notwithſtanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, leſt you being abſent, and ſo far diſtant from us, or elſe coming to ſuch abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flouriſhing honours, where you ſhall come peradventure to be a biſhop, and where you ſhall find ſo many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-wiſhers. Nevertheleſs, howſoever you ſhall forget and ſhake us off, yet this perſuade yourſelf, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Mr. Hooper. And if you will pleaſe not to forget us, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Whereunto Mr. Hooper anſwering again, firſt gave to Mr. Bullinger and the reſt hearty thanks, for that their ſingular good will and undeſerved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him; declaring moreover, that as the principal cauſe of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; ſo touching the unpleaſantneſs and barrenneſs of that country of their's, there was no cauſe therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as ſoon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing elſe in his conſcience that moved him ſo to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends, although, ſaid he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny but God had bleſſed his country of England with many great commodities; yet neither the nature of country, nor pleaſure of commodities, nor newneſs of friends ſhould ever induce him to the oblivion of ſuch friends and benefactors, whom he was ſo intirely bound unto; and therefore you ſhall be ſure, ſaid he, from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the laſt news of all I ſhall not be able to write; for there, ſaid he, (taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand) where I ſhall take moſt pains, there ſhall you hear of me to be burned to aſhes; and that ſhall be the laſt news, which I ſhall not be able to write unto you, but you ſhall hear of me, &c.

When Mr. Hooper had taken his farewel of Mr. Bullinger, and his friends in Zurich, he repaired again into England in the reign of king Edward the ſixth, and coming to London, uſed continually to preach, moſt times twice, at leaſt once every day.

In his ſermons, according to his accuſtomed manner, he corrected ſin, and ſharply inveighed againſt the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuſes of the church.

His life was ſo pure and good, that no kind of ſlander (although ſome went about to revile him) could faſten any fault upon him. He was of body ſtrong, his health whole and ſound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to ſuſtain whatſoever ſiniſter fortune and adverſity could do. He was conſtant of judgment, ſpare of diet, ſparer of words, and ſpareſt of time. In houſe-keeping very liberal, and ſometimes more free than his living would extend unto.

Once an honeſt citizen, having in himſelf a certain conflict of conſcience, came to his door for counſel, but being abaſhed at his auſtere behaviour, durſt not come in, but departed, ſeeking remedy for his troubled mind at other men's hands, which he afterwards, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, ſuch as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Chriſt, to teach and inſtruct them, ought ſo to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither to ſhew themſelves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt; nor on the other ſide again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the ſimple flock of Chriſt.

After he had practiſed himſelf in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majeſty, and ſoon after made biſhop of Glouceſter by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings and ſharp correcting of ſin) could find no fault with him, and after that he was made biſhop of Worceſter.

But I cannot tell what ſiniſter and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and conſecration of biſhops, and of their apparel, with other ſuch like trifles, began to diſturb the good beginning of this biſhop. For notwithſtanding that godly reformation of religion that begun in the church of England, beſides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they uſed to wear ſuch garment and apparel as the popiſh biſhops were wont to do: firſt a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. Theſe trifles tending more to ſuperſtition than otherwiſe, as he could never abide, ſo in no wiſe could he be perſuaded to wear them. For this cauſe he made ſupplication to the king's majeſty, moſt humbly deſiring his highneſs, either to diſcharge him of the biſhopric, or elſe to diſpenſe with him for ſuch ceremonial orders. Whoſe petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbiſhop after this purport.

KING EDWARD VI. *his* LETTER *to the* ARCHBISHOP *of* CANTERBURY, *and other* BISHOPS.

RIGHT reverend father, and right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and choſen our right well-beloved and well worthy, Mr. John Hooper, profeſſor of divinity, to be our biſhop of Glouceſter, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long ſtudy both in the ſcriptures, and prophane learning, as alſo for his good diſcretion, ready utterance, and honeſt life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our loving ſubjects, which are in his ſaid charge, and elſewhere, might by his ſound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours; from conſecrating of whom we underſtand you do ſtay, becauſe he would have you omit and let paſs certain rites and ceremonies offenſive to his conſcience, whereby ye think ye ſhould fall in premunire of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforeſaid, to diſpenſe and diſcharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures, you ſhall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the ſame. And theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge therefore.

Given under our ſignet at our Caſtle of Windſor, the fifth of Auguſt, the 4th year of our reign.

ED. SOMERSET W. PAGET
W. WILTSHIRE AN. WINGFIELD
W. NORTH N. WOOTON.

A LETTER *from the* EARL *of* WARWICK, *to the* ARCHBISHOP *of* CANTERBURY, *to this Effect, that* Mr. HOOPER *might not be burdened with the* Oath, *uſed commonly in the* Conſecration *of* Biſhops.

AFTER my moſt hearty commendations to your grace, theſe may be to deſire the ſame, that in ſuch reaſonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Glouceſter, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchſafe to ſhew him your grace's favour, the rather at this my inſtance: which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's majeſty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highneſs, none other but that your grace may eaſily condeſcend unto. The principal cauſe is, that you would not charge this ſaid bearer with an oath burdenſome to his conſcience. And ſo for lack of time I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Weſtminſter, July 23, 1550.

Your grace's moſt aſſured loving friend,
J. WARWICK.

But notwithſtanding this grant of the king, and alſo the earl's letter aforeſaid, the biſhops ſtill ſtood earneſtly in the defence of the aforeſaid ceremonies, ſaying, it was but a ſmall matter, and that the fault was in the abuſe of the things, and not in the things themſelves; adding moreover, that he ought not to be ſo ſtubborn in ſo light a matter, and that his wilfulneſs therein was not to be ſuffered.

To be ſhort, whilſt both parties thus contended about this matter more than reaſon would, in the mean time occaſion was given, as to the true chriſtians to lament, ſo to the adverſaries to rejoice. In concluſion, this theological contention came to this end, that, the biſhops having the upper hand, Mr. Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that ſometimes he ſhould in his ſermons ſhew himſelf apparelled as the other biſhops were. Wherefore being appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a ſtrange apparel, he cometh forth on the ſtage. His upper garment was a long ſcarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet, that covered all his ſhoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-ſquared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cauſe of ſhame the ſtrangeneſs hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may eaſily judge. But this private injury and reproach, in reſpect of the public profit of the church, which he only ſought, he bore and ſuffered patiently.

It now remaineth to record the godly reconciliation of theſe good men, in time of proſecution, as appeareth from the following letter, ſent from biſhop Ridley to the biſhop of Glouceſter, of which, as it was written in Latin, the following is a faithful tranſlation into Engliſh.

A LETTER *of* RECONCILIATION *from* BISHOP RIDLEY, *to* JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP *of* GLOUCESTER.

TO my dear brother, and reverend fellow elder in Chriſt, John Hooper, grace and peace. My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beſeech you, that hitherto ſince your captivity and mine, I have not ſaluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confeſs, I have received from you (ſuch was your gentleneſs) two letters at ſundry times: but yet at ſuch time as I could not be ſuffered to write to you again; or if I might, yet was I in doubt how my letters might ſafely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, foraſmuch as I underſtand by your works, which I have but ſuperficially ſeen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly conſent together in thoſe things which are the grounds and ſubſtantial points of our religion, againſt which the world ſo furiouſly rageth in theſe our days, howſoever in time paſt by certain bye-matters and circumſtances of religion, your wiſdom and my ſimplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own ſenſe and judgment; now, I ſay, be you aſſured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witneſs, in the bowels of Chriſt I love you in the truth and for the truth's ſake, which abideth in us, and, as I am perſuaded, ſhall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And becauſe the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaſeth not to play his pageant, and buſily conſpireth againſt Chriſt our Saviour, with all poſſible force and power, exalting high things againſt the knowledge of God; let us join hands together in Chriſt, and, if we cannot overthrow, yet, to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us ſhake theſe high altitudes, not with carnal, but with ſpiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourſelves to the day of our diſſolution, by the which, after the ſhort time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt we ſhall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

I pray you, brother, ſalute in my name your reverend fellow priſoner, and venerable father, D. C. by whom, ſince the firſt day that I heard of his moſt godly and fatherly conſtancy, in confeſſing the truth of the goſpel, I have conceived great conſolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightneſs of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Bleſſed be God therefore, which in ſuch abundance of iniquity and decay of all godlineſs, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, ſuch a witneſs for the truth of his goſpel. Miſerable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godlineſs and conſtant confeſſion of ſo worthy, ſo grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confeſs the truth of God.

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I ſtand much in fear, leſt your letters ſhould be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheleſs know you, that it ſhall be to my great joy of your conſtancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, ſent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwiſe perſuaded: I ſee methinks ſo many perils, whereby I am earneſtly moved to counſel you not to haſten the publiſhing of your works, eſpecially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, leſt by this occaſion both your mouth ſhould be ſtopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the reſt of the priſoners, whereby otherwiſe, if it ſo pleaſe God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewel in the Lord, my moſt dear brother; and if there be any more in priſon with you for Chriſt's ſake, I beſeech you, as you may, ſalute them in my name. To whoſe prayers I do moſt humbly and heartily commend myſelf and my fellow-priſoners and concaptives in the Lord, and yet once again, and for ever in Chriſt, my moſt dear brother, farewel.

N. RIDLEY.

After this diſcord, and not a little vexation about veſtures, at length, Mr. Hooper entering into his dioceſe, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under king Edward's reign, with ſuch diligence, as may be a ſpectacle to all biſhops who ſhall ever hereafter ſucceed him, not only in that place, but in whatſoever dioceſe through the whole realm of England: ſo careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unſought, how to train up the flock of Chriſt in the true word of ſalvation, continually labouring in the ſame. Other men are commonly wont, for lucre or promotion's ſake, to aſpire to biſhoprics, ſome hunting for them, and ſome purchaſing or buying them, as men uſe to purchaſe lordſhips; and when they have them, are loth to leave them, and thereupon alſo loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to loſe them.

To this ſort of men, Dr. Hooper was quite contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to ſave and preſerve the ſouls of his flock; who, being biſhop of two dioceſes, ſo ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his houſhold, no gardener in his garden, nor huſbandmen in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his dioceſe amongſt his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there. The time that he had to ſpare from preaching, he beſtowed either in hearing public cauſes, or elſe in private ſtudy, prayer, and viſiting of ſchools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and diſcreet correction, not ſo much ſevere to any, as to thoſe who for abundance of riches and wealthy ſtate, thought they might do what they pleaſed. And doubtleſs he ſpared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all, as well rich as poor, to the great ſhame of many men in theſe days; whereof we ſee ſo many addicted to the pleaſing of the great and rich, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner ſort whom Chriſt hath bought as dearly as the other. But to return to Dr. Hooper, whoſe life was ſuch, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example, to the reſt a perpetual leſſon and ſermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a biſhop he was, you may conceive and know evidently by this, that even as he was hated by none but of them which were evil, yet the worſt of them all could not reprove his life in any one particular. Nor was this good biſhop leſs exemplary in his private, than in his public character. At home, in his domeſtic concerns, he exhibited an example of a worthy prelate's life; for he beſtowed the moſt part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Chriſt, for which alſo he ſpent his blood: yet nevertheleſs there was nothing wanting in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; inſomuch that it is difficult to ſay, whether he deſerved more praiſe for his fatherly uſage at home, or his public conduct abroad. For everywhere he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the biſhop's palace, you would ſuppoſe yourſelf to have entered into ſome church or temple. In every corner thereof there was the beauty of virtue, good example, honeſt converſation, and reading of the holy ſcriptures. There was not to be ſeen in his houſe any courtly rioting or idleneſs; no pomp, no diſhoneſt word, no ſwearing, could there be heard. As to the revenues of both his biſhoprics, if any thing ſurmounted thereof, he ſaved nothing, but beſtowed it in hoſpitality. Twice I was (ſays Mr. Fox) in his houſe at Worceſter, where, in his common-hall, I ſaw a table ſpread with good ſtore of meat, and beſet full of beggars and poor people: and I aſking his ſervants what this meant, they told me, that every day their lord and maſter's manner was, to have at dinner a certain number of the poor of the ſaid city by courſe, who were ſerved by four at a meſs, with wholeſome meats: and when they were ſerved, (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments) than he himſelf ſat down to dinner, and not before. In this manner Dr. Hooper executed the office of a moſt careful and vigilant paſtor, for the ſpace of two years and more, ſo long as the ſtate of religion in king Edward's time did ſafely flouriſh and take place: and would to God, that all other biſhops would uſe the like diligence, care, and obſervance in their function. After this, in the reign of queen Mary, religion being ſubverted and changed, this good biſhop was one of the firſt who was ſent for by a purſuivant to be at London; and that for two cauſes:

Firſt, To anſwer to Dr. Heath, then appointed biſhop of that dioceſe, who was deprived thereof in king Edward's days, for being a papiſt.

Secondly, To render an account to Dr. Bonner, biſhop of London, for that he in king Edward's time was one of his accuſers, in that he ſhewed himſelf not conformable to ſuch ordinances as were preſcribed to him by the king and his council, openly at St. Paul's Croſs. And although the ſaid biſhop Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that ſhould happen towards him, (for he was admoniſhed by certain of his friends to get away, and ſhift for himſelf) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried ſtill, ſaying, "Once did I flee, and take me to my feet; but now, becauſe I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly perſuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my ſheep."

When at the day of his appearance, the firſt of September, he was come to London, before he could ſee Dr. Heath and Dr. Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded, violently, againſt his will, to appear before the queen and her council, to anſwer certain bonds and obligations, wherein he ſaid he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, received him very opprobriouſly, raling and rating of him, and accuſed him of his religion. He again freely and boldly anſwered, and cleared himſelf. But he was commanded to ward, (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cauſe of his impriſonment was only for certain ſums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion). This, how falſe and untrue it was, ſhall in it's place more plainly appear.

The next year, being March 19, 1554, he was called again to appear before Wincheſter, and others of the queen's commiſſioners: where, what for the biſhop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cauſe, he was deprived of his biſhoprics.

The FIRST EXAMINATION *of* Bishop HOOPER, *before the* Bishops *of* WINCHESTER, LONDON, DURHAM, LANDAFF, *and* CHICHESTER, *who were appointed* Commiſſioners.

AT Dr. Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor aſked whether he was married.

Hooper. Yes, my lord, and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me.

Durham. That is matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. It is not, my lord, except you do againſt the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for ſome time: but as well the commiſſioners, ſuch as ſtood by, began to make ſuch outcries, and laughed, and uſed ſuch geſtures as were unſeemly for the place, and for ſuch a matter. Dr. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, called biſhop Hooper hypocrite, with vehement words, and ſcornful countenance. Biſhop Tonſtall called him beaſt; ſo did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and ſeveral others that ſtood by. At length the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid, that all men might live chaſte who would, and brought in this text, "There are thoſe that have become eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xix. 12.

Biſhop Hooper ſaid, that text proved not that all men could live chaſte, but ſuch to whom it was given; and read the context that goeth before. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and ſcorning, with calling him beaſt, that the text could not be examined. Then biſhop Hooper ſaid, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto prieſts, and named the decrees. But the biſhop of Wincheſter ſent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But biſhop Hooper ſaid, that book was not it which he named.

The biſhop of Wincheſter replied, You ſhall not have any other, until you be judged by this. And then began ſuch a noiſe, tumult, and ſpeaking together of a great many that favoured not the cauſe, that nothing was done or ſpoke orderly or charitably. Afterwards, judge Morgan began to rail at biſhop Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Glouceſter, in puniſhing of men, and ſaid, there was never ſuch a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, ſaid, that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was againſt the marriage of prieſts.

Upon which the lord chancellor cried out, and many with him, that biſhop Hooper had never read the councils.

Yes, my lord, ſaid he, and my lord of Chicheſter, Dr. Day knoweth, that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed, That no miniſter ſhould be ſeparated from his wife. But ſuch clamours and cries were uſed, that the council of Nice was not attended to.

After long brutiſh talk, Tonſtall, biſhop of Durham, aſked biſhop Hooper, whether he believed the corporal preſence of the ſacrament? Who ſaid plainly, that there was none ſuch, neither did he believe any ſuch thing.

Then the biſhop of Durham would have read out of a book, (what book it was I cannot tell) but there was ſuch a noiſe and confuſed talk on every ſide, that he did not read. Then the biſhop of Wincheſter aſked Dr. Hooper, What authority moved him not to believe the corporal preſence? He ſaid, the authority of God's word, and alledged this text, "Whom heaven muſt hold until the latter day." But the biſhop of Wincheſter would have made that text to ſerve nothing for his purpoſe, and ſaid, he might be in heaven, and in the ſacrament alſo.

Dr. Hooper would have opened the text, but all thoſe that ſtood next about the biſhop prevented his ſpeaking with clamours and cries, ſo that Dr. Hooper was not permitted to ſay any more againſt the biſhop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write, That he was married, and ſaid, that he would not go from his wife; and that he believed not the corporal preſence in the ſacrament; wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his biſhopric.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can remember) of the confuſed and troubleſome converſation between them, and except haſty and uncharitable words, it is the whole of their diſcourſe at that time.

An ACCOUNT *of the ſevere* TREATMENT *of* Bishop HOOPER, *during near* eighteen Months Confinement *in the* FLEET, *written with his own Hand, January* 7, 1554.

THE firſt of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the priſon; and within ſix days after I paid five pounds ſterling to the warden for fees, for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo I was committed to cloſe priſon one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and uſed extremely ill. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and ſupper, not ſuffered to ſpeak with any of my friends; but as ſoon as dinner and ſupper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithſtanding, whilſt I came down thus to dinner and ſupper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the biſhop of Wincheſter.

After one quarter of a year and ſomewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked maſs: and thereupon the warden reſorted to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of ſtraw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and ſtinking, until by God's means good people ſent me bedding to lie on. On one ſide of which priſon, is the ſink and filth of the houſe, and on the other the town ditch, ſo that the ſtench of the houſe hath infected me with ſundry diſeaſes.

During which time I have been ſick, and the doors, bars, haſps, and chains being all cloſed, and made faſt upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help; but the warden when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept faſt, and charged that none of his men ſhould come at me, ſaying, Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him. And, amongſt many other times, he did thus October 18, 1553, as many can witneſs.

I paid always like a baron to the ſaid warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty ſhillings a week, beſides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my biſhoprics, and ſince that time, I have paid him as the beſt gentleman doth in his houſe; yet hath he uſed me worſe, and more vilely, than the veriest ſlave that ever came to the hall commons, (common ſide of the priſon.)

The ſaid warden hath alſo impriſoned my man, William Downton, and ſtripped him out of his clothes to ſearch for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in priſon; and to undo them alſo, the warden delivered the ſame bill unto the ſaid Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

I have ſuffered impriſonment almoſt eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me, by juſt account, fourſcore pounds or more. She hath put me in priſon, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there ſuffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, ſo that I ſee no remedy (ſaving God's help) but I ſhall be caſt away in priſon before I come to judgment. But I commit my juſt cauſe to God, whoſe will be done, whether it be by life or death.

SECOND EXAMINATION *of* Dr. JOHN HOOPER, Bishop *of* GLOUCESTER *and* WORCESTER, *before the* intolerant GARDINER, Bishop *of* WINCHESTER.

THE twenty-ſecond of January, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Mr. Hooper before the biſhop of Wincheſter, with other biſhops and commiſſioners at the ſaid Wincheſter's houſe, at St. Mary Overy's: where the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the name of himſelf and the reſt, moved Mr. Hooper earneſtly to forſake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of king Edward the ſixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holineſs to be head of the ſame church, according to the determination of the whole parliament, promiſing, that as he himſelf, with other his brethren, had received the pope's bleſſing, and the queen's mercy; even ſo mercy was ready to be ſhewed to him and others, if he would ariſe with them, and condeſcend to the pope's holineſs.

Biſhop Hooper anſwered, That foraſmuch as the pope taught doctrines altogether contrary to thoſe of Chriſt, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of his church, much leſs to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wiſe condeſcend to any ſuch uſurped juriſdiction, neither eſteemed he the church, whereof they call him head; to be the catholic church of Chriſt: for the church only heareth the voice of her ſpouſe Chriſt, and flieth ſtrangers. Howbeit (ſaith he) if in any point to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majeſty, I ſhall moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf to her mercy, if mercy may be had with ſafety of conſcience, and without the diſpleaſure of God.

Anſwer was made, that the queen would ſhew no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to carry him to the Fleet again: who did ſo, and ſhifted him from his former chamber into another, near to the warden's own chamber, where he remained ſix days: and in the mean time his former chamber was ſearched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Dr. Hooper was thought to have wrote, but none was found.

THIRD EXAMINATION *of* Bishop HOOPER, *before the* Bishop *of* WINCHESTER, *and other* Commissioners.

JANUARY 28th, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and other commiſſioners ſat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where biſhop Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon, and there, after much reaſoning and diſputation, he was commanded aſide, till the Rev. Mr. Rogers (who was then come) had been likewiſe examined. Examinations being ended, the two ſheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock, to ſee whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So biſhop Hooper went before, with one of the ſheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church door, Dr. Hooper looked back, and ſtayed a little till Mr. Rogers drew near, unto whom he ſaid, Come brother Rogers, muſt we two take this matter firſt in hand, and begin to fry theſe faggots? Yes, ſir, ſaid Mr. Rogers. by God's grace. Doubt not, ſaid Dr. Hooper, but God will give ſtrength. So going forwards, there was ſuch a preſs of people in the ſtreets, who rejoiced at their conſtancy, that they had much ado to paſs.

By the way, the ſheriff ſaid to the biſhop, I wonder you was ſo haſty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did uſe no more patience: he anſwered, Mr. Sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earneſt in my maſter's cauſe, and it ſtandeth me ſo in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world only, but alſo of the world to come. Then they were committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to ſeveral chambers, with command that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak one with another, neither any other permitted to come to them that night.

Upon the next day following, January 29, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the ſheriffs before the ſaid biſhop and commiſſioners in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earneſt talk, when they perceived that biſhop Hooper would by no means condeſcend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, the Rev. Mr. Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner; and both were delivered to the ſecular power, the two ſheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to the Clink, a priſon not far from the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, biſhop Hooper was led by one of the ſheriffs, with many bills and weapons, through the biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe, and over London-bridge, through the city to Newgate, and by the way ſome of the ſerjeants were ſent before, to put out the coſtermongers' candles, who uſed to ſet with lights in the ſtreets: either fearing, that the people would have made ſome attempt to have him taken away from them by force, if they had ſeen him go to that priſon; or elſe, being burdened with an evil conſcience, they thought darkneſs to be moſt fit ſeaſon for ſuch a buſineſs.

But notwithſtanding this device, the people having ſome foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth to their doors with lights, and ſaluted him, praiſing God for his conſtancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and deſiring God to ſtrengthen him in the ſame to the end. The biſhop required the people to make their earneſt prayers to God for him, and ſo went through Cheapſide to the place appointed, and was delivered as cloſe priſoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained ſix days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, ſaving his keepers, and ſuch as ſhould be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, biſhop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedſey, Harpsfield, &c. reſorted ſeveral times unto him, to try if, by any means, they could perſuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichriſtian church. All the ways they could deviſe, they attempted. For, beſides the diſputations and allegation of teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, and of ancient writers wreſted to a wrong ſenſe, according to their accuſtomed manner; they uſed alſo all outward gentleneſs and ſignifications of friendſhip, with many great promiſes of worldly wealth; not omitting alſo moſt grievous threatenings, if with gentleneſs, they could not prevail; but they found him always the ſame man, ſtedfaſt and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpoſe, with ſuch perſuaſions and offers as they uſed for his converſion, then went they by falſe rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well known that they and their ſervants did firſt ſpread it abroad) to bring him, and the doctrine of Chriſt which he profeſſed, in diſcredit with the people. Which being thus ſpread abroad, and believed by ſome of the weaker ſort, by reaſon of the often reſort of the biſhop of London and others, it increaſed more, and at laſt came to biſhop Hooper's ears, who was greatly grieved thereat, that the people ſhould give credit to ſuch falſe rumours, having ſo ſimple a ground; as may appear by the following letter, which he wrote upon that occaſion.

A LETTER

From Bishop HOOPER, *concerning certain falſe* Rumours *ſpread abroad of his* Recantation.

THE grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with all them, who unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Chriſt. Amen.

Dear brethren and ſiſters in the Lord, and my fellow-priſoners for the cauſe of God's goſpel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your conſtancy and perſeverance in affliction, unto whom I wiſh continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and conſtancy in afflictions that be in priſon; even ſo do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt ſuch dangers for God's truth, as we have and do feel, and are daily like to ſuffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet ſuch is the report abroad, (as I am credibly informed) that I John Hooper, a condemned man for the cauſe of Chriſt, ſhould now after ſentence of death, (being priſoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And that talk ariſeth from this, that the biſhop of London and his chaplains reſort unto me. Doubtleſs, if our brethren were as godly as I could wiſh them, they would think, that in caſe I did refuſe to talk with them, they might have juſt occaſion to ſay, that I was unlearned, and durſt not ſpeak with learned men, or elſe proud, and diſdained to ſpeak with them. Therefore to avoid juſt ſuſpicion of both, I have, and do daily ſpeak with them when they come, not doubting but they rep[illegible] that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wiſh all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the ſame, as occaſion ſhall ſerve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have heretofore preached, by their coming.

Therefore, you that may ſend to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with ſuch reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and ſuffered great pains and impriſonment, and I thank God I am as ready to ſuffer death as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report ſuch rumours that are untrue.

I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter ſhortly ſhall confirm the ſame by God's grace with my blood. From Newgate, February 2, 1555.

Your brother in Chriſt, JOHN HOOPER.

Monday morning, Bonner, biſhop of London, came to Newgate, and degraded biſhop Hooper; the ſentence of his degradation here followeth.

The DEGRADATION *of* Bishop HOOPER.

IN the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, Amen. Whereas by a definitive ſentence from the reverend father in Chriſt, Stephen, by divine permiſſion, lord biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt you John Hooper, preſbyter of his juriſdiction, on account of hereſy and offence notoriouſly committed within his dioceſe of Wincheſter, and of late juſtly and legally proved; it plainly appears to us, Edmund, biſhop of London, that you the aforeſaid John Hooper have been and ſtill continue to be an open, obſtinate, and incorrigible heretic; and it alſo appears by the aforeſaid ſentence that you have been declared and pronounced an heretic of this ſort, and have likewiſe incurred the ſentence of the greater excommunication; and it plainly and fully appears that you are to be depoſed and degraded from your order, and for theſe your demerits are to be delivered to the ſecular power, according to the tenor of the aforeſaid ſentence, to which we refer ourſelves in this affair. We therefore, the aforeſaid Edmund, biſhop of London, as it concerns us and the univerſity to do our alternate endeavours, in whoſe dioceſe you John Hooper have committed the ſame hereſy then, and oftentimes both before and after; for theſe, I ſay, and the aforeſaid conſiderations, and that we may execute the aforeſaid ſentence in a better and more efficacious manner, have thought fit to proceed to the actual degradation of you the aforeſaid John Hooper, (your crime and juſtice ſo requiring) and ſo we do really proceed according to the direction of the law, and the laudable cuſtom of former times, that we may rightly and legally deliver you to the ſecular power, who are unwilling to continue in the pale of the church; and that this ought to be done, we do, by theſe preſents, declare and pronounce in this our ſentence.

The ſame Monday, at night, February 4, his keeper gave the biſhop a hint that he ſhould be ſent to Glouceſter to ſuffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praiſing God that he ſaw it good to ſend him among the people, over whom he was paſtor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him ſtrength to perform the ſame to his glory: and immediately he ſent to his ſervant's houſe for his boots, ſpurs, and cloak, that he might be in readineſs to ride when he ſhould be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning, before day, the keeper with others, came to him and ſearched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to ſee if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the ſheriffs of London, and their officers, from Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunſtan's church in Fleet-ſtreet, where ſix of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him, to carry him to Glouceſter, there to be delivered unto the ſheriff, who with the lord Shandois, Mr. Wick, and other commiſſioners, were appointed to ſee execution done. Which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his faſt with them, eating his meat at that time more liberal than he had uſed to do a good while before. About break of day he leaped chearfully on horſeback, without help, having a hood upon his head, under his hat, that he ſhould not be known, and ſo he took his journey joyfully towards Glouceſter; and by the way the guard inquired of him, where he was accuſtomed to bait or lodge, but always carried him to another inn.

On the Thurſday following, he came to a town in his dioceſe called Cirenceſter, fifteen miles from Glouceſter, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's houſe who had always hated the truth, and ſpoken all the evil ſhe could of biſhop Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cauſe of his coming, ſhewed him all the friendſhip ſhe could, and lamented his caſe with tears, confeſſing that ſhe before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not ſtand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Glouceſter about five o'clock, and a mile without the town was much people aſſembled, who cried and lamented his ſtate; inſomuch that one of the guard rode poſt into the town, to require aid of the mayor and ſheriffs, fearing leſt he ſhould have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houſes, &c. but there was no man that once gave any ſignification of a reſcue or violence. He lodged at one Ingram's houſe in Glouceſter, and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and ſlept his firſt ſleep ſoundly, as it was reported by the guard and others. After his firſt ſleep, he continued in prayer until morning; and all the day, except a little time at his meals, and when converſing with ſuch as the guard permitted to ſpeak to him, he ſpent in prayer.

Sir Anthony Kingſton, at one time Dr. Hooper's good friend, was appointed by the queen's letters to attend at his execution. As ſoon as he ſaw the biſhop, he burſt into tears. At firſt ſight, Dr. Hooper did not know him; the knight therefore addreſſing the biſhop, ſaid, "Why, my lord, do not you know me, an old friend of your's, Anthony Kingſton?"

Yes, ſir Anthony Kingſton, I do know you well, and am glad to ſee you in health, and do praiſe God for the ſame.

But I am ſorry to ſee you, my lord, in this caſe; for as I underſtand, you are come hither to die. But, alas! conſider that life is ſweet, and death is bitter. Therefore ſeeing life may be had, deſire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

Indeed it is true, Mr. Kingſton, I am come hither to end this life, and to ſuffer death here, becauſe I will not gainſay the truth that I have heretofore taught amongſt you in this dioceſe, and elſewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counſel, although it be not ſo friendly as I could have wiſhed it.

After theſe, and many other words, they took leave of each other, Mr. Kingſton with bitter tears, Dr. Hooper with tears alſo trickling down his cheeks. At his departure, biſhop Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had ſuſtained in priſon, had not cauſed him to utter ſo much ſorrow.

The ſame night the biſhop was committed by the guard (their commiſſion being then expired) into the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of Glouceſter, Jenkins and Bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Dr. Hooper's lodging, and at the firſt meeting ſaluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Dr. Hooper ſpake in this manner. "Mr. Mayor, I give moſt hearty thanks to you, and to the reſt of your brethren, that you have vouchſafed to take me, a priſoner, and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is very apparent that your old love and friendſhip towards me is not altogether extinguiſhed: and I truſt alſo that all the things I have taught you in times paſt, are not utterly forgotten, when I was your biſhop and paſtor. For which moſt true and ſincere doctrine, becauſe I will not now account it falſhood and hereſy, as many other men do, I am ſent hither, (as I am ſure you know) by the queen's commands, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Meſſ. Sheriffs, I underſtand by theſe good men, and my good friends (meaning the guard) at whoſe hands I have found ſo much favour and gentleneſs on the road hither, as a priſoner could reaſonably require, (for which alſo I moſt heartily thank them) that I am committed to your cuſtody, as unto them that muſt ſee me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My requeſt therefore to you ſhall be only, that there may be a quick fire, ſhortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as you yourſelves could wiſh. If you think I do amiſs in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one forced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to conſent to the wicked papiſtical religion of the biſhop of Rome, received and ſet forth by the magiſtrates in England, to God's high diſpleaſure and diſhonour; and I truſt, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful ſubject of God, and a true obedient ſubject to the queen."

Theſe, and ſuch-like words in effect, biſhop Hooper uſed to the mayor, ſheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many mourned and lamented. Notwithſtanding, the two ſheriffs went aſide to conſult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earneſt interceſſion for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himſelf in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themſelves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he ſhould be ſent to the common priſon. So it was determined at length he ſhould ſtill remain in Robert Ingram's houſe; and the ſheriffs and the ſerjeants and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themſelves. His deſire was, that he might go to bed that night betime, ſaying, that he had many things to remember: and ſo he did at five o'clock, and ſlept one ſleep ſoundly, and ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. After he had got up in the morning, he deſired that no man ſhould be ſuffered to come into the chamber, that he might be ſolitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came ſir John Bridges, lord Shandois, with a great band of men, ſir Anthony Kingſton, ſir Edmund Bridges, and other commiſſioners appointed to ſee execution done. At nine, Dr. Hooper prepared himſelf to be in readineſs, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the ſheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, and other weapons. When he ſaw the multitude of weapons, he ſpake to the ſheriffs on this wiſe; Meſſ. Sheriffs (ſaid he) I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made ſuch a buſineſs to bring me to the place where I muſt ſuffer: for if you had ſuffered me, I would have gone alone to the ſtake, and troubled none of you. Afterwards looking upon the multitude of people that were aſſembled, being by eſtimation to the number of 7000, (for it was market day, and many came to ſee his behaviour), he ſpake unto thoſe that were about him, ſaying, "Alas! why are theſe people aſſembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear ſomething of me now, as they have in times paſt: but alas! ſpeech is prohibited me. Notwithſtanding, the cauſe of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their paſtor, I preached unto them true and ſincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God: becauſe I will not now account the ſame to be hereſy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me." Having ſaid this, he went forward, led between the two ſheriffs, (as it were a lamb to the place of ſlaughter) in a gown of his hoſt's, his hat upon his head, and a ſtaff in his hand to ſtay himſelf withal; for the grief of the Sciatica, which he had taken in priſon, cauſed him ſomewhat to halt. All the way, being ſtraitly charged not to ſpeak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he would ſometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very chearfully upon ſuch as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his being amongſt them, to look with ſo chearful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that preſent. When he came to the place appointed where he ſhould die, he ſmilingly beheld the ſtake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over-againſt the college of prieſts, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houſes, and the boughs of the tree were filled with ſpectators; and in the chamber over the college-gate ſtood the prieſts of the college. Then he kneeled down (foraſmuch as he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned ſix or ſeven times unto one whom he well knew, that he might hear his prayer, and report faithfully the ſame. When this perſon came to the biſhop, he (pouring tears upon his ſhoulders and in his boſom) continued his prayer for half an hour; which prayer was drawn from the whole creed.

During prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a ſtool, with his pardon (or at leaſt-wiſe it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the ſight whereof he cried, If you love my ſoul, away with it. The box being taken away, the lord Shandois ſaid, Seeing there is no remedy, diſpatch him quickly. Dr. Hooper replied, Good my lord, I truſt your lordſhip will give me leave to make an end of my prayers.

Prayer being done, biſhop Hooper prepared himſelf for the ſtake, and put off his hoſt's gown, and delivered it to the ſheriffs, requiring them to ſee it reſtored unto the owner, and put off the reſt of his apparel, unto his doublet and hoſe, wherein he would have burned. But the ſheriffs would not permit that, (ſuch was their greedineſs) unto whoſe pleaſures (good man!) he very obediently ſubmitted himſelf; and his doublet, hoſe, and waiſtcoat were taken off. Then being in his ſhirt, he took a point from his hoſe himſelf, and truſſed his ſhirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. So deſiring the people to ſay the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains) he went up to the ſtake; when he was at it, three irons, made to bind him thereto, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refuſing them, ſaid, "You have no need thus to trouble yourſelves. I doubt not, God will give me ſtrength ſufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting the frailty and weakneſs of the fleſh, but having aſſured confidence in God's ſtrength, I am content you do as you ſhall think good."

Then the hoop of iron prepared for his midddle was brought, which being made ſomewhat too ſhort, (for his belly was ſwoln with impriſonment) he ſhrank and put in his belly with his hand, until it was faſtened: but when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he refuſed them, and would have none, ſaying, I am well aſſured I ſhall not trouble you.

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well ſeen, (for he was both tall, and ſtood alſo upon a high ſtool) and beheld round about him, that in every corner there was nothing to be ſeen but weeping and ſorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed in ſilence. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did aſk him forgiveneſs. Of whom he aſked why he ſhould forgive him, ſaying, that he never knew any offence he had committed againſt him. O ſir, ſaid the man, I am appointed to make the fire. Therein, ſaid Mr. Hooper, thou doſt nothing to offend me: God forgive thee thy ſins, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the reeds were caſt up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kiſſed them, put one of them under each arm, and ſhewed with his hand how the reſt ſhould be beſtowed, and pointed to the place where any were wanting.

Command was now given that the fire ſhould be kindled. But becauſe there were not fewer green faggots, than two horſes could carry, it kindled not ſpeedily, and was ſometime before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full ſtrength in that place (and being a lowring cold morning) it blew the flame from him, ſo that he was in a manner little more than touched by the fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him little good, they were ſo placed, and the wind had ſuch power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, Lord Jeſus have mercy upon me! Lord Jeſus have mercy upon me! Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit! And theſe were the laſt words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue ſwoln, that he could not ſpeak, yet his lips went till they were ſhrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breaſt with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked ſtill with the other, while the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his finger ends, until by renewing of the fire his ſtrength was gone, and his hand did cleave faſt in knocking to the iron upon his breaſt. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his ſpirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire; even as a lamb, patiently bearing the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any ſide; but having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a bleſſed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Chriſt before the foundations of the world: for whoſe conſtancy all chriſtians are bound to praiſe God.

A POEM *by* CONRADE GESNER, *on the Martyrdom of* Dr. JOHN HOOPER, Biſhop *of* GLOUCESTER *and* WORCESTER.

HOOPER, unvanquiſh'd by Rome's cruelties,
(Confeſſing Chriſt in his laſt moments) dies:
Whilſt flames his body rack, his ſoul doth fly,
Inflam'd with faith, to immortality:
His conſtancy on earth has raiſed his name,
And gave him entrance at the gates of fame,
Which neither ſtorms, nor the cold north-winds blaſt,
Nor all-devouring time ſhall ever waſte:
For he whom God protects ſhall ſure attain
That happineſs, which worldlings ſeek in vain.
Example take by him, you who profeſs
Chriſt's holy doctrines; ne'er the world careſs
In hopes of riches; or if fortune frown
With inauſpicious looks, be not caſt down;
For man ne'er ſaw, nor can his heart conceive,
What God beſtows on them that righteous live.

A LETTER

From the Biſhop *to his Wife* ANNE HOOPER, *whereby all the true Members of Chriſt may take Comfort and Courage to ſuffer Affliction for the Profeſſion of his holy Goſpel.*

OUR Saviour Jeſus Chriſt (dearly beloved, an my godly wife) in St. Matthew's goſpel ſaid to his diſciples, that it was neceſſary ſcandals ſhould come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of thoſe that ſhould periſh and be loſt for ever in the world to come, as alſo by their affliction that ſhould be ſaved. For he ſaw the greateſt part of the people would contemn and neglect whatſoever true doctrine or godly ways ſhould be ſhewed unto them, or elſe receive and uſe it as they thought good to ſerve their pleaſures, without any profit to their ſouls, nor caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it ſufficient to be counted to have the name of a chriſtian man, with ſuch works and fruits of his profeſſion and chriſtianity, as his fathers and elders, after their cuſtom and manner, eſteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works, and will not try them by the word of God. Thoſe men, by the juſt judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and ſubtlety of the devil, that they may be kept by one ſcandalous ſtumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Chriſt, who came to ſave thoſe that were loſt, as you may ſee how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own luſts, to do one miſchief after another, careleſs, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itſelf, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone, becauſe they cloſe their eyes, and will not ſee the light of God's word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where ſuch corrupt minds be, there are alſo corrupt notions and choice of God's honour; ſo that the mind of man taketh falſhood for truth, ſuperſtition for true religion, death for life, damnation for ſalvation, hell for heaven, and perſecution of Chriſt's members for God's ſervice and honour. And as theſe men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God; even ſo God ſo moſt juſtly delivereth them up to blindneſs of mind and hardneſs of heart, that they cannot underſtand, nor yet conſent to any thing that God would have preached, and ſet forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things moſt deteſt God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themſelves cannot nor will come to Chriſt, to be inſtructed by his holy word; even ſo can they not abide any other man to be a chriſtian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, perſecute him, rob him, impriſon him, yea, and kill him, whether he be man or woman, if God ſuffer it. And ſo much are theſe wicked men blinded, that they regard no law, whether it be of God's or man's, but perſecute ſuch as never offended, yea, do evil to thoſe that have prayed daily for them, and wiſh them God's grace.

In their blind fury they have no reſpect to nature. For the brother proſecuteth the brother, and the father the ſon; and moſt dear friends, in deviliſh ſlander and offence, are become moſt mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have choſen ſundry maſters, the one the devil, the other God, the one ſhall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themſelves. For this cauſe (that the more part of the world doth uſe to ſerve the devil under cloaked hypocriſy of God's title) Chriſt ſaid, it is expedient and neceſſary, that ſcandals ſhould come, and many may be adviſed to keep the little babes of Chriſt from the heavenly Father. But Chriſt ſaith, Wo be unto him by whom the offence cometh: yet is there no remedy, man being of ſuch corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil ſhall be deceived, and perſecute the good; and the good ſhall underſtand the truth, and ſuffer perſecution for it unto the world's end. For as he that was born after the fleſh, perſecuted in times paſt him that was born after the ſpirit, even ſo it is now. Therefore foraſmuch as we live in this life amongſt ſo many great perils and dangers, we muſt be well aſſured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be ſent to us from God. We muſt alſo aſſure ourſelves, that there is no other remedy for chriſtians in the time of trouble, than Chriſt himſelf hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment, Ye ſhall poſſeſs your lives in patience, ſaith he. In which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and alſo great comfort and conſolation in all troubles.

That the ſpirit of man may feel theſe conſiderations, the giver of them, the heavenly Father, muſt be prayed unto for the merits of Chriſt's paſſion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and poſſeſſed with God's ſpirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind, or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man ſeeth on every ſide ſorrow and heavineſs, and the worldly eye beholding nothing but ſuch things as be troubles, and wholly bent to rob the poor of what he hath, and alſo to take from him his life: except the man weigh theſe brittle and uncertain treaſures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body, with the life in Chriſt's blood, and ſo for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys contemn all things preſent, doubtleſs he ſhall never be able to bear the loſs of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and neceſſary leſſon to all men in this ſhort and tranſitory life, and therein ſheweth how a man may beſt bear the iniquities and troubles of this world "If ye be riſen again with Chriſt: (ſaith he) ſeek the things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father." Wherefore, the chriſtian man's faith muſt be always upon the reſurrection of Chriſt, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious reſurrection he ſhall not only ſee continual and perpetual joys and conſolation, but alſo the victory and triumph over all perſecution, trouble, ſin, death, hell, the devil, and other tyrants and perſecutors of Chriſt, and of Chriſt's people, the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up, their wounds healed, their bodies made immortal in joy, their ſouls for ever praiſing the Lord, in conjunction and ſociety everlaſting with the bleſſed company of God's elect in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, ſhall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

When a man hath, by ſeeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then muſt he (as St. Paul ſaith) ſet his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times ſeeth the beſt, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life preſent, (as you may ſee how daily men and women can praiſe and commend, yea, and wiſh for heaven, and to be at reſt there) yet they ſet not their affections upon it: they do more affect, and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this that pleaſeth their affection, than the treaſure of all treaſures in heaven, which their own judgment ſaith is better than all worldly things. "Wherefore we muſt ſet our affections on the things that be above;" that is to ſay, when any thing worſe than heaven, upon the earth, offereth itſelf to be our's, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to ſee by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and ſuch things as be for this worldly life without his diſpleaſure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment muſt take place, "Set your affections on things that are above." If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we muſt ſet our affections upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that are on the earth. Therefore this ſecond commandment of St. Paul requireth, that our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life preſent; ſo we ſhould chuſe them before the other, and prefer them, and have ſuch affection to the beſt, that in no caſe we ſet the worſt before it, as the moſt part of the world doth and hath done, for they chuſe the beſt and prove it, and yet follow the worſt.

But theſe things, my godly wife, requireth rather thought, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They are eaſy to be ſpoken of, but not ſo eaſy to be uſed and practiſed. Wherefore ſeeing they be God's gifts, and none of our's, to have as our own when we would, we muſt ſeek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who ſeeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how ſpoiled, and deſtitute of all his bleſſed gifts we be by reaſon of ſin. He did command therefore his diſciples, when he ſhewed them that they ſhould take patiently the ſtate of this preſent life full of troubles and perſecution, to pray that they might well eſcape thoſe troubles that were to come, and be able to ſtand before the Son of man. When you find yourſelf too much oppreſſed, (as every man ſhall be ſometimes with the fear of God's judgment) uſe the 77th Pſalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto God with my voice, and he ſhall hearken unto me." In which Pſalm is both godly doctrine and great conſolation unto the man or woman that is in anguiſh of mind.

Uſe alſo in ſuch trouble the 88th Pſalm, wherein is contained the prayer of ſuch a man, that was brought to extreme anguiſh and miſery, and being vexed with adverſaries and perſecutions, ſaw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himſelf, that he had not only man, but alſo God angry towards him; yet he by prayer humbly reſorted unto God.

We muſt not alſo murmur againſt God, but always ſay his judgments are right and juſt, and rejoice that it pleaſeth him by troubles to uſe us as he uſed heretofore ſuch as he moſt loved in this world. "Be glad, and rejoice, for your reward is great in heaven." His promiſes ſhall (by God's grace) work both conſolation and patience in afflicted chriſtians. And when our Saviour Chriſt hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, becauſe God in the end of trouble in Chriſt hath ordained eternal conſolation; he uſeth alſo to take from us all ſhame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to ſuffer for Chriſt, becauſe the wicked world doth curſe and abhor ſuch poor troubled chriſtians. Wherefore Chriſt placeth all his honourably, and faith, "Even ſo perſecuted they the prophets that were before you."

We muſt therefore patiently ſuffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they ſeem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and ſalvation: as Abraham did, when bid to offer his ſon Iſaac, in whom God promiſed the bleſſing and multiplying of his ſeed.

And judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good father's time, ſoon after the death and reſurrection of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whereof he ſpake in St. Matthew. Of which place you and I have taken many times great conſolation, and eſpecially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the laſt day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for ſuch as love the coming of our Saviour Chriſt to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and you ſhall in this time ſee this great conſolation, and alſo learn much patience. Were there ever ſuch troubles, as Chriſt threatened upon Jeruſalem? Was there ſince the beginning of the world ſuch affliction? Who was then beſt at eaſe? The apoſtles that ſuffered in body perſecution, and gathered of it eaſe and quietneſs in the promiſes of God. And no marvel, for Chriſt faith, "Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand;" that is, your eternal reſt approacheth and draweth near. The world is ſtark blind, and more fooliſh than fooliſhneſs itſelf, and ſo are the people of the world. For when God ſaith, trouble ſhall come, they will have eaſe. And when God ſaith, be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were caſt-aways. But this our fleſh (which is never merry with virtue, nor ſorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with ſin) holdeth faſt with the world, and letteth God ſlip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Chriſt. And that you may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24th of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the deſtruction of the whole world, and you ſhall ſee, that then there were left alive many offenders to repent: but at the latter day there ſhall be abſolute judgment, and ſentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men: and yet towards the end of the world we have nothing ſo much extremity as they had then, but even as we are able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now impriſonment, (and as I ſuppoſe for my part ſhortly, death) now ſpoil of goods, loſs of friends, and the greateſt loſs of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wiſh in Chriſt Jeſus our only Mediator and Saviour, your conſtancy and conſolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Chriſt I doubt not; to whom, for his moſt bleſſed and painful paſſion, I commit you, Amen. Octob. 13, 1553.

A LETTER

From the learned HENRY BULLINGER, *chief Superintendant in the* City *of* ZURICH, *in* SWITZERLAND, *to* BISHOP HOOPER.

TO the moſt Rev. Father, Dr. John Hooper, Biſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter, and now a priſoner for the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, my fellow elder, and moſt dear brother in England. The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all thoſe which are in bonds and captivity for his name's ſake, grace and peace through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, with wiſdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghoſt.

I have received from you two letters, my moſt dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year paſt, the latter in the month of May in this preſent year, both written out of priſon. But I doubting leſt I ſhould make anſwer to you in vain, whilſt I feared that my letters ſhould never come into your hands, or elſe increaſe and double your ſorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In which thing I doubt not but you will have me excuſed, eſpecially ſeeing you did not vouchſafe, no not once in a whole year, to anſwer to my whole volumes, rather than letters, whereas I continued ſtill, notwithſtanding, in writing unto you: as alſo at this preſent, after I heard you were caſt in priſon, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beſeeching our heavenly Father, through our only mediator, Jeſus Chriſt, to grant unto you and to your fellow-priſoners, faith and conſtancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, (my brother) the which we did oftentimes propheſy unto ourſelves, at your being with us, ſhould come to paſs, eſpecially when we did talk of the power of Antichriſt, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the ſaying of Daniel, his power ſhall be mighty, but not in his ſtrength, and he ſhall wonderfully deſtroy and make havock of all things, and ſhall proſper and practiſe, and he ſhall deſtroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of before-hand by Matthew, in the 10th chapter, by John in the 15th chapter, and the 16th, and alſo what that choſen veſſel St. Paul hath written in the ſecond of Timothy, and the third chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by God's grace) of your faith and patience, whilſt you know that thoſe things which you ſuffer are not looked for, or come by chance; but that you ſuffer them in the beſt, trueſt, and moſt holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papiſts, theſe worſhippers of Antichriſt, do perſecute?

Go forwards therefore conſtantly to confeſs Chriſt, and to defy Antichriſt, being mindful of this moſt holy and moſt true ſaying of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: He that overcometh ſhall poſſeſs all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſon; but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, ſhall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death. The firſt death is ſoon overcome, although a man muſt burn for the Lord's ſake: for they ſay well that do affirm this our fire to be ſcarcely a ſhadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may eaſily overcome by his power the firſt death, the which he himſelf did taſte and overcome; promiſing withal ſuch joys as ſhall never have end, unſpeakable, and paſſing all underſtanding, the which we ſhall poſſeſs as ſoon as ever we depart hence. For ſo again ſaith the angel of the Lord; If any man worſhip the beaſt and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the ſame ſhall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he ſhall be tormented in fire and brimſtone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb: and the ſmoke of their torment ſhall aſcend evermore, and they ſhall have no reſt day nor night, which worſhip the beaſt and his image, and whoſoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of ſaints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jeſus. To this he addeth by and by: I heard a voice ſaying to me, Write, bleſſed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, or ſpeedily, they are bleſſed, John v. even ſo ſaith the Spirit; for they reſt from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour ſhall not be fruſtrate or in vain.

Concerning the ſtate of the church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profeſs the faith with words, but alſo expreſs the ſame effectually with good works, to the praiſe of our Lord. The word of God increaſeth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

In the mean while the godly ſuſtain grievous perſecutions, and with great conſtancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. The Lord Jeſus ſhew pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the ſame with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the ſalvation of ſouls. The Lord Jeſus preſerve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewel, and farewel eternally. The 10th of October, anno 1554, from Zurich. You know the hand, H. B.

C H A P. III.

The LIFE, MARTYRDOM, *&c. of the* Rev. Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, Vicar *of* HADLEY, *in* SUFFOLK, *under the cruel* Tyranny *of* STEPHEN GARDINER, Bishop *of* WINCHESTER, *in the* Bloody Reign *of* MARY I. *who was burned at* ALDHAM-COMMON, *February* 9, 1555.

THE town of Hadley was one of the firſt that received the word of God, at the preaching of the Rev. Thomas Bilney; by whoſe induſtry the goſpel of Chriſt took ſuch root there, that a great number became exceeding well learned in the holy ſcriptures, as well women as men.

In this pariſh, Dr. Rowland Taylor was a vicar, a man of eminent learning, and who had been admitted to the degree of doctor of the civil and common law.

His attachment to the pure and uncorrupted principles of chriſtianity recommended him to the favour and friendſhip of Dr. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with whom he lived a comfortable time, till through his intereſt he obtained the living of Hadley. This charge he attended with the utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity, recommending and inforcing the doctrines of the goſpel not only by his judicious diſcourſes from the pulpit, but alſo by the whole tenor of his life and converſation.

Thus continued Dr. Taylor promoting the intereſt of the great Redeemer, and the ſouls of mankind, both by his preaching and example during the reign of king Edward VI. but on his demiſe and the ſucceſſion of queen Mary to the throne, he eſcaped not the cloud that burſt on ſo many beſide; for two of his pariſhioners, Foſter, an attorney, and Clark, a tradeſman, out of blind zeal, reſolved that maſs ſhould be celebrated in all its ſuperſtitious forms, in the pariſh church at Hadley, on Monday before Eaſter; nay, they had even cauſed an altar to be built in the chancel for that purpoſe, which being pulled down by the proteſtant inhabitants, they erected another, and prevailed with the miniſter of an adjacent pariſh to celebrate maſs in the paſſion-week.

The doctor being employed in his ſtudy, was alarmed at the ringing of bells at an unuſual time, but went to the church to inquire the cauſe. He found the great doors faſt, but lifting up the latch of the chancel-door, he entered, and was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee a prieſt in his habit prepared to celebrate maſs, guarded by a patry of men under arms, to prevent interruption.

Dr. Taylor being vicar of the pariſh, demanded of the prieſt the cauſe of ſuch proceeding without his knowledge or conſent; and how he dared prophane the temple of God with abominable idolatries. Foſter, the lawyer, inſolently replied, "Thou traitor, how dareſt thou to intercept the execution of the queen's orders;" but the doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and aſſerted his miſſion as a miniſter of Chriſt, and delegation to that part of his flock, commanding the prieſt, as a wolf in ſheep's clothing, to depart, nor infect the pure church of God with popiſh idolatry. A very violent altercation then enſued, between Foſter the lawyer, and Dr. Taylor, the former aſſerting the queen's prerogative, and the other the authority of the canon law, which commanded that no maſs be ſaid, but at a conſecrated altar.

The prieſt, intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the proteſtant miniſter, would have departed without ſaying maſs, but Clark ſaid to him, Fear not, you have a *ſuper altare*, (which is a conſecrated ſtone, commonly about a foot ſquare, which the popiſh prieſts carry inſtead of an altar, when they ſay maſs in gentlemen's houſes) proceed and do your duty.

Then they forced the doctor out of the church, celebrated maſs, and immediately informed the lord chancellor, biſhop of Wincheſter, of his behaviour, who ſummonſed him to appear before him, and anſwer the complaints that were alledged againſt him.

The doctor upon receipt of the ſummons, chearfully prepared to obey the ſame; and on ſome of his friends adviſing him to fly beyond ſea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his inneterate enemies, he told them that he was determined to go to the biſhop, and he repaired to London, and waited on the biſhop.

Now when biſhop Gardiner ſaw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common cuſtom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches, which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at laſt ſaid unto him:

My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true ſubject, and a faithful chriſtian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cauſe that your lordſhip hath ſent for me.

Then, ſaid the biſhop, art thou come, thou villain? How dareſt thou to look me in the face for ſhame? Knoweſt thou not who I am?

Yes, ſaid Dr. Taylor, I know who you are, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I ſhould be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the lord of us all? How dare you for ſhame look any chriſtian man in the face, ſeeing you have forſaken the truth, denied our Saviour Chriſt and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment ſeat of Chriſt, and anſwer to your oath made firſt unto king Henry the eighth, and afterwards unto king Edward the ſixth, his ſon.

The biſhop anſwered, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and ſo I would thou ſhouldeſt do.

Dr. Taylor anſwered, Should I forſake the church of Chriſt? God forbid. You wrote truly againſt him, and were ſworn againſt him.

I tell thee, ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter, it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath diſcharged me of it.

Then ſaid Dr. Taylor, But you ſhall not be ſo diſcharged before Chriſt, who doubtleſs will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and ſovereign lord the king, from whoſe obedience no man can quit you.

I ſee, ſaid the biſhop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, Dr. Taylor replied, "He that ſaith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of a council; and he that ſaith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The biſhop anſwered, You are falſe, and liars all the ſort of you.

Nay, ſaid Dr. Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, "The mouth that lieth, ſlayeth the ſoul;" and again, "Lord God, thou ſhalt deſtroy all that ſpeak lies." And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which you, contrary to your own conſciences, deny and forſake.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Thou haſt reſiſted the queen's proceeding, and would not ſuffer the miniſter of Aldam, Mr. John Averth, a very virtuous and devout prieſt, to ſay maſs in Hadley. Dr. Taylor anſwered, My lord, I am vicar of Hadley, and it is againſt all right, conſcience, and laws, that any man ſhould come into my charge, and preſume to infect the flock committed unto me, with the venom of the popiſh idolatrous maſs.

With that the biſhop waxed very angry, and ſaid, Thou art a blaſphemous heretic indeed, that blaſphemeſt the bleſſed ſacrament, (and put off his cap) and ſpeakeſt againſt the holy maſs, which is made a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Then anſwered Dr. Taylor, Chriſt gave himſelf to die for our redemption upon the croſs, whoſe body there offered was the propitiatory ſacrifice full, perfect, and ſufficient unto ſalvation for all them that believe in him. Then the biſhop called his men, and ſaid, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be ſtraitly kept.

Dr. Taylor kneeling down, held up both his hands and ſaid, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praiſed for good king Edward". So they carried him to priſon to the King's-Bench, where he lay priſoner almoſt two years.

This is the ſum of their firſt diſcourſe, as mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confeſſed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to ſuffer priſon and bonds, beſeeching his friends to pray for him, that he might perſevere conſtant unto the end.

The FOURTH *and* LAST EXAMINATION *of* Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, *who with Mr.* BRADFORD *and Mr.* SAUNDERS *were brought before the* BISHOP *of* WINCHESTER, *and other Prelates.*

IN January, 1555, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to appear before the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhops of Norwich, London, Saliſbury, and Durham, and there were again charged with hereſy and ſchiſm, and therefore a determinate anſwer was required, whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the Roman biſhop, and abjure their errors, or elſe they would according to their laws proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, heard this, they anſwered boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they ſubmit themſelves to the Romiſh Antichriſt; but they thanked God for ſo great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to ſuffer for his word and truth.

When the biſhops ſaw them ſo bold, and immoveably fixed in the truth, they read the ſentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they moſt joyfully gave God thanks, and ſaid unto the biſhops, "We doubt not but God the righteous judge will require our blood at your hands; and the proudeſt of you all ſhall repent this receiving again of Antichriſt, and your tyranny that you now ſhew againſt the flock of Chriſt."

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the Poultry Compter about a week, on the fourth of February, 1555, Edmund Bonner, biſhop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them ſuch ornaments as do appertain to their maſſing-mummery. Now being come, he called for the ſaid Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the biſhop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that to the ſaid Bonner. And at his coming the biſhop ſaid, Doctor, I wiſh you would remember yourſelf, and turn to your mother holy church, ſo may you do well enough, and I will ſue for your pardon. Whereunto Dr. Taylor anſwered, I wiſh you and your fellows would turn to Chriſt. As for me, I will not turn to Antichriſt. Well, ſaid the biſhop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on theſe veſtures. No, ſaid Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not, ſaid the biſhop? I ſhall make thee, ere I go. Said Dr. Taylor, you ſhall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not.

So he ordered another to put them upon his back, and being thoroughly furniſhed therewith, he ſet his hands to his ſide, walking up and down, and ſaid; How ſay you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How ſay you, my maſters? If I were in Cheapſide, ſhould I not have boys to laugh at theſe apiſh toys, and trumpery? Then the biſhop ſcraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head.

At laſt, when he would have given Dr. Taylor a ſtroke on the breaſt with his croſier-ſtaff, the biſhop's chaplain ſaid, My lord, ſtrike him not, for he will certainly ſtrike again. Yes, by St. Peter will I, ſaid Dr. Taylor. The cauſe is Chriſt's, and I were no good chriſtian, if I would not fight in my maſter's quarrel. The biſhop then laid his curſe upon him, but ſtruck him not. Dr. Taylor ſaid, Though you do curſe me, yet God doth bleſs me.

The night after he was degraded, his wife, his ſon Thomas, and his ſervant John Hull came to him, and were by the gentleneſs of the keepers permitted to ſup with him: at their coming, they kneeled down and prayed, ſaying the litany.

After ſupper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had ſo called him, and given him ſtrength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his ſon Thomas, "My dear ſon, ſaid he, Almighty God bleſs thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true ſervant of Chriſt, to learn his word, and conſtantly to ſtand by his truth all thy life long. And, my ſon, ſee that thou fear God always. Flee from all ſin, and wicked living; be virtuous, ſerve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wiſe ſee thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and ſerve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counſel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd luſts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage.

Then turning to his wife, "My dear wife, ſaid he, continue ſtedfaſt in the fear and love of God; keep yourſelf undefiled from your popiſh idolatries and ſuperſtition. I have been unto you a faithful yokefellow, and ſo have you been unto me, for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it. Now the time is come that I ſhall be taken from you, and you diſcharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counſel what I think moſt expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be moſt convenient for you to marry.

On the morning after Dr. Taylor had ſupped with his wife in the Compter, which was the fifth day of February, the ſheriff of London with his officers came by two o'clock, and brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolpack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, ſuſpecting that her huſband would that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch without Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age, (who being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had charitably brought up from three years old) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

When the ſheriff and his company came againſt St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, ſaying, O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then his wife ſaid, Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? For it was a very dark morning, that the one could not ſee the other. Dr. Taylor anſwered, Dear wife, I am here, and ſtopped. The ſheriff's men would have led him forth; but the ſheriff ſaid, Stay a little, maſters, I pray you, and let him ſpeak to his wife; and ſo they ſtaid.

Then ſhe came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and ſaid the Lord's prayer. At which ſight the ſheriff wept much, and ſo did ſeveral others of the company. After they had prayed, he roſe up and kiſſed his wife, and ſhook her by the hand, and ſaid, Farewel, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conſcience. God ſhall ſtir up a father for my children. And then he kiſſed his daughter Mary, and ſaid, God bleſs thee, and make thee his ſervant: and kiſſing Elizabeth, he ſaid, God bleſs thee. I pray you all ſtand ſtrong and ſtedfaſt unto Chriſt and his word, and beware of idolatry. Then ſaid his wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadley.

And ſo he was led forth to the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As ſoon as they came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the ſheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as ſoon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himſelf wholly to prayer. The ſheriff then ſeeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no caſe grant her to ſpeak any more with her huſband, but gently deſired her to go to his houſe and take it as her own, and promiſed her ſhe ſhould lack nothing, and ſent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithſtanding, ſhe deſired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the ſheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock; at which time the ſheriff of Eſſex was ready to receive him: and they ſet him on horſeback within the inn, the gates being ſhut.

At coming out of the gates, John Hull ſtood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's ſon. When Dr. Taylor ſaw them, he called them, ſaying, come hither, my ſon Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and ſet him on the horſe before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and ſaid to the people that ſtood there looking on him, Good people, this is mine own ſon, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be bleſſed for lawful matrimony. Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his ſon, laid his hat upon his head and bleſſed him, and ſo delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and ſaid, Farewell John Hull, the faithfulleſt ſervant ever man had. And ſo they rode forth, the ſheriff of Eſſex, with four yeoman of the guard, and the ſheriff's men leading them.

When they were come almoſt to Burntwood, one Arthur Fayſy, a man of Hadley, who formerly had been Dr. Taylor's ſervant, met with him, and he, ſuppoſing him to have been at liberty, ſaid, Maſter, I am glad to ſee you again at liberty, and came to him and took him by the hand. Sir, returned the ſheriff, he is a priſoner; what haſt thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, ſaid Arthur, I knew not ſo much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man. The ſheriff was very angry with this, threatened to carry Arthur with him to priſon; notwithſtanding he bid him get quickly away, and ſo they rode forth to Burntwood; where they cauſed to be made for Dr. Taylor a cloſe hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a ſlit for his mouth to breath at. This they did, that no man ſhould know him, nor he ſpeak to any man. Which practice they uſed alſo with others. Their own conſciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the ſlaughter. Wherefore they feared, leſt if the people ſhould have heard them ſpeak, or have ſeen them, they might have been much more ſtrengthened by their pious exhortations to ſtand ſtedfaſt in God's word, and to fly the ſuperſtitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himſelf going to a moſt pleaſant banquet or marriage. He ſpoke many notable things to the ſheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earneſt calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes alſo he cauſed them to wonder and rejoice, to ſee him ſo conſtant and ſtedfaſt, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of theſe yeomen of the guard, three uſed him very friendly, but the fourth (whoſe name was Homes) uſed him very unkindly, and churliſhly.

At Chelmsford the ſheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him into Suffolk. Being at ſupper, the ſheriff of Eſſex very earneſtly beſought him to return to the popiſh religion, thinking with fair words to perſuade him. and ſaid, Good Doctor, we are right ſorry for you, conſidering what the loſs is of ſuch a man as you might be. God hath given you great learning and wiſdom; wherefore you have been in great favour and reputation in times paſt with the council and higheſt of this realm. Beſides this, you are a man of goodly perſonage, in your beſt ſtrength, and by nature like to live many years, and without doubt, you would in time to come be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better. For you are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and it were great pity you ſhould caſt away yourſelf willingly, and ſo come to ſuch a painful and ſhameful death. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic univerſal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holineſs to be the ſupreme head of the church, and reconcile yourſelf to him. You may do well yet if you will: doubt you not but you ſhall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all theſe your friends, will be ſuitor's for your pardon, which, no doubt, you will obtain; this counſel I give you, good Doctor, of a good heart, and good will towards you: and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner ſaid all the yeoman of the guard, Upon that condition, Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he ſtaid a little, as one ſtudying what anſwer he might give. At the laſt thus he anſwered and ſaid, Mr. Sheriff, and my maſters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counſels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myſelf, and am likely to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yes, Doctor, ſaid the ſheriff, God's bleſſing on your heart; hold you there ſtill. It is the moſt comfortable word that we heard you ſpeak yet. What? ſhould you caſt away yourſelf in vain? Play a wiſe man's part, and I dare warrant you will find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

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When the ſheriff and his company heard him ſay ſo, they were amazed and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's conſtant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jeſt at the cruel torment, and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean diſappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in wealth and proſperity; namely, that he ſhould ſhortly die, and feed worms in his grave; which meditation if all our biſhops, and ſpiritual men had uſed, they had not for worldly glory forſaken the wold of God and truth, which they in king Edward's days had preached and ſet forth, nor yet, to maintain the biſhop of Rome's authority, have committed ſo many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who at Chelmsford was delivered to the ſheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he ſuffered. When they were come to Lanham, the ſheriff ſtayed there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and juſtices, who were appointed to aid the ſheriff. Theſe gentlemen endeavoured very much to reduce Dr. Taylor to the Romiſh religion, promiſing him his pardon, which, ſaid they, we have here for you. They promiſed him great promotions, even a biſhopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his houſe upon the ſand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon the ſure and immovable rock, Chriſt. Wherefore he abode conſtant and immovable to the end.

After two days, the ſheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley, and coming within two miles of the town, he deſired to light off his horſe to make water: which done, he leapt, as men commonly do in dancing. Why, Doctor, ſaid the ſheriff, how do you now? He anſwered, Well, God be praiſed, good ſheriff, never better: for now I know I am almoſt at home. I lack not paſt two ſtiles to go over, and I am even at my father's Houſe. But Mr. Sheriff, ſaid he, ſhall we not go through Hadley? Yes, ſaid the ſheriff. Then ſaid he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I ſhall yet once ere I die ſee my flock, whom thou Lord knoweſt I have moſt heartily loved, and truly taught: good Lord bleſs them, and keep them ſtedfaſt in thy word and truth.

When they were come to Hadley, and riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five ſmall children: who when he ſaw Doctor Taylor he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and ſaid, O dear father and good ſhepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and ſuccour thee, as thou haſt many a time ſuccoured me and my poor children. Such witneſs had the ſervant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime. For God would now the poor ſhould teſtify of his good deeds to his ſingular comfort, to the example of others, and confuſion of his perſecutors and adverſaries. For the ſheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully aſtoniſhed, and rebuked the poor man for ſo crying. The ſtreets of Hadley were beſet on both ſides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to ſee him: whom when they beheld ſo led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, ſaying one to another, Ah good Lord! there goeth our good ſhepherd from us, that ſo faithfully hath taught us, ſo fatherly hath cared ror us, and ſo godly hath governed us! O merciful God! what ſhall we poor ſcattered lambs do? What ſhall come of this moſt wicked world? Good Lord ſtrengthen him, and comfort him: with ſuch other moſt lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were rebuked by the ſheriff and his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor repeatedly ſaid to the people; I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to ſeal it with my blood.

Coming againſt the alms-houſes, which he well knew, he caſt to the poor people money, which remained out of what had been given him in the time of his impriſonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his firſt going to priſon, ſo that he was ſuſtained all the time of his impriſonment by the charitable alms of good people that viſited him.

Therefore the money that now remained he put into a glove, ready for the ſame purpoſe, and gave it to the poor alms-men ſtanding at their doors to ſee him. And coming to the laſt of the alms-houſes, and not ſeeing the poor that dwelt there, ready at their doors, as the others were, he aſked, is the blind-man and blind-woman that dwelt here alive? It was anſwered, Yes, they are within. Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and rode on.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of thoſe, for whom all his life he had a ſingular care and love. For this was his cuſtom, once in a fortnight at leaſt, to call upon ſir Anthony Doyl, and others of the richcloth-makers, to go with him to the alms-houſes, and there to ſee how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other neceſſaries. The like did he alſo to other poor men that had many children, or were ſick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and where he found cauſe, rebuke the unruly, and what they wanted, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he cauſed the rich and wealthy men to miniſter unto them. Thus ſhewed he himſelf in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deeds, what a great treaſure alms is to all ſuch as chearfully for Chriſt's ſake do beſtow them.

When Dr. Taylor was arrived at Aldham-Common, the place where he ſhould ſuffer, ſeeing a great multitude of people, he aſked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that ſo much people are gathered hither? It was anſwered, It is Aldham-Common, the place where you muſt ſuffer; and the people are come to look upon you. Then, ſaid he, Thanked be God, I am even at home, and ſo alighted from his horſe, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head notched and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's; which coſt the good biſhop Bonner had beſtowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people ſaw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burſt out with weeping tears, and cried, ſaying, God ſave thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jeſus Chriſt ſtrengthen thee, and help thee! the Holy Ghoſt comfort thee! with ſuch other like good wiſhes. Then would he have ſpoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were ſo buſy about him, that as ſoon as he opened his mouth, one or other thruſt a tipſtaff into his mouth, and would in no wiſe permit him to ſpeak.

Then he deſired licence of the ſheriff to ſpeak; but the ſheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promiſe to the council.

Well, ſaid Dr. Taylor, promiſe muſt be kept. What this promiſe was, is unknown: but common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council ſent for them, and threatened they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promiſe, that at their deaths they would keep ſilence, and not ſpeak to the people. Wherefore they, deſirous to have the uſe of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promiſed ſilence. For the papiſts feared much, leſt this change of religion, from truth to lies, from Chriſt's ordinance to the popiſh traditions, ſhould not ſo quietly have been received as it was, eſpecially this burning of the preachers: but they meaſuring others' minds by their own, feared leſt any tumult or uproar might have been ſtirred, the people having ſo juſt a cauſe not to be contented with their doings, or elſe (as they moſt feared) that the people ſhould more have been confirmed, by their pious exhortations, to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt their vain popiſh doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, who gave to his witneſſes, faith and patience, with ſtout and manly hearts to diſpiſe all torments: neither was there ſo much as any one man that ſhewed any ſign of diſobedience towards the magiſtrates. They ſhed their blood gladly in defence of the truth, ſo leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience; which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to ſhed their own blood rather than depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor perceiving that he could not be ſuffered to ſpeak, ſat down, and ſeeing one named Soyce, he called him, and ſaid, Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour: thou haſt long looked for them, now take them. Then he roſe up, and put off his clothes unto his ſhirt, and gave them away. Which done, he ſaid with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and thoſe leſſons that I have taken out of God's bleſſed book, the Holy bible: and I am come hither this day to ſeal it with my blood. With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who uſed Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great ſtroke upon the head, and ſaid, is that the keeping of thy promiſe, thou heretic? Then he, ſeeing they would not permit him to ſpeak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people ſtepped in and prayed with him; but her they thruſt away, and threatened to tread her down with their horſes: notwithſtanding, ſhe would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and ſet himſelf into a pitch-barrel, which they had ſet for him to ſtand in, and ſo ſtood with his back upright againſt the ſtake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the ſheriff called one Richard Donningham a butcher, and commanded him to ſet up the faggots: but he refuſed to do it, and ſaid, I am lame, ſir, and not able to lift a faggot. The ſheriff threatened to ſend him to priſon: notwithſtanding, he would not do it.

Then he appointed one Mulleine of Carſey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who, in king Edward's days, loſt one of his ears for his ſeditious talk, amongſt whom was alſo one Robert King, a deviſer of interludes, who was there preſent, and had doings there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himſelf ſaid he did it for for the beſt and for quick diſpatch) the Lord knoweth, who ſhall judge all. More of this I have not to ſay.

Theſe four were appointed to ſet up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they moſt diligently did; and this Warwick cruelly caſt a faggot at him, which ſtruck him on his head, and cut his face, that the blood ran down. Then ſaid Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have harm enough, what needeth that?

Sir John Shelton ſtanding by, as Dr. Taylor was ſpeaking, and ſaying the Pſalm *Miſerere* in Engliſh, ſtruck him on the lips; You knave, ſaid he, ſpeak Latin, I will make thee. At laſt they kindled the fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and ſaid, Merciful Father of heaven, for Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour's ſake, receive my ſoul into thy hands. So he ſtood ſtill without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with an halbert ſtruck him on the head that his brains fell out, and the corps fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered this man of God his bleſſed ſoul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his moſt dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom he moſt intirely loved, faithfully and earneſtly preached, obediently followed in living, and conſtantly glorified in death.

They that were preſent and familialy converſant with Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never did ſee in him any fear of death, but eſpecially, and above all the reſt who beſides him ſuffered at the ſame time, always ſhewed himſelf merry and chearful in the time of his impriſonment, as well before his condemnation, as after: he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and preſence of Mr. John Bradford, who was in the ſame priſon and chamber with him.

The morning when he was called up by the ſheriff to go to his burning, being ſuddenly awaked out of his ſound ſleep, he ſat up in his bed, and, putting on his ſhirt, had theſe words, ſpeaking ſomewhat thick after his accuſtomed manner; Ah vile thieves, ah vile thieves, rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour? Afterwards being riſen and tying his points, he caſt his arms about a great beam which was in the chamber between Mr. Bradford's bed and his; and there hanging by the hands, ſaid to Mr. Bradford; O Mr. Bradford, what a notable ſway I ſhould give if I were hanged! meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man. Theſe things I thought good here to note, to ſet forth and declare to thoſe who ſhall read this hiſtory, what a notable and ſingular gift of ſpirit and courage God had given to this bleſſed martyr.

About the time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, Sir Robert Bracher, a pretended proteſtant in king Edward's days, and afterwards a deadly enemy to the ſame religion, was one of them that ſo unmercifully thruſt Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as ſhe herſelf hath teſtified: and notwithſtanding the ſame, ſince became a proteſtant again.

A LETTER,

From the Rev. Dr. Rowland Taylor, *to his* Wife.

DEAR WIFE, I pray God to be ever with us, through Chriſt, our only Mediator, Amen.

I am glad that Hadley has ſkill in judging of ſuch packing ware as was brought thither, the firſt of May laſt. The preacher or rather packer, ſaid, as I hear, that the ſcripture is full of dark ſentences; but it is called of David a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths. Our Saviour calleth his word, the light which evil doers do flee from and hate, leſt their deeds ſhould be reproved thereby. St. Paul would have us walk as children of light; and not, in any wiſe, to continue in ignorance or darkneſs.

Now as to the packs of this preacher, I fear they were, as all other wares be, changed into ſtocks, even his very fineſt packing ſtuff againſt juſtification by faith only, and for the corporal preſence of Chriſt's body, for praying for ſouls departed, and for auricular confeſſion. Abraham's juſtification by faith, by grace, by promiſe, and not by works, is plainly ſet forth in the epiſtle to the Romans, chap. iv. and to the Galatians, chap. iii. and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his ſon ſo long after his juſtification, muſt needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree juſtifying before men, and not of juſtification before God; for then had man to glory in, then did Chriſt die in vain.

And whereas, chap. vi. of St. John, was alledged to prove, that Chriſt did give his body corporally in his ſupper, even as he had promiſed in the ſame chaper, it is moſt untrue, for he only gave his body ſacramentally, ſpiritually, and effectually in his ſupper to the faithful apoſtles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody ſacrifice for the life of the world upon the croſs once for all. There in his own perſon, in his own natural body, he bore all our ſins. By whoſe ſtripes we are healed, as St. Peter ſheweth, 1 Peter ii. and Iſai. liii. Indeed receiving Chriſt's ſacrament accordingly as it was inſtituted, we receive Chriſt's body and Chriſt's blood, even as I ſaid before the apoſtles did.

But the popiſh maſs is another matter. The maſs, as it is now, is but one of Antichriſt's youngeſt daughters, in which the devil is rather preſent and received, than our Saviour, the ſecond perſon in Trinity, God and Man. O Lord God, heavenly Father, for Chriſt's ſake, we beſeech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in king Edward's time.

But to return again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chryſoſtom, where he maketh a compariſon between Chriſt's fleſh and Elias's cloak caſt down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot; at length he ſaith, that Chriſt, aſcended up to heaven, took his fleſh with him, and alſo left his fleſh behind him on earth.

The meaning is, he did aſcend with his fleſh, and left a memorial cloak of the ſame body and fleſh, which he calleth his fleſh, as he in the ſacramental phraſe calleth bread his body, becauſe it repreſenteth his body: and as in like manner of ſacramental ſpeech, a lamb was called the paſſover, the circumciſion, God's covenant. He took up his fleſh corporally, and left his fleſh in myſtery and ſacrament ſpiritually. Or it may be ſaid, that he left his fleſh upon earth, that is, his myſtical body, his faithiul people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his fleſh, of his bones, Epheſ. v. In the xlix. chapter of Geneſis, there is no word of Chriſt's ſacrament, but there is a prophecy of Chriſt's paſſion. And where he ſpeaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as what is ſpoken of Chriſt in another place, where he ſaith, "I alone did tread the wine-preſs," meaning thereby, that Chriſt alone ſuffered painful paſſion for the remiſſion of ſins, and for the conſolation of his faithful ſoldiers.

It is not true, as the packer ſaid, that Chriſt's infinite power may make his body to be in a thouſand places at once, as a loaf in a thouſand bellies: for then may Chriſt divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and ſo conſumed, and then might ſcripture be falſe, appointing Chriſt's body to be but in one place, Acts iii. Phil. iii. Heb. iii. The articles of our faith tell us ſufficiently where Chriſt's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever ſhall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally, neither ever was, is, can, or ſhall be eaten ſo with any corporal mouths, as the Capernaites and the papiſts moſt erroneouſly and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath no other body natural than is made of the ſubſtance of bread, and is in a thouſand places at once, as I have often ſaid in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither ſhall our bodies riſe again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are ſure that our Saviour Chriſt's body is made of none other ſubſtance than of his mother the bleſſed virgin Mary's ſubſtance.

ſtance. We are ſure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much leſs of bread. He only taketh on him the ſeed of Abraham, Heb. ii. In all things like unto us, ſin only excepted. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us chriſtians, believing ſtedfaſtly, as the true catholic faith is, that Chriſt hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Chriſt's church is built, and the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it, Matt. xvi.

I ſpeak nothing now of auricular confeſſion, and praying for ſouls departed, becauſe I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpoſe. Sure I am, that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for ſuch his pack-ware. He may ſay what he will of Hebricians and Grecians, and the fleſh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, paſs and repaſs, even what he will in ſuch clouds and miſts. He reproved the ſcriptures as full of darkneſs, and yet is full of darkneſs himſelf. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other ſtrange places, for his round white cake, for that ſuch his pedlary pelſ-pack is contrary to the ſame ſimplicity of Chriſt's ſupper. He glanced at prieſts' marriage. He might againſt that have brought as ancient a doctor as any alledged out of Hebrew, for his maſs and wafer cake, that is Dr. Devil. i. Tim. 4.

I wonder that he did not coufute and confound St. Paul for the ſentences written above the altar, of which he made mention in the pulpit. For he and his fellows are ſo profound, ſo excellent, ſo glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can eaſily prove a man an aſs, and writers in the bible, ignorant, ſimple, full of errors, full of hereſies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called loving, faithful, and true chriſtian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkneſs, with Antichriſt, with Jezebel, Apoc. ii. They will not be called Papiſts, Phariſees, Jews, Turks, Heretics, and ſo forth: but whatſoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adverſaries, and that in all the chief points of it; no not then, when our Saviour Chriſt whipt ſuch merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves, Matt. xxi. God give them grace to repent. God be thanked that the nobility ſomething of late hath ſpied and ſtopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! ſooner bewitched than the fooliſh Galatians. We have now no excuſe.

We have undoubtedly ſeen the true trace of the prophetical, apoſtolical, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, leſt we are led out of that way, ſociety, and rule of religion. Now we ſhall ſhew what countrymen we are, whether ſpiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, ſince the beginning of the world, God be praiſed therefore. If Hadley, being ſo many years perſuaded in ſuch truth, will now forſake the ſame, and defile itſelf with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichriſtianity thereunto belonging, let it ſurely look for many and wonderful plagues of God ſhortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but ſpeak, after the firſt abominable maſs begun there, I being preſent no more, cannot but write now being abſent, hearing of the wicked prophanation of my late pulpit by ſuch a wiley wolf. God's love, mercy, goodneſs, and favour, hath been unſpeakable, in teaching us the right way of ſalvation and juſtification: let us all have ſome zeal, ſome care how to ſerve him according to his good will written. The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Chriſt our only advocate. Amen.

CHAP. IV.

An Affecting Narrative, *and* Historical Account *of ſeveral* Protestants, *namely,* Judge Hales, Thomas Tomkins, William Hunter, Thomas Causton, Thomas Higbed, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, *and* John Laurence; *who were* perſecuted, tormented, *and moſt of them* burned, *under the bloody Tyranny of* Bonner, Biſhop *of* London.

STEPHEN GARDINER, having condemned and burned ſeveral great and learned men, he preſumed that theſe examples would deter any one from ſpeaking againſt; and oppoſing the popiſh religion, and his tyrannical proceedings; but in this imagination he found himſelf deceived; for within eight or nine days after ſentence had paſſed againſt biſhop Hooper and others, being the 8th of February, ſix other good chriſtians were likewiſe brought before the biſhops, to be examined for the ſame cauſe of religion. Stephen Gardiner ſeeing this became diſcouraged; and from that day meddled no more in ſuch kind of condemnations; but referred the whole of this cruel buſineſs to Bonner, biſhop of London; who ſupplied that part, as in the further proceſs of this hiſtory will evidently appear. Biſhop Bonner having taken the matter in hand, called before him in his conſiſtory at St. Paul's (the lord mayor, and ſeveral aldermen ſitting with him) the ſix perſons, upon the 8th day of February, and on the next day, being the 9th, read the ſentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bp. Bonner's own regiſters: ſuch quick ſpeed theſe men could make in diſpatching their buſineſs at once. But becauſe the death of theſe condemned martyrs did not follow before the next month of March, we will defer the proſecuting of their matter, till we come to the time and day of their ſuffering.

What was the cauſe that their execution was ſo long deferred after their condemnation, we cannot preciſely ſay, unleſs peradventure the ſermon of Alphonſus, the Spaniſh friar, and the king's confeſſor, did ſome good; for when thoſe ſix perſons were caſt upon Saturday the 9th of February, upon the day following, the 10th of February, the ſaid Alphonſus preached before the king; in which ſermon he did earneſtly enveigh againſt the biſhops for burning of men, ſaying plainly that they learned it not in ſcripture, to burn any for his conſcience: but the contrary, that they ſhould live and be converted: with many other things more to the ſame purport.

February 14, Dr. Robert Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was ſent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whoſe martyrdom, foraſmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the hiſtory thereof till we come to the day and time of his ſufferings.

On the 14th day of February, the lord chancellor, and other biſhops, cauſed the image of Thomas Becket to be ſet up over the mercer's chapel door, in Cheapſide, London, in the form and ſhape of a biſhop, with mitre and croſs. But within two days after his erection, his two bleſſing fingers were firſt broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his head alſo was taken off: whereupon aroſe great trouble, and many were ſuſpected: among whom one Mr. John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over-againſt the ſaid chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof, and the rather for that he was a profeſſor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his ſervants were committed to priſon; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great ſum of money, as well to build it up again as often as it ſhould be broke down, as alſo to watch and keep the ſame. And therefore the image was again ſet up the 2d day of March enſuing; but the 14th day of the ſame month, in the night, the head was again the ſecond time broke off: which thing was ſo heinouſly taken, that the next day, being the 15th, there was a proclamation made in London, that whoſoever would tell who did ſtrike off his head, (though he were of counſel, and not the principal doer (he ſhould have not only his pardon, but alſo one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

February 18th, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full anſwer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the queen, in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, for his deliverance, who at that time went under ſureties, and was in great danger,

had

he [redacted] not been reſcued by the ſuit and letters of the ſaid king of Denmark.

On February 19th, there was a certain intimation ſet forth, and printed in the name of biſhop Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and ſtrict charge given to every man and woman within his dioceſe, to prepare themſelves againſt Lent, then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation ſent from the pope, Julius III. by Poole, his cardinal and legate.

A remarkable and affecting Account of JUDGE HALES, *whom the* CRUELTY *of* GARDINER *drove to an* ACT *of* DESPERATION.

IN a former part of this work, mention was made of judge Hales, of whom we ſhall more particularly ſpeak in this place; beginning with the conference between Stephen Gardiner, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and him, he being in Weſtminſter Hall with other judges to take his oath, October 6, 1553, declaring withal how falſe the excuſe is of the papiſts, who ſo preciſely by the law defend themſelves, and ſay, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out.

Lord Chancellor. MR. Hales, you are to underſtand, that as the queen's highneſs hath heretofore conceived a good opinion of you, eſpecially for that you ſtood both faithfully and lawfully in her cauſe of juſt ſucceſſion, refuſing to ſet your hand to the book among others that were againſt her grace in that behalf; ſo now, through your own late deſerts againſt ſome of her highneſs's proceedings, you ſtand not well in her grace's favour; and therefore before you take any oath, it will be neceſſary for you to clear yourſelf.

Judge Hales. I pray you, my Lord, for what cauſe?

Lord Chancellor. Information is given, that you have indicted ſeveral prieſts in Kent for ſaying maſs.

Judge Hales. My lord, it is not ſo: I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of the like nature were brought before me at the laſt aſſizes there held, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have profeſſed the law, againſt which, in caſes of juſtice, I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wiſe diſſemble, but with the ſame ſhew forth my conſcience; and if it were to do again, I would do no leſs than I did.

Lord Chancellor. Yes, Mr. Hales, your conſcience is known well enough; I know you want not conſcience.

Judge Hales. My lord, you may do well to ſearch your own conſcience, for mine is better known to myſelf than to you: and to be plain, I did as well uſe juſtice in your ſaid maſs-caſe by my conſcience, as by law, wherein I am fully bent to ſtand in trial to the uttermoſt that can be objected. And if I have herein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will ſeek no better defence, conſidering chiefly that it is my profeſſion.

Lord Chancellor. Why, Mr. Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your ſide, yet you might have had regard to the queen's highneſs's preſent doings in that caſe. And further, although you ſeem to be more than preciſe in the law, yet I think you would be very loth to yield to the extremity of ſuch advantage as might be gathered againſt your proceedings in the law, as you have ſometimes taken upon you in place of juſtice; and if it were well tried, I believe you ſhould not well be able to ſtand honeſtly thereto.

Judge Hales. My lord, I am not ſo perfect, but I may err for want of knowledge. But both in conſcience, and ſuch knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoiſe the caſe, my body ſhall be ready to ſerve the turn; for they be all at the queen's highneſs's pleaſure.

Lord Chancellor. Ah, ſir, you be very quick and ſtout in your anſwers. But as it ſhould ſeem, that which you did was more of favouring the opinion of your religion againſt the ſervice now uſed, than for any occaſion or zeal for juſtice, ſeeing the queen's highneſs doth ſet it forth as yet, wiſhing all her faithful ſubjects to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no ſuch matter required at your hands, and yet you ſhall not have your own will neither.

Judge Hales. My lord, I deſire not an obſtinate will, but to ſhew myſelf as I am bound in love to God, and obedience to the queen's majeſty, in whoſe cauſe willingly for juſtice ſake, all other reſpects ſet apart, I did of late, as your lordſhip knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I truſt it be ſuch as pleaſeth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my ſubſtance, if I be called thereunto. And ſo inſtead of my own power and will, the Lord's will, the Lord's will be fulfilled.

Lord Chancellor. Seeing you be at this point, Mr. Hales, I will preſently make an end with you. The queen's highneſs ſhall be informed of your opinion and declaration. And as her grace ſhall thereunto determine, you ſhall have knowledge. Until ſuch time you may depart as you came, without your oath: for as it appeareth, you are ſcarce worthy the place appointed.

Judge Hales. I thank your lordſhip: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I deſired to take upon me: whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the queen's highneſs to eaſe me thereof, I ſhall moſt humbly with due content obey the ſame; and ſo he departed from the bar.

A few days after, Mr. Hales, at the command of the biſhop, was committed to the King's-Bench, where he remained conſtant until Lent; then he was removed to the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, and from thence to the Fleet.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted the biſhops, by their fraudulent aſſaults and perſuaſions, (namely, of Dr. Day, biſhop of Cheſter, and of judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at laſt) I have not to ſay. This is certain, that ſhortly after, he was brought to great repentance and terror of conſcience: inſomuch, that for very anguiſh of heart he was ready to kill himſelf with his penknife when he was in priſon.

It happened when ſupper time came that he ſhould be called down, but he having little or no ſtomach to eat or drink, went immediately to bed, where he lay all night ſobbing and groaning, and took little reſt or ſleep. At length when morning came, about ſix o'clock, he ſent his ſervant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he was thirſty and deſirous to drink: whether this cauſe were true or feigned, is unknown; but his man was ſcarce got out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wounded himſelf in divers places of his body, and, no doubt, intended to deſtroy himſelf; but his man meeting the butler, juſt when he had paſſed the chamber door, the latter was deſired to fill the drink, and he, taking the cup, the other returned again unto his maſter, at the very time when he was working his own deſtruction; whereby Mr. Hales was hindered of his purpoſe. When the biſhop of Wincheſter had knowledge of it, he ſtraightway took occaſion thereby to blaſpheme the doctrine of the goſpel, which he openly in the ſtar-chamber called the doctrine of deſperation. Mr. Hales being within a while after recovered of thoſe wounds, and delivered out of priſon, returned home to his houſe; where he either for the greatneſs of his ſorrow, or want of [illegible] counſel, or for that he would avoid the neceſſity of [illegible]earing maſs, having all things ſet in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his laſt will and teſtament, caſting himſelf into a ſhallow river, was drowned therein.

The unhappy end of this worthy judge was the cauſe of great ſorrow and grief to all good men, and it likewiſe gave occaſion to ſome divines to doubt with themſelves, whether he was damned or ſaved. But notwithſtanding God's judgments be ſecret, and we likewiſe in doubt upon what intent he did thus puniſh himſelf; neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or not before the laſt breath went out of his body; I think (ſaith Mr. Fox) their opinion is more indifferent therein, who do rather diſallow the example of the deed, than deſpair of his ſalvation.

Otherwiſe, if we will judge all thoſe to hell that have departed the world after this ſort, how many examples have we, in the firſt perſecutions of the church, of thoſe men and women, who being regiſtered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithſtanding their praiſe and commendation? Or what ſhall we think of thoſe young men, who being ſought for to do ſacrifice to idols, did caſt themſelves down headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid ſuch horrible pollutions of themſelves? What ſhall we ſay of thoſe virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themſelves with uncleanneſs and idolatry, through the perſuaſion of their mother, caſting themſelves headlong into a river together with their mother, did deſtroy themſelves, although not in the ſame water, yet after the ſame manner of drowning as this Mr. Hales did? What ſhall we ſay of the other two ſiſters, who for the ſame reaſon did violently throw themſelves into the ſea, as Euſebius doth record? In whom though perchance there was no leſs confidence to bear out the pains which ſhould be miniſtered unto them by the wicked, yet, their good deſire to keep their faith and religion unſpotted was commended and praiſed.

We mention theſe examples neither to excuſe nor to defend the heinous fact of Judge Hales, which we could wiſh might be drowned in oblivion: and becauſe we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomleſs depth of the graces and mercies which are in Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour, we will leave therefore his final judgment to the determination of him who is appointed judge both of the quick and dead.

The MARTYRDOM *of the* SIX PRISONERS *before-mentioned*, namely, TOMKINS, PYGOT, KNIGHT, LAURENCE, HUNTER, *and* HIGBED.

I.

The HISTORY *and* MARTYRDOM *of* THOMAS TOMKINS, *a* Weaver *in* Shoreditch, *who, having firſt his* Hand burned *by the* bloody Biſhop of LONDON, *was afterwards* burnt *in* Smithfield, *March* 16th, 1555.

THIS plain honeſt chriſtian was by trade a weaver, and lived in the pariſh of Shoreditch, till he was ſummonſed before the inhuman Bonner, and confined with many others, who renounced the errors of popery, in a priſon in that tyrant's houſe at Fulham.

Under his confinement, he was treated by the biſhop, not only unbecoming a prelate, but even a man: for the ſavage, becauſe Tomkins would not aſſent to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, had bruiſed him in the face, and plucked off the greateſt part of the hair of his beard.

On another occaſion, this ſcandal to humanity, becauſe our martyr remained inflexible, nor would deviate in the leaſt point from the pure and uncorrupted truths of the goſpel, in the preſence of ſeveral who came to viſit him at his ſeat at Fulham, took this poor honeſt man by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame of a wax candle, having three or four wicks, ſuppoſing that, being terrified by the ſmart and pain of the fire, he would leave off the defence of the doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins thinking not other[illegible], but there preſently to die, began to commend himſelf unto the Lord, ſaying, O Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, &c. In the time that his hand was burning, the ſame Tomkins afterwards reported to one James Hinſe, that his ſpirit was ſo wrapt, that he felt no pain. In which burning he never ſhrunk, till the veins ſhrunk, and the ſinews burſt, and the water did ſpurt in Mr. Harpsfield's face: inſomuch that Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, deſired the biſhop to ſtay, ſaying, that he had tried him enough.

The firſt EXAMINATION *of* THOMAS TOMKINS.

AFTER that Thomas Tomkins had been half a year in priſon, about the 8th of February he was brought with ſeveral others before biſhop Bonner ſitting in his conſiſtory, to be examined. To whom firſt was brought forth a certain bill or ſchedule ſubſcribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the 5th day of the ſame month, containing theſe words following:

"Thomas Tomkins, of Shoreditch, and of the dioceſe of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Chriſt being only in heaven, and no where elſe.

"By me, THOMAS TOMKINS."

Whereupon he was aſked, whether he did acknowledge the ſame ſubſcription to be of his own hand. To which he granted, confeſſing it ſo to be. This being done, the biſhop went about to perſuade him with fair words, rather than with reaſons, to relinquiſh his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promiſing if he would do ſo, to remit all that was paſt. But he conſtantly refuſed ſo to do. When the biſhop ſaw he could not ſo convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he ſhould come the next day and anſwer; in the mean time he ſhould deliberate with himſelf what to do: and ſo the next day, being the 9th day of March, at eight o'clock in the morning to be preſent in the ſame place again, to give his determinate anſwer what he would do in the premiſes, and then either to revoke and reclaim himſelf, or elſe in the afternoon of the ſame day to come again and have juſtice (as he called it) adminiſtered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

ARTICLES *objected and adminiſtered the* 8*th Day of February, againſt* THOMAS TOMKINS, *with his own Hand ſubſcribing to the ſame.*

THOU doſt believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as touching the ſubſtance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the virgin Mary, and hanged upon the croſs, ſuffering death there for the life of the world.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that after the conſecration of the bread and wine prepared for the uſe of the ſacrament of the altar, there doth remain the ſubſtance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in ſubſtance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a falſe belief, to think or ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is, after conſecration of the bread and wine, the ſubſtance of Chriſt's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

I do ſo believe.

Thou doſt believe that thy parents, kinſfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and alſo thy godfathers and godmothers, and all people did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there was, after conſecration, the body and blood of Chriſt, and that there did not remain the ſubſtance of material bread and wine.

I do ſo believe.

By me THOMAS TOMKINS.

The ſecond EXAMINATION *of* THOMAS TOMKINS.

THE next day being the 9th of February, at eight o'clock before noon, Thomas Tomkins was brought again before the biſhop and his other aſſiſtants, where the aforeſaid articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he anſwered as followeth:

To the firſt he ſaid, that he did ſo believe, as in the ſame is contained.

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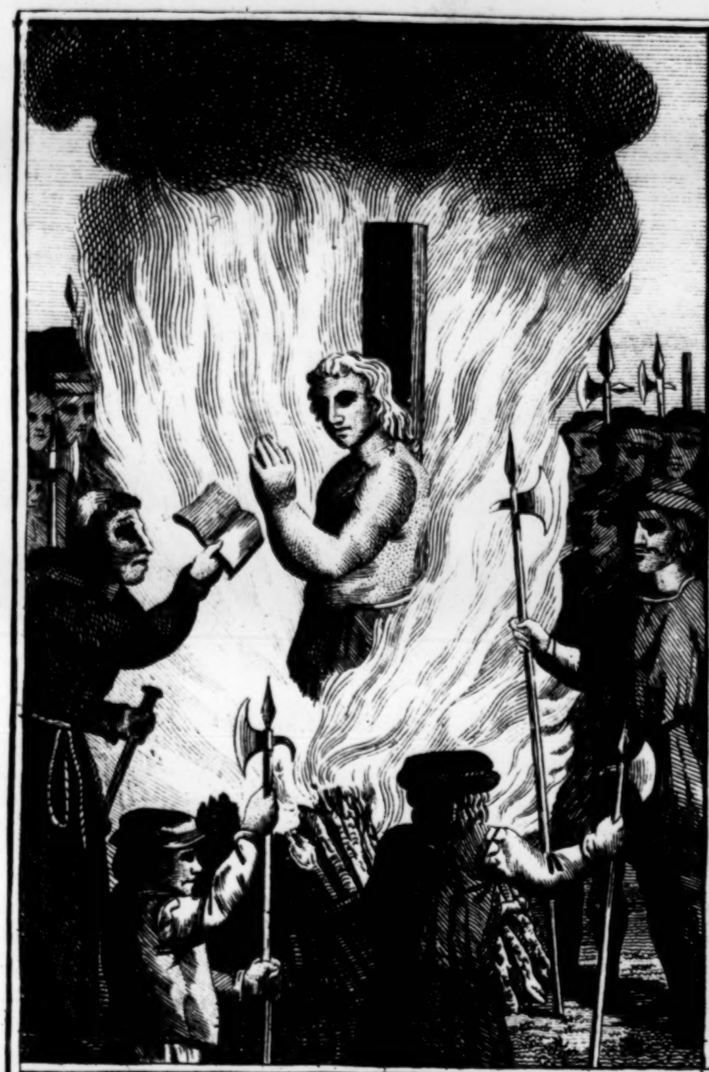
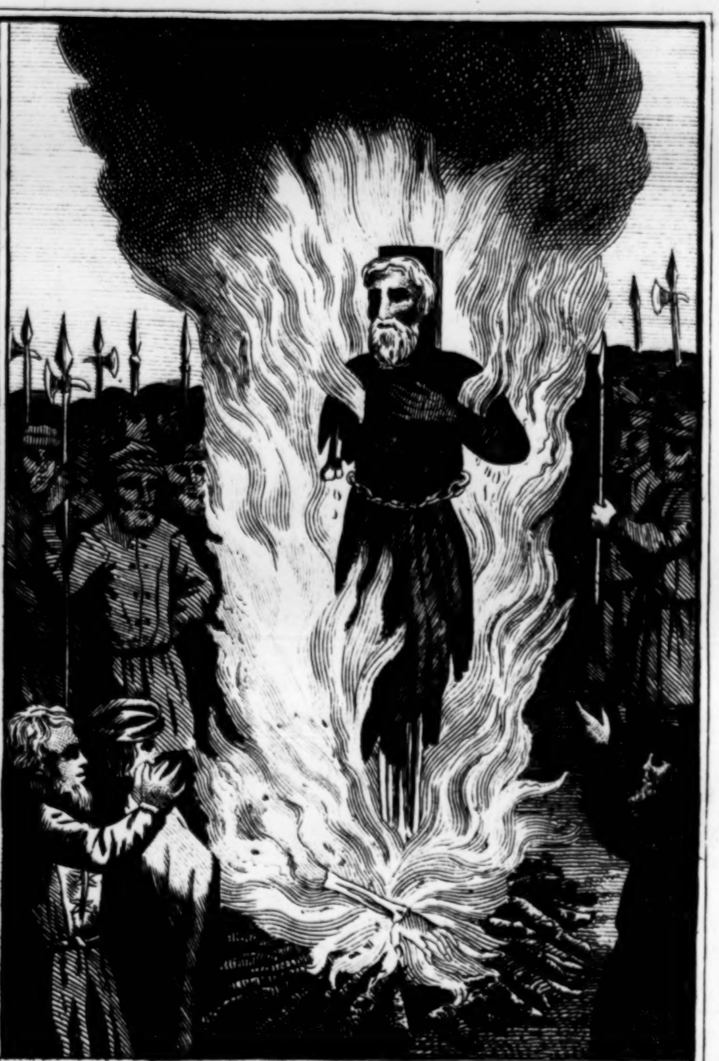
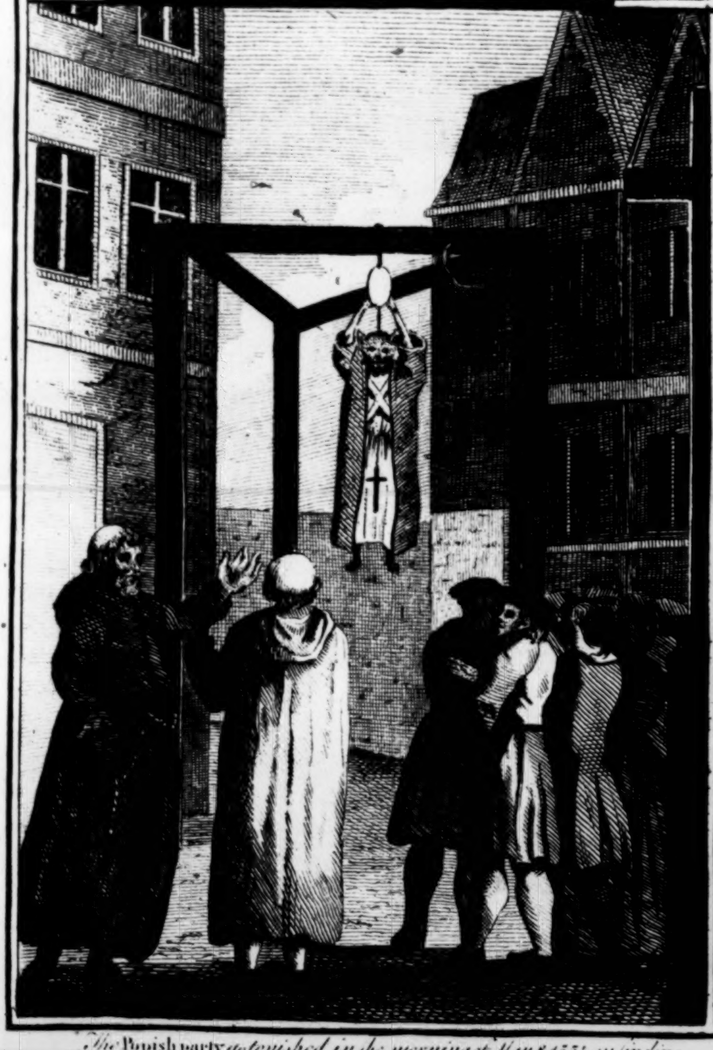


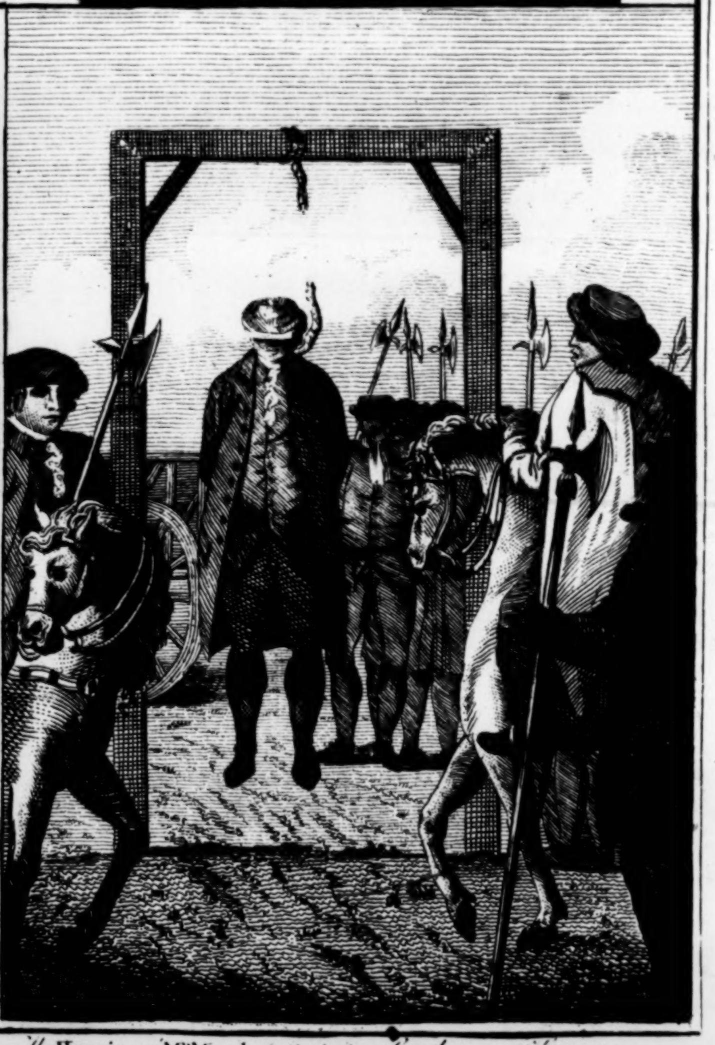
The Burning *of* W^m. HUNTER, *at* Brentwood *in* Essex.



The Martyrdom *of* M^r. THO^s. TOMKINS, *in* Smithfield.



The Popish party *astonished in the morning of May 8. 1554, on finding in* Cheapside *a* CAT *suspended on a* Gallows *habited like a* Monk *with a shaven Crown, on which account* Q. Mary *and the* Papists *were highly incensed against the sect of Protestants of London* —



The Hanging *of* M^r. Mantle *(a Protestant Gentleman of Kent) on the rope breaking he was exhorted to recant but he chose rather to die than to live longer dishonouring God.*

To the ſecond he ſaid, that it was only bread and a participation of Chriſt's death and paſſion, and ſo do the ſcriptures teach.

To the third he ſaid, he did believe it was a falſe doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did alſo believe the ſame.

After this anſwer, he did alſo ſubſcribe his name to the ſaid articles. Whereupon, the biſhop drawing out of his boſom another confeſſion ſubſcribed with Tomkins's own hand, and alſo that article that was the firſt day objected againſt him, cauſed the ſame to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his ſaid opinions, which he utterly refuſed to do; and therefore he was commanded to appear before the biſhop again in the ſame place at two in the afternoon.

Agreeable to this mandate, being brought before the bloody tribunal of biſhops, and preſſed to recant his errors and return to the mother-church; he maintained his fidelity, nor would ſwerve in the leaſt from the articles he had ſigned with his own hand. Having therefore declared him an obſtinate and damnable heretic, they delivered him up to the ſecular power, and he was burned in Smithfield, March 6th, 1555, triumphing in the midſt of the flames, and adding to the noble company of martyrs, who had preceded him, through the path of the fiery trial to the realms of immortal glory.

II.

The HISTORY *and* MARTYRDOM *of* WILLIAM HUNTER, *an* Apprentice *in* LONDON, *aged* Nineteen Years, *who was purſued to Death by* JUSTICE BROWN, *and* burned *March 27th,* 1555.

THIS adherent to the cauſe of Chriſt had been trained to the doctrines of the reformation from his earlieſt youth.

On queen Mary's ſucceeding to the crown, the prieſts were ordered to ſummon all their pariſhioners to receive the communion at maſs the following Eaſter; and Hunter, who was then nineteen years of age, refuſing to obey the ſummons, was threatened to be brought before the biſhop.

His maſter fearful of incurring eccleſiaſtical cenſure, deſired him to leave him for a time; upon which he quitted his ſervice, went down to Brentwood, and reſided with his father about ſix weeks.

One day finding the chapel open, he entered and began to read in the Engliſh bible, which lay upon the deſk, but was ſeverely reprimanded by an officer of the biſhop's court, who ſaid to him, William, why meddleſt thou with the bible? Underſtandeſt thou what thou readeſt? Canſt thou expound ſcripture? He replied, I preſume not to expound ſcripture; but finding the bible here, I read for my comfort and edification.

The officer then informed a neighbouring prieſt of the liberty the young man had taken in reading the bible; the prieſt therefore ſeverely chid him, ſaying, Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible and expound it?

He anſwered as he had done to the officer, and on the prieſt's telling him, that it became him not to meddle with the ſcriptures, he frankly declared his reſolution to read them as long as he lived, as well as reproved the vicar for diſcouraging perſons from that practice, which the ſcriptures ſo ſtrongly enjoined.

On being declared an heretic by the vicar of his pariſh, and threatened with an information to the biſhop of London, which was ſoon known to juſtice Brown, that unfeeling magiſtrate ordered the youth's father to ſearch for him and produce him, on pain of being himſelf impriſoned; and, to prevent his father from incurring any danger, on meeting by accident, the young man accompanied him home, and was next day taken by the conſtable, and kept in the ſtocks forty-eight hours, before he was brought to the juſtice. He was there examined reſpecting his opinion of the ſacrament of the altar, and, on being again charged with hereſy, was ſent to the biſhop of London, where he perſevered in the ſame ſentiments he had before aſſerted; from which neither promiſes nor threatenings could move him. On this he was put in the ſtocks in the biſhop's gate-houſe, for two days and nights, only with a cruſt of brown bread and a cup of water; and, at the end of this time, finding him ſtill firm, he ſent him to the convict priſon, and ordered him to be heavily ironed, allowing him only a halfpenny a day to live on in bread and drink, where he remained for three quarters of a year, in which time he had been brought five times before the biſhop, before the time of his condemnation on the 9th of February, in the conſiſtory court of St. Paul's. At this time alſo the biſhop took great pains to induce him to recant, particularly on the ſubject of the ſacrament of the altar; but, on his ſtill remaining immoveable, he pronounced ſentence, that he ſhould go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from thence to Burntwood, there to be burned. Other perſons alſo were condemned at the ſame time.

After this he made various tempting offers to this young man to recant, but to no purpoſe; and, after remaining in Newgate more than a month, he was ſent to Burntwood for execution. Here he arrived on the Saturday before the annunciation of the bleſſed virgin Mary, and continued there until Tueſday, the 26th of March; on which morning Mr. Sheriff Brocket gave orders to prepare for his burning; but his ſon encouraged him to perſevere in his integrity, and not to be afraid of the men which ſurrounded with bills and weapons. On this he aſſured him, that he was not afraid, having already reckoned what it would coſt him.

As he had been confined at the Swan inn at Burntwood, many people of the country came to viſit him and the others who were with him; and in particular his father and mother both encouraged him to continue to the end in that good way which he had begun. And he farther acknowledged to his father that, after a month, he had meat and clothing enough, with money, wood, and coals, and all things neceſſary. The night before his execution alſo, he dreamed of his being at the place, and of every thing which occurred there, as it actually happened, and as he had told thoſe who attended him, after their having awaked him, in conſequence of his making a noiſe to himſelf in his dream, to know if he wanted any-thing.

The ſheriff's ſon, after the converſation, could ſpeak no more to him for weeping.

Hunter then plucked up his gown, and went forward chearfully, the ſheriff's ſervant taking him by one arm, and his brother by another; and going along he met with his father according to his dream, and he ſaid to his ſon weeping, God be with thee, ſon William. And William ſaid, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort.

The juſtice who had apprehended him, and William Tyrill of the Braches, ſhewed much malignity, to embitter his cloſing moments; and the ſheriff ſtated that he had a letter from the queen, with a promiſe of pardon, if he would recant. But all theſe were equally unavailing. A prieſt, with a popiſh book, alſo preſented himſelf, juſt as he had ſeen in his dream, which he ſpurned at, and deſpiſed, ſaying, Away thou falſe prophet, beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, leſt you be partakers of their plagues. Then the prieſt ſaid, Look how thou burneſt here, ſo ſhalt thou burn in hell. William anſwered, Thou lieſt thou falſe prophet; away thou falſe prophet, away.

There was a gentleman preſent which ſaid, I pray God have mercy upon his ſoul. The people ſaid, Amen, Amen. Immediately the fire was made.

Then William caſt his pſalter into his brother's hand, who ſaid, William, think on the holy paſſion of Chriſt, and be not afraid of death.

And William anſwered, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and ſaid, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my ſpirit; and caſting down his head again into the ſmothering ſmoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, ſealing it with his blood to the praiſe of God.

III.

The HISTORY *and* MARTYRDOMS *of* WILLIAM PYGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT, *and the* Rev. JOHN LAWRENCE: *the two former were* burned *March 28th, the one at* BRAINTREE, *the other at* MALDEN *in* ESSEX; *and the latter at* COLCHESTER, *March 29th,* 1555.

THESE two pious laymen, and one proteſtant divine, having been pointed out by the emiſſaries of Bonner and Gardiner, as maintaining religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the holy mother church. In conſequence of this they were all three ſummoned to appear before biſhop Bonner, at his conſiſtory court at London, where they were ſeverally queſtioned concerning their faith of the corporal preſence in the ſacrament.

Having reſpectively anſwered and ſubſcribed that they were not ſubſtantially, but figuratively, the body and blood of Chriſt in that holy ordinance, they were ſeverely reprimanded by the court, and admoniſhed to recant their heretical opinions. After various unavailing endeavours to induce them to change their ſentiments, biſhop Bonner proceeded to paſs ſentence on them as irreclaimable heretics; and then degraded Mr. Lawrence with the uſual ceremonies. After which, they were all three delivered to the ſheriff, who conducted them to Newgate, where they remained until they were carried down into Eſſex, and there the 28th day of March, the ſaid William Pygot was burned at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden, who at the ſtake, kneeling upon the ground, ſaid an appropriate prayer.

The next day, being the 29th of March, the ſaid John Lawrence was brought to Colcheſter, and there being not able to go, (for his legs were much worn with heavy irons in priſon, and alſo his body weakened with low keeping) was taken to the fire in a chair, and ſo ſitting, was in his conſtant faith conſumed with fire.

When he was burning, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could ſpeak, ſaying, Lord, ſtrengthen thy ſervant, and keep thy promiſe: which thing, as it is rare, ſo it is no ſmall manifeſtation of the glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of theſe little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

IV.

The HISTORY *of the* FAITH, CONFESSION, *and* MARTYRDOM, *of* Mr. THOMAS CAUSTON, *and* Mr. THOMAS HIGBED, *two* worthy Gentlemen *of* ESSEX, *who were* burned, *under the Tyranny of the* bloody BONNER, *the firſt at* RAYLY, *and the laſt at* HORNDEN-ON-THE-HILL, *both in the County of* ESSEX, *March 26th,* 1555.

MR. HIGBED and Mr. CAUSTON, two gentlemen in the county of Eſſex, the one at Hornden on the Hill, the other of the pariſh of Thundurſt, being zealous and religious in the true ſervice of God; as they could not diſſemble with the Lord, nor flatter with the world, ſo in time of blind ſuperſtition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obſcure in ſuch a number of malignant adverſaries, accuſers, and ſervants of this world; but at length were diſcovered to Edmund Bonner, biſhop of London, by whoſe command they were committed to the officers of Colcheſter, to be ſafely kept, and alſo a ſervant of Thomas Cauſton, who was nothing inferior to his maſter in true piety.

From their property and eſtimation, biſhop Bonner came to Colcheſter, to prevent tumult, on whom all his flattering promiſes and alarming threatenings were unavailing; when, with other priſoners, they were removed to London, and brought before the conſiſtory in St. Paul's, February 17, 1555, where they were demanded as well by the ſaid biſhop, as alſo by the biſhop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverſe doctrine, and come to the unity of the popiſh church. But on their refuſing ſo to do, the biſhop aſſigned them to appear again the next day, being the 18th of February.

On which day, he read unto them ſeveral certain articles, and gave them reſpite until the next day to anſwer unto the ſame, and ſo committed them again to priſon. The copy of which articles here followeth.

ARTICLES *objected and miniſtered by* BISHOP BONNER, *againſt* THOMAS CAUSTON *and* THOMAS HIGBED.

FIRST, That thou Thomas Cauſton (or Thomas Higbed) haſt been and art of the dioceſe of London, and alſo of the juriſdiction now of me Edmund, biſhop of London.

Item, That thou waſt in time paſt, according to the order of the church of England, baptized and chriſtened.

Item, That thou haſt godfathers and godmother, according to the ſaid eſtate.

Item, That the ſaid godfathers and godmother did then promiſe for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was uſed in the realm of England.

Item, That that faith and religion which they did profeſs and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the chriſtian people: and ſo it was in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of diſcretion, that is to ſay, to the age of 14 years, didſt not miſlike nor diſallow that faith, that religion, or promiſe then uſed and approved, and promiſed by the ſaid godfathers and godmother, but for a time didſt continue in it.

Item, That at that time, and alſo before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every-where in Chriſtendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profeſſion of chriſtian men, to believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the conſecration, there was and is by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in ſubſtance, which was born of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs, really, truly, and in very deed.

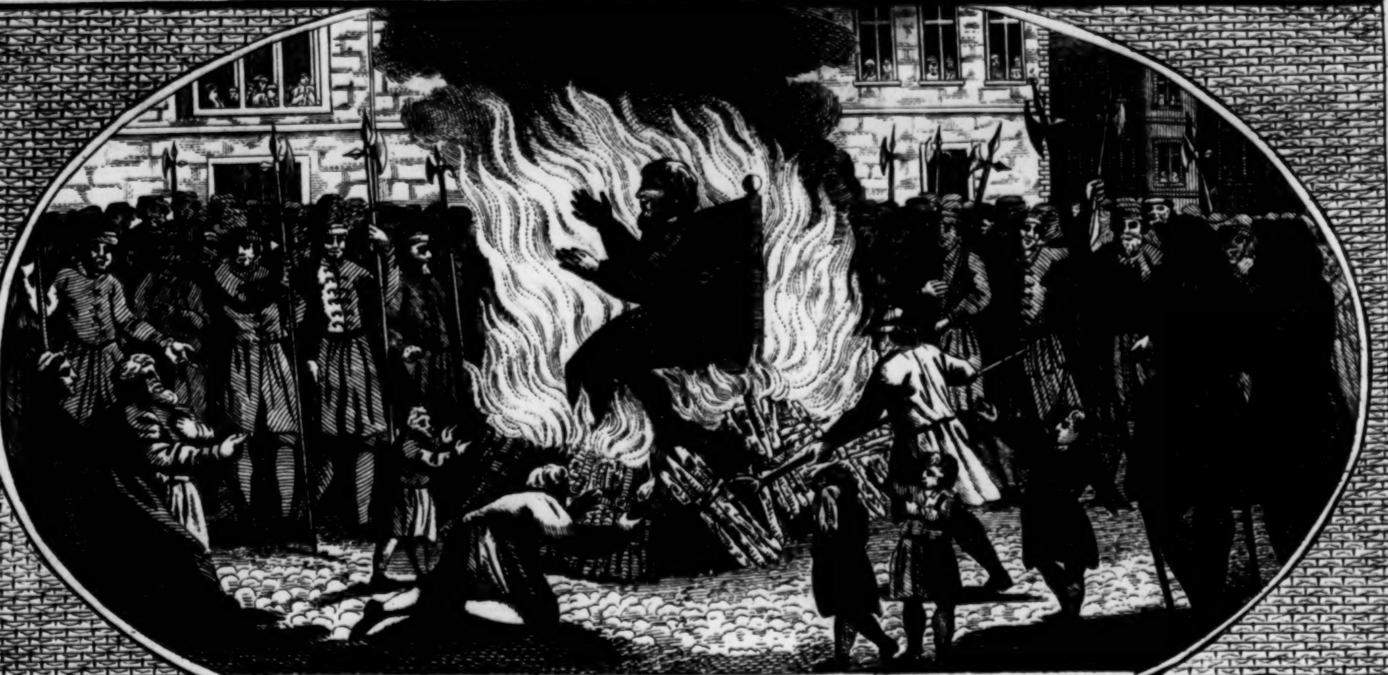
Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine anceſtors, all thy kindred, acquaintance and friends, and thy ſaid godfathers and godmother did then ſo believe.

Item, That thyſelf haſt had no juſt cauſe or lawful ground to depart or ſwerve from the ſaid religion or faith, nor any occaſion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or notion, that hath been againſt the common order of the church.

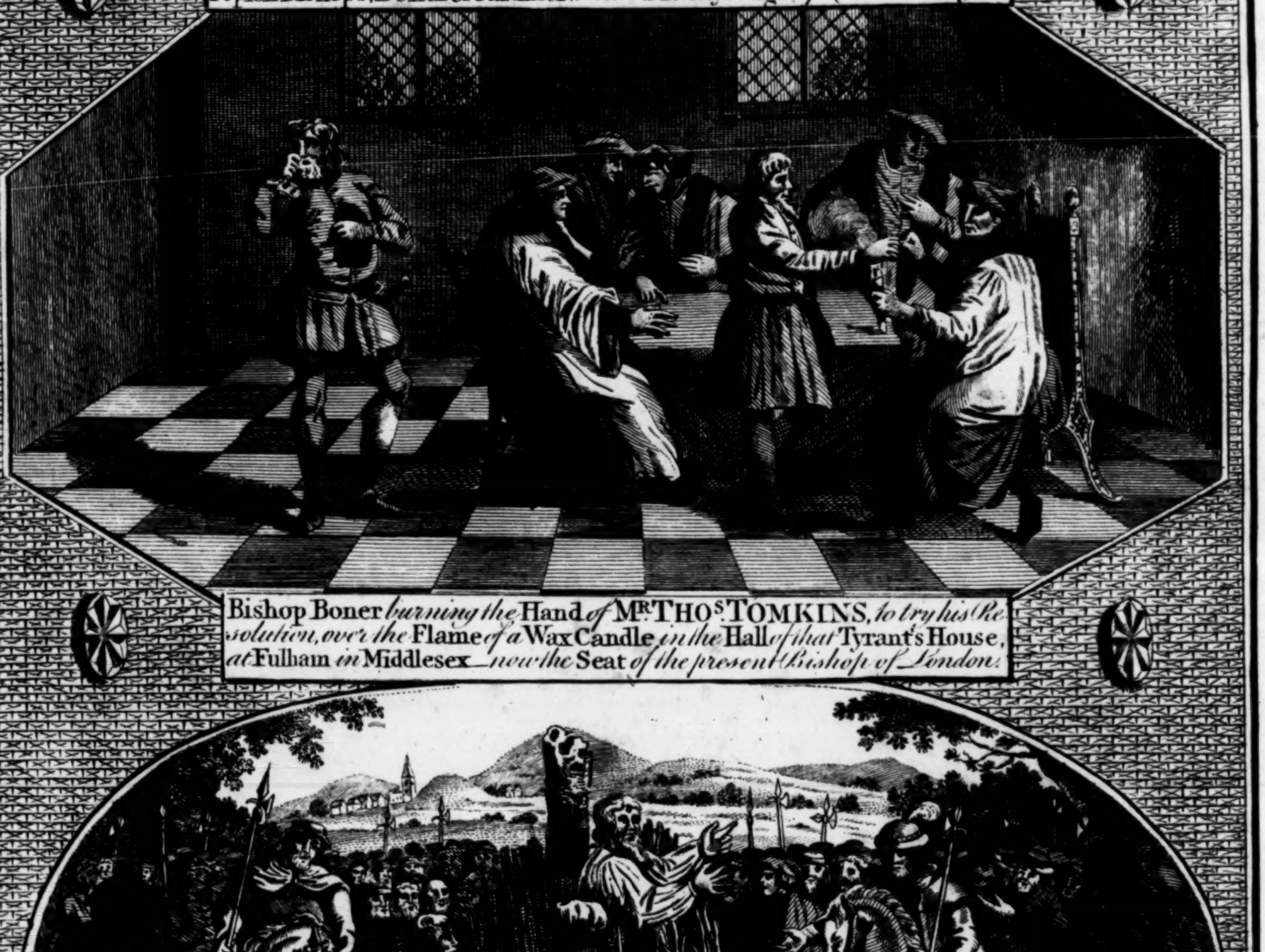
Item, That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that John Hooper, late biſhop of Glouceſter, Laurence Saunders, prieſt, John Rogers, prieſt, Rowland Taylor, prieſt, John Lawrence, prieſt, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, and Thomas Tomkins, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and alſo condemned as heretics, and ſo pronounced openly and manifeſtly; eſpecially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, againſt the verity of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, and all have ſuffered death.

Item, That thou doſt know, or credibly haſt heard, and doſt believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himſelf biſhop of London, Robert Ferrar, late biſhop of St. David's, and Hugh Latimer, ſometime biſhop of Worceſter, have been, and are at this preſent reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and miſbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions againſt the verity of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar.

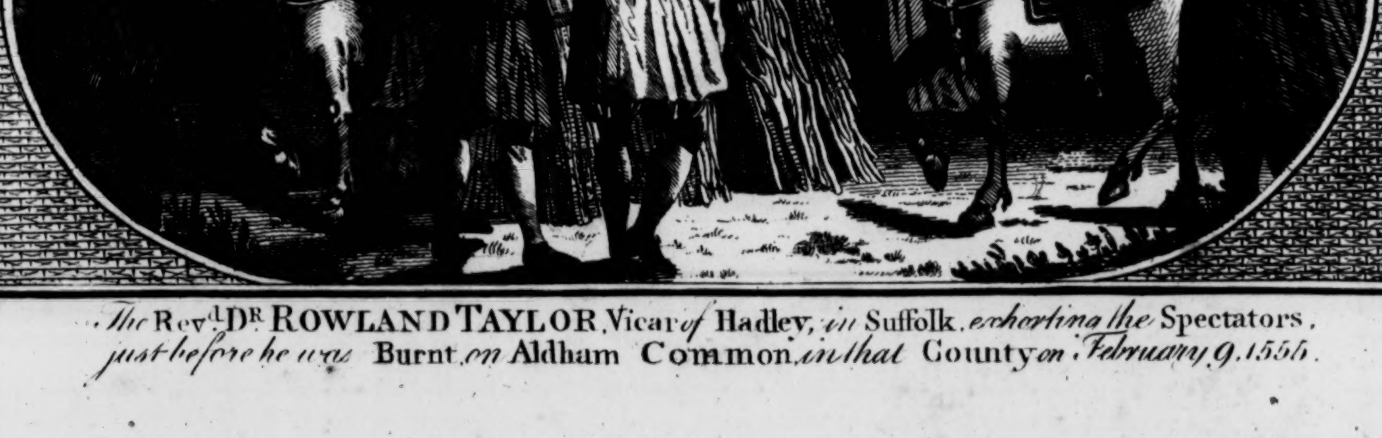
Item, That thou haſt commended and praiſed all the ſaid perſons ſo erring and believing (or at leaſtwiſe ſome of them) ſecretly, and alſo openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their ſaid opinions to be good and true, and the ſame to the beſt and



The **MARTYRDOM** *of the Rev^{d}.* **M^{R} JOHN LAWRENCE** *who was* Burnt *at* Colchester *in* Essex *March 29. 1555, under the Persecution of those Cruel* Popish Bishops, Boner & Gardiner, *in the* Bloody Reign *of* Queen Mary.



Bishop Boner *burning the* Hand *of* **M^{R} THO^{S} TOMKINS,** *to try his Resolution, over the* Flame *of a* Wax Candle *in the* Hall *of that* Tyrant's House, *at* Fulham *in* Middlesex *now the* Seat *of the present Bishop of London.*



The Rev^{d}. D^{R} **ROWLAND TAYLOR**, Vicar *of* Hadley, *in* Suffolk, *exhorting the* Spectators, *just before he was* Burnt *on* Aldham Common *in that* County *on February 9. 1555.*

2. *Ilast page.*

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and uttermoſt of thy power thou haſt allowed, maintained, and defended at ſundry times.

Item, That thou having heard, known, and underſtood all the premiſes thus to be as is aforeſaid, haſt not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the ſame and every part thereof, haſt attempted and done, condemning, tranſgreſſing, and breaking the promiſe, faith, religion, order, and cuſtom aforeſaid, and haſt become, and art an heretic and miſbeliever in the premiſes, denying the verity of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, and obſtinately affirming, that the ſubſtance of the material bread and wine are there remaining, and that the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, taken of the virgin Mary, are not there in the ſaid ſacrament really and truly.

Item, That all the premiſes be true, notorious, famous, and manifeſt, and that upon all the ſame, there have and be amongſt the ſaid good people of the city of London, and dioceſe of the ſame, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and alſo in all places where thou haſt been, within the ſaid dioceſe of London.

Theſe articles being given to them in writing by the biſhop, the next day was aſſigned to them to give up and exhibit their anſwers unto the ſame.

On the 1ſt of March, the ſaid Thomas Cauſton and Thomas Higbed, being brought before the biſhop in the conſiſtory, they there exhibited their anſwers to the articles, in which they declared the true faith.

Then the biſhop, reading their former articles and anſwers to the ſame, aſked them if they would recant; which when they denied, they were again diſmiſſed and commanded to appear the Wedneſday after, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On the 8th of March, the ſaid Thomas Cauſton was firſt called to a ſecond examination before the biſhop, Mr. Fecknam and Dr. Stempe being in his palace, and there had read unto him his foreſaid articles with his anſwers. The biſhop now exhorted and perſuaded him to recant, but he anſwered, No, I will not abjure. You ſaid that the biſhops that were lately burned are heretics, but I pray God make me ſuch a heretic as they were.

Then leaving Mr. Cauſton, the biſhop called for Mr. Higbed, uſing with him the like perſuaſions, but to no purpoſe: I have been, (ſaid Higbed,) of this mind and opinion that I am now, theſe ſixteen years, and do what you can, you ſhall do no more than God will permit you to do, and with what meaſure you meaſure us, look for the ſame again at God's hands.

They were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock in the afternoon.

On the 9th of March, their third examination took place but with ſimilar effect. Mr. Cauſton delivered in writing to the biſhop (as well in his own name, as alſo in Mr. Thomas Higbed's) a confeſſion of their faith, to which they would ſtand; and required leave to read the ſame, which, (after great ſuit,) being obtained, he read it openly in the hearing of the people. This confeſſion proved them to be of the ſame faith with their late fellow ſufferers.

The biſhop then pronounced ſentence, firſt againſt Thomas Cauſton, and then againſt Thomas Higbed. They were both delivered to the ſheriffs, and by them ſent to Newgate, where they remained 14 days. On the 23d of March they were taken from Newgate, at four o'clock in the morning, and led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the ſheriff of Eſſex, and there being faſt bound in a cart, were ſhortly after brought to their ſeveral appointed places of burning; Thomas Higbed to Hornden on the Hill, and Thomas Cauſton to Rayly, (both in the county of Eſſex), where they did moſt conſtantly, the 26th day of the ſame month, ſeal their faith with their blood. Juſtice Brown and divers gentlemen in the ſhire were commanded to be preſent, for fear they ſhould be taken from them. And thus much touching the apprehenſion, examination, confeſſion, condemnation, and burning of theſe two godly and conſtant martyrs of God.

C H A P. V.

The EXAMINATIONS, CONDEMNATION, *and* MARTYRDOM, *of* Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Biſhop *of* St. DAVID's *in* WALES; *who gave his Life for the* Truth, *and was* Burned *in the* Market-Place *of the* TOWN *of* CAERMARTHEN, *March 30th*, 1555.

THIS worthy and learned prelate having in the former reign, as well as ſince the acceſſion of Mary, been remarkably zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of popiſh idolatry; was ſummonſed, among others, before the popiſh and perſecuting biſhop of Wincheſter, (who was then likewiſe lord chancellor), and other commiſſioners ſet apart for the abominable work of devaſtation and maſſacre.

His principal accuſers and perſecutors were, George Conſtantine Walter, his ſervant; Thomas Young, chaunter of the cathedral, afterwards archbiſhop of York; Dr. Rowland Merrick, afterwards biſhop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c. at whoſe inſtance, Hugh Rawlins, a prieſt, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the ſaid George Conſtantine, did exhibit to the king's moſt honourable council, the following articles and informations, which, with the biſhop's anſwer to the ſame, we here think good to inſert.

A TRUE COPY *of* ARTICLES *and* INFORMATIONS *exhibited by* HUGH RAWLINS, *and* THOMAS LEE, *againſt* Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Biſhop *of* St. DAVID's.

1. IMPRIMIS, When the ſaid biſhop firſt came to his dioceſe, he appointed his chancellor by his letters of commiſſion, omitting the king's majeſty's ſtile and authority, and grounded his ſaid commiſſion upon foreign uſurped laws and authority, by force of which authority his ſaid chancellor did viſit certain deanries of his ſaid dioceſe, and admoniſhed the chaunter and chapter of the cathedral church of St. David's aforeſaid, againſt a certain day and place, for like intent and purpoſe, contrary to the king's highneſs's laws and ſtatutes, and in derogation of his highneſs's ſupremacy.

2. Item, that the ſaid chaunter and chapiter, perceiving the fault of the ſaid commiſſion, took the ſame from the regiſter into their cuſtody, refuſing to appear by virtue thereof, and by ſecret and charitable ways and means

means, did admoniſh the ſaid biſhop of the unlawfulneſs and faults of the ſaid commiſſion, and of the danger he had incurred for granting and executing the ſame; opening alſo unto him the effect of the ſtatute made in the 28th year of our late ſovereign lord Henry VIII. Which admonitions notwithſtanding, the ſaid Biſhop neglecting the ſame, and continuing in his malicious doing, or inexcuſable ignorance; about the 20th day of Auguſt, in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign lord that now is, did confer unto one John Evans, the vicarage of Pembrin, inſtituting him by authority of the old foreign uſurped law, making no mention of the king's highneſs's authority, in contempt and derogation of the ſame.

3. Item, Whereas the chancellor and vicar general to the ſaid biſhop, did upon a lawful title, and by the king's highneſs's ſupreme authority, admit and inſtitute one John Gough into the rectory of Haſkard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the king's name under his highneſs's ſeal eccleſiaſtical, appointed for that office, with the teſt of the ſaid biſhop, and ſubſcription of the ſaid Chancellor, a mandate to induct accordingly, by virtue whereof the ſaid John Gough was inducted by the official there into the real poſſeſſion of the ſame rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the ſame belonging; whereupon the regiſter of the ſaid dioceſe, at the requeſt of the aforeſaid chancellor, did ſignify the premiſes, with all the circumſtances, before divers perſons to the forenamed biſhop: who notwithſtanding did inſtitute and cauſe to be inducted, one Harry Goddard, unto the ſame parſonage, making no mention of the king's majeſty's authority nor ſupremacy; in contempt and derogation of the ſame his highneſs's crown and dignity, and in extolling the foreign uſurped authority, contrary to the form of the ſtatute, &c.

4. Item, The ſaid biſhop immediately after the unlawful inſtitution and induction of Goddard, moleſted the ſaid John Gough, lawfully inſtituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long ſeaſon, till at length he articled: ſo taking upon him the cognition of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the king's highneſs's regal crown and dignity, and in derogation of the laws and ſtatutes of this realm.

5. Item, He hath commonly made his collations and inſtitutions, as he did his firſt commiſſion, in his own name and authority, without expreſſing the king's ſupremacy.

6. Item, He made under his ſeal one collation, two inſtitutions, three mandates to induct, in one vocation of one benifice, three ſeveral perſons without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby except good foreſight, as well of juſtices of the peace, as of the friends, had not been there had enſued much inconvenience amongſt the partakers of the entitled incumbents in that behalf.

7. Item, The ſame biſhop decreeing caveats to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, inſtituted and cauſed to be inducted without trial of any title or due order of law.

8. Item, he directeth his mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the archdeacon nor his officials: contrary to the law and cuſtom uſed in that behalf. Notwithſtanding he hath been counſelled to the contrary by learned men.

9. Item, Having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the law, he ſitteth every day in harveſt, and other times, upon cauſes, without the aſſiſtance of the learned in the law, having with him only an unlearned boy, who is no notary, to his ſcribe, neither obſerving the law, nor yet reaſonable order: and therefore doth no good, but trifleth the time, as may appear by his acts, if he have them to ſhew.

10. Item, He and his officers, by his knowledge, uſed to diſpenſe with marriages, to be ſolemnized without banns, contrary to the laws and ordinances in that behalf.

11. Item, Whereas one Thomas Prichard, a chaplain of his, ſolemnized matrimony in a private houſe without banns, and that between a prieſt and a ſiſter of her's that was appointed to be married with the ſaid prieſt that day; he alſo being a parſon, and leaving his cure unſerved that day being Sunday: and notwithſtanding that one of the king's council in the marches of Wales informed the ſaid biſhop of ſome miſdemeanors, requiring due reformation thereof, he hath done nothing therein, but put the ſame chaplain in office, and made him commiſſary general ſince that time, bearing a ſpecial favor to the reſt of the offenders.

12. Item, Whereas one Meredith ap Thomas his houſhold-ſervant, was accuſed by one Sage Hughes, to have been father of her child; the ſaid biſhop, without acquittal of his ſervant, cauſed him to ſue the parents of the ſaid Sage of infamy, firſt in his principal conſiſtory, and from thence before a commiſſory of his, being his houſhold chaplain, and at laſt took the matter before himſelf, railing againſt all his officers, becauſe they proceeded not after his partial affection, and againſt the law, that honeſt men of Caermarthen; where he ſat upon the cauſe, judged him to be, or at the leaſt to have been diſtracted of his wit; and by this partial handling, the cauſe remaineth unfiniſhed, and the child without a father.

13. Item, Whereas one Jenkin Ph. accuſed William Chambers, a ſervant of the biſhop's that found this Williams in an adulterous manner with his wife, by reaſon whereof the biſhop expelled the wife out of his houſe, the ſaid infamy not purged, the ſaid parties have been both again in the biſhop's houſe and ſervice ſince that time, to the evil example of others.

14. Item, By this unlawful ſequeſtration of the fruits of the benefices of Langattock and Lanvihangel, by the indiſcreet handling of the ſame, there were raiſed the number of four hundred people or more, who made much diſturbance, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabout, had it not been pacified by the diſcreet means of ſir John Vaughan, knight.

15. Item, By this unlawful collation of the prebend of Lanbiſter to one Stephen Green, a chaplain of his, by covenant and promiſe to maintain the ſuit, by whoſe crafty and indiſcreet handling of the ſame, there was raiſed in the county of Radnor, the 19th day of Auguſt laſt paſt, about three or four hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was ſtayed by John Bradſhaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice; juſtices of the ſame county; who with great danger to themſelves and their's, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16. Item, Such as he owes diſpleaſure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter againſt them; and being divers times required the copy of his proceedings againſt them to the intent they might anſwer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all ſuch perſons the copies of his proceedings.

17. Item, He and his officers wink at the manifeſt and open crimes of his favourers and adherents, to the evil example of the whole dioceſe, and abuſe the cenſure of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, making it an inſtrument of revenge againſt ſuch as they do not favor.

18. Item, Having received payment of the king's majeſty's ſubſidy, due in Oct. the fourth year of his grace's reign, of the aforeſaid chaunter of the cathedral church of St. David's, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the reſidentaries there, before Chriſtmas laſt, he unjuſtly, of a premeditated mind and purpoſe, afterwards certified them for recuſants, to their ruin, if they had not been admoniſhed of his cruel purpoſe, and provided lawful defence for the ſame.

19. Item, The ſaid biſhop celebrating matrimony in his own perſon, diſpenſed, contrary to the book of ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy communion; the parties both being young and luſty perſons, having no reaſonable cauſe wherefore they ſhould abſtain. At which celebration the biſhop communicated not himſelf. And further, the communion was celebrated by a chaplain of his, with ſuperſtitious bowings, kneelings, and knockings both by the chaplain that miniſtered, and by all the company, only one other prieſt communicating for the manner.

20, Item, Where the official of the archdeacon of Caermarthen, in his viſitation within Caermarthen, found, contrary unto the ſaid ordinance, an altar-ſet up in the body of the church, for the celebration of the communion, and cauſed the ſaid altar to be taken away, and a table to be ſet in the middle of the church; the biſhop after the ſame commanded the vicar of Caermarthen to ſet the table without the chancel again for the miniſtration of the communion.

21. Item, He being often in Caermarthen, and other places in the chancel at the time of the holy communion, not only tarried there himſelf, neither communicating nor miniſtering bare-headed and uncovered, reverently kneeling; but alſo permitting the people there to continue, the chancel and choir full, kneeling and knocking their breaſts. Which manner is yet uſed in all the dioceſe, without any reformation or gainſay of him or any of his officers.

22. Item, Whereas ſuperſtitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the king's majeſty's injunctions; the ſaid biſhop meeting many with beads in their hands never rebuked any of them.

23. Item, The ſaid biſhop being in the pulpit, and ſeeing divers corpſes within the church, with a great number of lights upon them, never ſpoke againſt any of them.

24. Item, Whereas the ordinance willeth, that no children be baptized but upon the Sunday, or holy-day, (only caſes of neceſſity excepted) he, having two children himſelf born without danger, cauſed one of them to be baptized on the week-day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is uſed, as it hath been accuſtomed, in all the dioceſe commonly, contrary to the book of ordinance in that behalf.

25. Item, From his firſt coming into the dioceſe, he hath had, and yet hath his only ſtudy, labour, and practice, to ſurvey land, and to look for mines, &c. neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his book and preaching.

26. Item, He keepeth no manner of hoſpitality, but hath his ſervants' table in one parlour with him, leſt any ſtrangers ſhould approach his ſervants being at their meat.

27. Item, He is commonly talking not of godlineſs, but of worldly matters, as baking, brewing, incloſing, ploughing, mining of mill-ſtones, diſcharging of tenants, and ſuch like, not only at his table, but alſo moſt commonly at other places.

28. Item, He hath warned divers tenants out of their lands, which they and their anceſtors have enjoyed for their rents, theſe hundred years and more, and occupied with tillage; which he ſaid he would incloſe, and being ſued to by poor men, becauſe of quietneſs, he anſwered, The crows ſhall eat the corn, rather than ye ſhall have any profit thereof.

29. Item, When the vicars choral of St. David's, for relief of their hoſpitality, had an iſland of his called the Biſhop's-iſle, for 40s. rent, which he let to a chaplain of his for 5l. by the year; and where, at the ſuit of the ſaid vicars it was granted by the biſhop in the whole chapter, that the vicars ſhould have it for years at 40s. rent, and pay 20l. entry; he now covetouſly, and againſt his promiſe openly made, denieth the ſame, except the vicars would give 50l.

30. Item, He cauſed the curate of St. David's to warn their tenants out of their ſaid lands in the pulpit, to the great offence of the people, who were wont to have God's word preached there; and ſo they ſaid to the curate at that time.

31. Item, To the ploughing of a paſture not above ten days work, in lent, anno 1549, he had 32 ploughs in one day, and thoſe ploughs the prieſt bade in the church, contrary to the ſtatute of Gomortha in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of gentlemen in that country.

32. Item, Where the king's majeſty, of godly remembrance, Henry VIII. appointed at Brecknock a ſchool-maſter, uſher, reader of divinity, a miniſter, and certain ſcholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed 40l. and 12l. of the penſions and revenues of Brecknock; the biſhop finding it ſo furniſhed, has neither reader nor miniſter there, covetouſly converting their ſtipends to his own uſe.

33. Item, The biſhop was twice in one day preſented in the great court, held in the court of Caermarthen, for incloſing and covetouſly incroaching on the king's high-way.

34. Item, He covetouſly continueth purchaſing of lands, buying of cattle, merchandiſe, and other things, being indebted a notable ſum to the king's majeſty, as may appear by his accounts in the court of tenths, and firſt fruits.

35. Item, Whereas one Lewis John Tho. Bool, putting from him his lawful wedded wife, upon Chriſtmas-eve laſt, without banns, had marriage ſolemnized with a concubine of his in a church within three miles of the biſhop's abode at that time: the biſhop ſince knowing the premiſes, has not only of a covetous mind entered into a ſamiliarity with the ſaid Lewis, and bought a piece of land of him, but alſo ever ſince has (to have his lands cheap) left both the parties and prieſt unpuniſhed, uſing him ſo familiarly, that whereas a ſummer cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the ſame fact, the biſhop commanded the ſaid ſumner to let him alone, and ſo they all remain unpuniſhed.

36. Item, Whereas the whole chapter of St. David's, (as it was thought) was in aſſured amity with the biſhop, they all being his officers or chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a writ of *quo warranto* in the King's-bench, keeping the writ with him ſecretly, at leaſt three months, not delivering it but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being ſeven days journey from London.

37. Item, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lawful poſſeſſions, ſtirring thereby much contention, and ſo notably known to the offence of the country.

38. Item, Whereas the biſhop aforeſaid was appointed in Auguſt, 1547, and conſecrated in September following, he never came into the dioceſe himſelf, nor ſent or appointed any officer there before the month of April, 1548, to the great diſorder of the king's majeſty's ſubjects, lack of reformation, and adminiſtration of juſtice.

39. Item, During his viſitation, the ſaid biſhop did not endeavour himſelf to ſee reformation, but rode ſurveying of lands, appointing vain incloſures, and ſuch other things. Which are no parts of the office to him committed, nor yet proper at that time.

40. Item, The viſitation finiſhed, he neither appointed his officers to examine the clergy of the places of ſcripture to them appointed to be ſtudied in the ſame viſitation, nor has hitherto effectually gone about any good reformation, according to the ordinanecs of this realm.

41. Item, The biſhop ſince his coming to the dioceſe never adminiſtered the communion, ſaving only twice that he ordained certain deacons; but in every thing (ſave that he ſometimes preaches) ordereth himſelf like no miniſter, nor man of his vocation.

42. He hath ſo alienated himſelf from ſtudy, that he preaches indiſcreetly, diſcrediting the office, not only untruly reporting the ſcriptures, but alſo preaching the ten commandments in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of ſtuff, the pith of his matter was matrimony of prieſts.

43. Item, The 13th day of September laſt, he ordained certain deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bound to forgive, but him that aſketh forgiveneſs: and being admoniſhed by a letter better to declare the ſame, becauſe that divers were offended with that doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred ſo to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in theſe parts.

44. Item, Since the 1ſt day of Auguſt, 1549, unto the feaſt of Candlemas laſt, he hath preached but two or three ſermons, of which one was preached at Aberguilly upon St. Stephen's day laſt, to a great audience that underſtood no Engliſh, being but a mile from

Caermarthen, an Engliſh town, and chief of his dioceſe.

45. Item, Since his ordinary viſitation which was finiſhed in July 1548, he hath neither preached, nor cauſed to be preached in the towns of Tinby, Pembroke, nor Haverford, being Engliſh towns, not much diſtant from the place of his abode.

46. Item, The churches appropriated to the biſhop have no paraphraſes in Engliſh, and few of them bibles.

47. Item, The churches of the dioceſe for the moſt part, and the clergy almoſt every one, lack paraphraſes, notwithſtanding there hath been theſe two years, and yet be a great number of them to be ſold in the dioceſe.

48. Item, To declare his folly in riding, he uſeth a bridle with white ſtuds and ſnaffle, white Scottiſh ſtirrups, with ſpurs, a Scottiſh pad, with a little ſtaff of three quarters long, which he hath not only uſed ſuperſtitiouſly theſe four or five years, in converſation oftentimes boaſting what countries he has compaſſed and meaſured with the ſame ſtaff.

49. Item, He hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he ſays, it is comely wearing of a hat, and ſo cometh in his long gown and hat, both into the cathedral church, and to the beſt town of his dioceſe, ſitting in that ſort in the king's great ſeſſions, and in his conſiſtories, making himſelf a mock to the people.

50. Item, He ſaid that he would go to the parliament on foot: and to his friends that diſſuaded him, alledging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he anſwered, I care not for that, it is no ſin.

51. Item, Having a ſon, he went before the midwife to the church, preſenting the child to the prieſt, and giving his name Samuel, with a ſolemn interpretation of the name, appointing alſo two godfathers and two godmothers, contrary to the ordinances, making his ſon a monſter, and himſelf a laughing-ſtock throughout all the country.

52. Item, He daily uſeth whiſtling to his child, and ſays that he underſtood his whiſtle, when he was but three days old. And being advertiſed by his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he anſwered, They whiſtle their horſes and dogs, and I am contented: they might alſo be contented that I whiſtle my child, and ſo whiſtled him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. Item, In his ordinary viſitation, among other his ſurveys, he ſurveyed Milford Haven, where he eſpied a ſeal-fiſh tumbling. And he crept down to the water ſide, and continued whiſtling there the ſpace of an hour, perſuading the company that laughed at him, that by his whiſtling he made the fiſh to tarry there.

54. Item, Speaking of ſcarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetouſneſs of fiſhers, who in the time of plenty took ſo many, that they deſtroyed the breeders.

55. Item, Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he wiſhed that what metal ſoever it was of, the penny ſhould be in weight worth a penny of the ſame metal.

56. For a concluſion, The ſaid biſhop in all his doings, ſince he came to his dioceſe, hath behaved himſelf moſt unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a miniſter of juſtice, an abuſer of the authority to him committed; for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of ſuperſtition, a maintainer of ſuperſtition without any doctrine of reformation; for a liberal and hoſpitable, an inſatiable covetous man; for a diligent overſeer, wilful and negligent; for an example of godly wiſdom, given wholly to folly; for merciful, a cruel revenger; and further, for a peacemaker, a ſower of diſcord. And ſo in all his behaviour a diſcrediter and ſlanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that had hope he ſhould do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his dioceſe, nor hath belonging unto him, any learned preacher. But ſuch learned preachers as he found in the dioceſe at his entry, he ſo vexeth and diſquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching for the defence of their livings, againſt his quarrellous inventions, and unjuſt pretenſions.

After theſe wrangling articles and informations were given up, then the biſhop was called for to anſwer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Wotton, and ſir John Maſon, knight, who likewiſe received the biſhop's anſwers to the aforeſaid articles, the copy and effect of which anſwers hereafter follow.

The ANSWER *of* DR. ROBERT FARRAR, Biſhop *of* St. DAVID'S, *to the* ARTICLES *miniſtered againſt him.*

TO the 1ſt article he ſays, That after lawful admonition in the king's majeſty's name and authority, from the ſaid biſhop (being then at London) given to the chaunter and chapter of St. David's, for viſitation at a certain day there to be entered; the ſaid biſhop himſelf for ſuch purpoſe coming into the dioceſe, knowing alſo that the chaunter, and one of the canons of that church, and late before commiſſaries in that dioceſe, had not only by their own evil examples and winking at the faults of others, or neglecting to correct the ſame, left there among prieſts and others much deteſtable whoredom; but had alſo ſpoiled the cathedral church of croſſes, chalices, and cenſers, with other plate, jewels, and ornaments of the church, to the value of four or five hundred marks or more, for their own private lucre (the church remaining even yet very vile, and in great decay), and had alſo made further under their chapter ſeal many blanks, to the number of twelve or more, vacant ſeats, without the king's majeſty's licence or knowledge; therefore he brought with him one Edmund Farlee, batchelor of law, commended by Dr. Young and Dr. Neviſon to him, as a man ſufficient in faithful truth, and learning, to be his chancellor. To whom he granted and ſealed a commiſſion for that purpoſe, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and form thereof. But the king's majeſty's ſtile of ſupremacy was fully ſet forth in the ſame commiſſion. Whether there were any default of formal words in ſetting forth of the king's authority therein, he is not certain; for he committed the doing thereof to his chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the biſhop ſays, that he never did ground the commiſſion upon any foreign uſurped laws or authority: neither did his ſaid chancellor by force of ſuch authority viſit any deanry of the ſaid dioceſe, nor gave any admonition to the chaunter and chapter there, by force of that commiſſion, for any like intent or purpoſe, but only offered in the king's majeſty's name and authority (to the ſaid biſhop committed) to enter viſitation of the chaunter and chapter of the cathedral church, at another day to be executed by the biſhop himſelf, for the reformation of the chapter church, and miniſters there, according to the king's gracious ordinances and injunctions in that behalf. But the aforeſaid chaunter and canon of the church, before the ſight of any commiſſion, ſtubbornly anſwered the ſaid chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to viſit them, except he were of their chapter. And further, deſiring to ſee his commiſſion, he delivered the ſame into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And ſo it may appear that he did nothing by force of that commiſſion.

2. To the 2d article he ſays, That they opened not unto him the danger of any ſtatute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheleſs, he not knowing any default in the ſaid commiſſion, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of preaching, and viſiting the whole dioceſe in his own perſon, by the king's majeſty's authority, for the conſervation of God's peace and the king's, in that dangerous time of rebellion, then beginning to ariſe in other places, did neglect and laid aſide the ſtubborn behaviour and wicked doings of the ſaid chaunter and canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches towards him and his ſaid chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing elſe that through their unquietneſs ſome tumult might have riſen among the people there; and did alſo make the ſaid chaunter his chancellor, and canon his commiſſary, according to their ambitious deſires, to appeaſe their malice in that dangerous time. And further he ſays, that he made collation to ſir John Evans of the vicarage of Penbrin, what day or time he remembereth not, by any old foreign uſurped authority, but by the king's authority only, mak-

ing full mention of the king's ſtile and authority in the ſame collation.

3. and 4. To the 3d and 4th he ſays, That whereas he had granted to George Conſtantine the office of a regiſter, who brought unto him a commiſſion for the chancellorſhip, to be ſealed and delivered to the aforeſaid chaunter of St. David's, deſiring the ſaid biſhop to ſeal it, he utterly refuſed ſo to do, becauſe the ſaid George had put therein a clauſe of admitting clerks into benefices; which authority the ſaid biſhop would not in any wiſe grant, reſerving the examination and admiſſion of clerks only to himſelf, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the ſaid George and the chaunter promiſed the ſaid biſhop by their faith and truth, before three or four honeſt witneſſes, not to execute that clauſe of inſtitution into benefices, but only to thoſe clerks whom the biſhop did firſt examine and admit, and ſend unto them to be inſtituted and inducted; upon which promiſe the biſhop ſealed the ſaid commiſſion, and after that time the parſonage of Haſkard being void, and by reaſon of lapſe devolved to the biſhop's gift for that time, he conferred it on one Henry Goddard, with a collation of inſtitution by the king's authority, not extolling any foreign uſurped authority. In which collation or inſtitution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the biſhop of Rome, and all foreign power and authority, with the full ſtile of his majeſty's ſupremacy. And this collation of the church of Haſkard he gave, before he underſtood or knew that his chancellor had given out the like, and he ſurely thinketh his collation was the firſt. That notwithſtanding, the ſaid George Conſtantine, and the ſaid chaunter having a vowſon determined by reaſon of lapſe, admitted and inſtituted one John Gough, to the ſaid parſonage of Haſkard, by virtue of their expired vowſon, and ſealed his inſtitution with a wrong ſeal, (becauſe they had not the right ſeal of office to that purpoſe) contrary to their former earneſt promiſe, and the biſhop's right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given; which thing by them untruly done, the ſaid George Conſtantine nevertheleſs came to the biſhop's houſe and there did write with his own hand the letters of induction for the ſaid Henry Goddard, prieſt, compriſing in the ſame the whole ſum of the inſtitution or collation which the ſaid biſhop had made, and the ſame George did ſeal the ſaid letters of induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the chaunter's former wrong doing, but ſo departed for that time. And afterwards he came again, and ſhewed the biſhop what they had done before concerning the parſonage aforeſaid. And further, the ſaid defendant ſaith, that he did not moleſt the ſaid John Gough, but lawfully did call him in the king's majeſty's name, not for any title of patronage, but to know whether he was parſon to Haſkard, and how he was thereto admitted, inſtituted, and inducted, and by what authority he preſumed to preach there, without the king's majeſty's licence, with other like lawful demands; whereunto he ſturdily refuſed to give anſwer, and ſaith, that the article contained in his accuſation, namely, "Item, He is interrogated under what title he holds the rectory of Haſkard," was not miniſtered unto the party in that ſort, ſo far as he knoweth, but in theſe words or like, "How did he get admiſſion into the rectory," &c.

5. To the 5th he ſaith, That albeit George Conſtantine, regiſter, did wilfully withdraw his bounden ſervice due to the king's highneſs, and to the ſaid defendant in the king's name, refuſing to attend either by himſelf, or his ſufficient deputy for writing of records and other inſtruments, yet the ſaid defendant made his collations and inſtitutions in his own name, not by his own authority, nor by another, ſave only the king's authority, according as he hath declared in his anſwer to the firſt article, expreſſing in them the king's ſupremacy with the biſhop's own name and ſeal of office, as he ought to do, according to the proviſion of the king's ſtatute in ſuch a caſe.

6. To the 6th he ſaith, That the vicarage of Penbrin being void, he, as right patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans, clerk, with letters of inſtitution and induction; and after, when the king's preſentation came to him for one David Jenkin, clerk, he deſired fourteen days reſpite at that time, either to ſhew ancient record for his right, and then the matter to ſtand to the determination of the law, or elſe if he ſhewed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk, which condition was by ſir Thomas Jones, knight, Dr. Meyrick, and the ſaid David Jenkin, received; and an inſtitution with an induction was made conditionally to be put in the hands of ſir Thomas Jones, knight, for ſafe cuſtody of the king's clerks' behalf, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the ſaid defendant, if he failed to ſhew. Within which time the ſaid defendant did ſhew an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the ſaid defendant's behalf, and ſo that inſtitution and induction was never by the ſaid defendant put in execution. Nevertheleſs, the ſaid David Jenkin (contrary to his promiſe and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to the ſaid ſir Thomas Jones, knight) took advantage by the ſaid writing, without knowledge of the ſaid defendant. After which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the ſaid defendant, advertiſed him, to admit one John ap Powell, clerk, preſented by virtue of the vowſon which the lord chancellor judged to be good, and ſo to be admitted notwithſtanding his former preſentation, whereby he would not bar the other man's right. And ſo this defendant made one collation, two inſtitutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further (he ſaith) that there was no buſineſs nor unquietneſs about the ſaid poſſeſſion of the vicarage, but this defendant giving place, was content to loſe his right for that time.

7. To the 7th he ſaith, That as he now remembereth, he never decreed any caveats to be made in benefices, neither did inſtitute nor cauſe to be inducted any into benefices, being known to him litigious.

8. To the 8th he ſaith, That becauſe the archdeacons be abſent from their offices, and have not had faithful diligent officials, he hath directed his mandates to them or their officials, or to other lawful perſons in that behalf, ſo far as he knoweth.

9 and 10. The 9th and 10th articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the 11th he ſaith, that whereas ſir Thomas Jones, knight, advertiſed him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private houſe, betwixt a certain prieſt and woman, whoſe ſiſter had refuſed the ſame, the ſaid Prichard leaving his own cure unſerved on that Sunday, this defendant did put the ſame Thomas Prichard to penance for ſo doing, marrying them without banns. And whereas he made the ſaid Thomas Prichard, who is a batchelor of law, his commiſſary; it was for the reſpect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to juſtice. And the ſaid defendant did never favour nor bear with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confeſſeth that the matrimony was ſolemnized in a private church, and that the cure was that day unſerved.

12. To the 12th he ſaith, That it is ſlanderous and utterly untrue. And that one John Hughes, prieſt, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his ſtep-mother) a harlot at eleven years of age, and after married openly to another man, being miniſter thereof himſelf. After which doing he took her away from her huſband again, and kept her, alledging a former contract. And when the ſaid John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the ſaid biſhop, in open court at Caermarthen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the king's pardon thereof, yet the ſaid Sage confeſſed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which later crime he denied. Nevertheleſs ſhe proved with child, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his, the midwife and others being witneſſes thereof. Yet notwithſtanding, George Conſtantine, as a wicked encourager of the ſaid prieſt in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforeſaid chaunter, firſt uttered that Meridith Thomas was the father of the ſaid child: which matter was ordered in the eccleſiaſtical court according to juſtice, without any partial affection of the ſaid biſhop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13th he ſaith, It is utterly falſe ſo far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14th he ſaith, That by lawful ſequeſtration in the king's majeſty's name, he committed the cuſtody of the fruits of Langatnoke and Lanvihangel to two honeſt men, for the behoof of the king's firſt fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent, and further he did not meddle nor miniſter any cauſe of unquietneſs in that behalf.

15. To the 15th he ſaith, That he made a collation, (lawful, as he ſuppoſeth) of the prebend of Lanbiſter, to Stephen Greene, his chaplain, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16th he ſaith, All is untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17th he ſaith, It is untrue for his own part, and his officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18th he ſaith, It is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recuſants juſtly, as he thinketh, becauſe they refuſed wilfully to pay the king's whole ſubſidy of their whole dividends, as it ſtandeth in the king's book, pertaining to the canons reſident.

19. To the 19th he ſaith, That after a travel of fourteen miles, being not able faſting to celebrate the communion, in a chapel within the houſe of ſir Thomas Jones, knight, one of the king's majeſty's honourable council of the marches of Wales, this defendant celebrated matrimony without receiving the communion for the cauſes above ſaid, betwixt Mr. Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the ſaid ſir Thomas Jones, according to the king's ordinances. And Thomas Prichard, prieſt, adminiſtered the holy communion there without any ſuperſtition, to this defendant's knowledge: and the married perſons not diſpoſed to receive the holy com- munion, he could not compel them againſt their con- ſciences, and ſaith, that he did not diſpenſe with them, as it is contained in the article.

To the ſlanderous and untrue CHARGE *of maintenance of* SUPERSTITION, &c. *he ſaith, that he did not main-tain any* SUPERSTITION, *contrary to the* King's Ordinances *and* Injunctions, *but abhorring in his Heart all* SUPERSTITION, *hath travelled and doth travel to aboliſh the ſame by* True Doctrine, *and do-ing as much as he can, with the* King's Peace, *among his* People *there.*

20. TO the 20th he ſaith, That George Conſtantine, in the third year of his majeſty's reign, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, raſhly cauſed to be pulled down, without any authority known to this defendant, the communion altar in Caer- marthen church, by his own preſumptuous mind, ap- pointing the uſe thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the biſhop fearing tumult, commanded the vicar to ſet up the communion table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21ſt he ſaith, That he has been divers times in the quire of Caermarthen, and hath tarried there in the communion time, not communicating himſelf, and that in every church where he cometh on the holy-day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the quire bare-headed, as well at matins before the communion, as at evening ſong after, without any ſuperſtition: he thinketh it not neceſſary for the communion's ſake to leave kneeling to Chriſt. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneel nor knock to the viſible ſhew or external ſhew of the ſacrament. And the choirs of Caermarthen and other places there, are not cloſe at the ſides, ſo that the peo- ple may come in and go out at their pleaſure. More- over the king's ordinances do not authorize him to re- buke the people for knocking on their breaſts, in token of repentance of their ſins; nor for kneeling, in token of ſubmiſſion to God for mercy in Chriſt.

22. To the 22d he ſaith, That in the time of the rebellion in Devonſhire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he teached the people the true form of prayer, according to God's holy word, and declaring the prayer upon beads to be vain and ſuperſtitious, yet durſt not for fear of tumult forcibly take from any man his beads, without authority. And touching the not reproving of ſuch as he ſhould meet, wearing beads, he remembereth not that he hath ſo done, unleſs it were in the rebellion time, at which time he durſt not rebuke ſuch offenders.

23. To the 23d he ſaith, That he being in the pilpit, his face towards the people, did not ſee the lights, if any were ſet about the corpſe behind his back till after that he came down to the pulpit. But he with George Conſtantine and the aforeſaid chaunter, ſitting in the church, in Caermarthen, to hear cauſes, and ſeeing the vicar with other prieſts, with ſong and lights bringing a corpſe up to the church, called forthwith the vicar and prieſts, and rebuked them in open court, as cormorants and ravens, flying about the dead carcaſs for lucre ſake.

24. To the 24th he ſaith, That he cauſed the one child being born with great peril of death to the mother, and itſelf lying for dead a certain ſpace after, to be chriſtened on the working day: the other child was chriſtened on the working day, becauſe both father and mother, and all other people there were in peril of death by reaſon of the ſudden ſweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the reſt of the accuſation, which is, that by that example, it is uſed after the old accuſtomed faſhion, he knoweth no ſuch thing.

To the CHARGE *of* COVETOUSNESS *he ſaith, His doings prove the contrary, as his* Neighbours *know.*

25. AND the 25th article he utterly denieth.

26. To the 26th he ſaith, That his hall at Aberguilly being ruinous, he uſeth for his hall a great chamber adjoining, for himſelf and his ſervants, and all manner of ſtrangers, and beſides twenty perſons in houſe daily. What other hoſpitality he keepeth, ho- neſt neighbours can teſtify.

27. To the 27th he ſaith, That his talk is according to his hearers, that is to ſay, reverently and truly of faith, love, and honeſt life, according to ſcripture to like auditors; and to other irreverent and raſh tur- moilers of ſcriptures and holy doctrine, he doth talk of honeſt worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not moſt commonly talk of ſuch things as are ex- preſſed in this article, but when he hath honeſt oc- caſion ſo to do.

28. The 28th he ſaith, is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of his lands; but where he is deſ- titute of neceſſary proviſion, and would have part of his own demain from certain freeholders, having it only from year to year at pleaſure, he cannot obtain it with- out brawling. Wherefore he ſuffereth them to keep it even yet ſtill, againſt right and reaſon. And touching the reſt, that he had rather the crows ſhould eat it, &c. he never ſpake any ſuch word.

29. To the 29th he ſaith, That whereas his predeceſſor biſhop Barloe, did let to farm the iſle of Ramſey to one William Brown, after whoſe hands this defendant received it into his own poſſeſſion, the vicars of St. Da- vid's being diſpoſſeſſed of it long before; he did let it over to Stephen Green, for 40s. the ground, as it was before, and 3l. more for ſeals, coneys, and fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the vicar's choral had there- in, who did refuſe when this defendant did diligently upon reaſonable conditions offer the ſame unto them: and this defendant made no promiſe unto them, as is contained in the article.

30. To the 30th hs ſaith, He knoweth not but that he advertiſed his bailiff to warn the freeholders, and others having his demain in rent, during pleaſure, to leave it at a lawful day to this defendant's neceſſary uſe; but did not cauſe the curate to do as is contained in the article to his remembrance.

31. To the 31ſt he ſaith, That he knoweth not what the prieſt bade in the church, nor how many ploughs there came, undeſired of this defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he deſired no man's labour but for his money.

32. To the 32d he ſaith, That he knoweth not any ſuch appointment of ſchools and revenues there, but he found there (after the departing of biſhop Barloe) a ſchoolmaſter, an uſher being a prieſt, and twenty ſcholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any penny thereof to his own uſe, albeit he might lawfully have done the ſame.

33. The 33d, he ſaith, is all untrue, ſo far as he knoweth.

34. To the 34th article he ſaith, He never purchaſed more than three parcels, whereof one was 2s. 8d. by the year; the ſecond, 3s. 4d. and the third, 1l. 6s. 8d. or thereabout, by the year; the reſt he denieth.

35. To the 35th he ſaith, That he never bought of Lewis John Thomas, his land good cheap, but after 40 years purchaſe, not knowing at that time any ſuch thing as is contained in the articles againſt the ſaid Lewes John Thomas. Neither bade he the ſumner to let him alone, but as ſoon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the ſumner to cite him; and ſo he was cited in this defendant's houſe, occaſioning him to break his bargain; to which Lewes, the defendant ſaid theſe words, If you would give me your land with a houſe full of gold, I cannot, nor will I ſuffer you to keep a woman. Then the ſaid Lewes affirming the latter woman to be his wife, and the firſt unknown to this defendant, he brought the ſaid Lewes to the conſiſtory for trial, where it hangeth yet: and alſo by lawful proceſs excommunicated the firſt woman, for that ſhe would not by any means appear in the court to claim or to confeſs marriage with the ſaid Lewes, and ſo ſhe ſtandeth this day at the point of *Significavit*.

36. To the 36th he ſaith, That whereas the chaunter, and R. M. with other canons there, would not obey the king's godly injunctions, concerning the finding of a ſchool for poor men's children, a lecture of divinity ſermons on the Sundays, repairing of their church and manſion houſes, decent order and miniſtration there; but ſtubbornly counted themſelves (with the chaunter) to be a body politic, without regard of the biſhop and his lawful motions, being himſelf named in their ſhire ſtatutes a deacon, having alſo their dean-ſtall in the choir with a prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the chapter-houſe, with a key of their chapter-ſeal, being alſo by the king's majeſty's commiſſion appointed their ordinary: yet would they not in any wiſe deliver unto him a book of their ſtatutes, for the better knowledge of his and their duties, now ſhew unto him their records and monuments, for declaring of the king's right and his. For which cauſe this defendant, by writ of *quo warranto*, lawfully called them to anſwer, which yet lieth aſleep, to the loſs of the king's majeſty's right. The time of delivery of the ſaid writ, he remembereth not.

37. The 37th, he ſaith, is alſo falſe, as far as he knoweth.

To the CHARGE *of* WILFUL NEGLIGENCE *he ſaith, that he hath uſed to his power* Willing Diligence.

38. To the 38th he ſaith, That he being attendant (according to his bounden duty) to ſerve the king's highneſs during the time of the parliament, from the firſt unto the laſt day; then immediately after repaired into his dioceſe, and he might not truſt R. M. the chaunter, and George Conſtantine to execute faithfully the juriſdiction, becauſe they had before (through their ſlanderous life, and not puniſhing miſdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredom. And ſaith further, that one cauſe why he appointed not an officer, &c. was for that he lacked his letters of authority of juriſdiction.

39 and 40. The 39th and 40th, he ſaith, are untrue.

41. To the 41ſt he ſaith, That how often he did miniſter the communion he doth not remember; but in all other things, ſo far as he knoweth, he hath ſtudied to order himſelf according to his vocation, and as far as he believeth acted like a miniſter.

42. To the 42d he ſaith, That he hath not alienated himſelf from ſtudy, neither preached indiſcreetly, nor reported the ſcriptures untruly to his knowledge; (but he hath been very much hindered both from ſtudy and preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed perſons.) And that he did ſet forth the doctrine of honeſt marriage, as well of all other men as of prieſts, even as the ſcripture then rehearſed did miniſter occaſion.

43. To the 43d he ſaith, That reciting the words of Luke, "If thy brother have offended againſt thee, blame him, and if he repent, forgive him, and if he have offended againſt thee ſeven times in one day, and ſeven times in the day he be converted unto thee, ſaying, I am ſorry, forgive him;" he ſaid farther theſe words in effect, It appeareth by this place of ſcripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him.

44. To the 44th he ſaith, That he hath preached right often at Caermarthen, as well as at other places; and he ſaith that a great number at Aberguilly do underſtand Engliſh very well.

45. To the 45th he ſaith, That after he had preached firſt at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Swanſey, Laugharne, Tinby, Pembroke, Hereford, St. David's, Cardigan, with other notable towns; he hath ſince that time preached to a great many other poor churches, but not in Tinby nor Pembroke: but for Hereford he ſtandeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the firſt a learned preacher, of godly life, the ungodly ſtubborn behaviour of the perſons before named, wearied him away. And whereas he had engaged another learned man to come into his dioceſe to preach, George Conſtantine by his diſcouragement adviſed him from this defendant.

46. To the 46th he ſaith, That in all his churches appropriated, there is both bible and paraphraſes, ſo far as he knoweth: and if the prieſts there would not ſhew him the lack thereof, yet ſhould the officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47th he ſaith, That George Conſtantine covetouſly ingroſſed into his hands a great number of paraphraſes: and this defendant hath admoniſhed the clergy to buy every one, for his diſcharge; and if the ſaid George being official of two archdeaconries, and other officials in their office would declare unto him what churches do lack bibles and paraphraſes, he would cauſe it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

To the CHARGE *of* FOLLY *he ſaith, That his Deſire is in true ſimple Manner of his* Words, Deeds, *and* Honeſt Behaviour, *through* GOD's GRACE, *to ſhew* GODLY WISDOM.

48. To the 48th he ſaith, That he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or faſhion with honeſt uſe of ſaddle, bridle, ſtirrups, ſtaff, and other like neceſſary or convenient things; and ſaith, that he uſed a ſaddle made after the Scottiſh faſhion, with ſtirrups of iron unvarniſhed, and like ſpurs; and black bridle without ſtuds, the bit and ſnaffle white as other men's are.

49. To the 49th he ſaith, That when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat to bear off rain and ſnow, and in ſummer to ſhadow him from the ſun, without any vow of ſuperſtition or offence to the people.

50. To the 50th he ſaith, That all is one to him, to ride or walk, as cauſe requireth; and whether he ſaid as is contained in the article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth uſe to go on foot.

51. To the 51ſt he ſaith, That after lawful prayer it pleaſed God to give him a ſon begotten and born in honeſt marriage; whom he therefore cauſed to be named Samuel, preſenting him to the miniſter to be received into Chriſt's church as a poor member of Chriſt: by the holy ſacrament of baptiſm was this done openly in the cathedral church, with earneſt gravity, and without offending any man; and alſo two wives, being before at

variance, deſired both to be godmothers, which were both received to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people.

52. To the 52d he ſaith, That he doth uſe with gravity all honeſt loving entertainment of his child, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his father's mouth, to receive wholeſome doctrine of the true fear and love of God; and ſaith, that he hath whiſtled to his child, but ſaid not that the child underſtood it, and that he anſwered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the article.

53. To the 53d he ſaith, That he never was ſurveyor, but went to ſee Milford-Haven for honeſt purpoſe, and not to ſurvey it; and for that he at the ſight of a ſeal whiſtled in his fiſt, ſuch as meant folly might turn it to their purpoſe. But it is not true that he ſtood whiſtling an hour to the fiſh, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any ſuch anſwer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54th he ſaith, That if he did ſay, the deſtroying of the fry hindereth plenty of fiſh, he thinketh the ſame not againſt reaſon: but he remembereth not to have ſaid, as is contained in the article.

55. To the 55th he ſaith, That he remembereth not that ever he ſaid as they alledge.

56. To the ſlanderous, untrue, and ungodly concluſion he ſaith, That George Conſtantine, with other his adverſaries before-named, and their adherents, not regarding the fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving obedience towards God and the king, and his true miniſters, have with falſe tongues, contumelious words, and ſpiteful deeds, laboured by all means to diſcredit and deface the king's gracious authority to him committed; who, ever ſince he came to the dioceſe hath endeavoured himſelf to ſhew his faithful miniſtry by his true honeſt doing, and to uſe his authority according to his vocation, to God's glory and the king's honour. And this deponent brought into his dioceſe both learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Conſtantine with his adherents hath wearied out.

The whole proceſs was long and tedious, and during the whole time of the examination of witneſſes, the biſhop was obliged to continue in London upon the allegation of his adverſaries, which was, that if the biſhop ſhould depart into his dioceſe, he would hinder them of their proofs. About three weeks after the return of their commiſſion, 127 witneſſes having been examined, publication of their witneſſes was granted: after which it was a fortnight before the biſhop could obtain a copy of their depoſitions, the whole thereof being ſo voluminous.

This good man was detained in priſon till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary and the popiſh religion; new trouble now began, being accuſed and examined for his faith and doctrine, he was called before the biſhop of Wincheſter, with biſhop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Saunders, and others, the 4th of February. On which day he ſhould alſo with them have been condemned; but his condemnation was deferred, and he ſent to priſon again, where he continued till February 14.

He now was examined before Stephen Gardiner and others.——His ſecond examination took place, February 28, before Henry Morgan, the pretended biſhop of St. David's, and George Conſtantine, his notary; Morgan's words having no effect, he pronounced him obſtinate, and for the puniſhment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confeſſo*, and did ſo pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the ſaid biſhop to the cuſtody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the 4th of March, then to be brought again into the ſame place, between one and two. The third examination being attended with the ſame effect, he was committed again to cuſtody till the following Thurſday, March 7, when the pretended biſhop delivered unto him a copy of the articles, aſſigning him Monday next following to anſwer and ſubſcribe to the ſame, either affirmatively or negatively.

March 11, appearing again before the biſhop, and George Conſtantine, he exhibited in a written paper his mind and anſwer. Upon that the biſhop aſſigned the next Wedneſday in the forenoon to hear his final and definitive ſentence.

Dr. Farrar perſonally appearing the appointed time, and refuſing ſtill to renounce his faith, the biſhop in a rage pronounced the definitive ſentence, and he was given up forthwith to the ſecular power, namely, to Mr. Leyſon, ſheriff of the town of Caermarthen.

The good biſhop being condemned and degraded, was not long after brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he in the market place, in the ſouth ſide of the market-croſs, the 30th day of March, being Saturday next before Paſſion-Sunday, moſt conſtantly ſuſtained the torments of the fire.

Concerning whoſe conſtancy, this is moreover to be added, that one Richard Jones, a knight's ſon, coming to Dr. Farrar a little before his death, ſeemed to lament the painfulneſs of the death he had to ſuffer; unto whom the biſhop anſwered again to this effect, ſaying, That if he ſaw him once ſtir in the pains of his burning, he ſhould then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he ſaid, ſo he right well performed the ſame; for ſo patiently he ſtood, that he never moved; till one Richard Gravell, with a ſtaff ſtruck him down.

C H A P. VI.

The HISTORY *and* MARTYRDOM *of* RAWLINS WHITE, *aged* 60, *a* Fiſherman *in* WALES, *who was burned at* CARDIFF, *in the ſame Month as was* Biſhop FARRAR: *reported by* J. DANE, *who was almoſt continually with him during his* Troubles *and* Sufferings, *unto his* DEATH. *Alſo a* LETTER *from* Biſhop GARDINER *to* Biſhop BONNER, *concerning celebrating the* POPE's FUNERAL; *with other Public Occurrences in the Months of March and April*, 1555.

RAWLINS WHITE was by his calling and occupation a fiſherman, living and continuing in the ſaid trade for the ſpace of twenty years at leaſt, in the town of Cardiff, being one of a very good name amongſt his neighbours. As touching his religion at firſt, it cannot otherwiſe be known, but that he was a great partaker of the ſuperſtition and idolatry that then was uſed in the reign of Henry VIII. But after that God of his mercy had raiſed up the light of his goſpel, through the bleſſed government of king Edward the VI. Rawlins White began partly to miſlike that which before he had embraced, and to have ſome good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the times had been concealed from him; and the rather to bring this good purpoſe and intent of his to paſs, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great ſearcher, out of the truth.

Becauſe the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very ſimple, he knew no ready way how he might ſatisfy his great deſire. At length it came into his mind to take a ſpecial remedy to ſupply his neceſſity, which was this: He had a little boy, his own ſon, which child he ſent to ſchool, to learn to read Engliſh; now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father every night after ſupper, ſummer and winter, would have the boy to read part of the holy ſcripture, and now and then of ſome other good book. In which kind of virtuous exerciſe the old man had ſuch delight and pleaſure, that as it ſeemed, he rather practiſed himſelf in the ſtudy of the ſcripture, than in the trade or ſcience which before-time he had uſed: ſo that within few years in the time of king Edward, through the help of his little ſon, and through much conference beſides, he profited and went forward in ſuch ſort, that he was able not only to reſolve himſelf touching his own former blindneſs and ignorance, but alſo to admoniſh and inſtruct others: and therefore when occaſion ſerved, he would go from one place to another, viſiting ſuch as he had beſt hope in.

When he had thus continued in his profeſſion the ſpace of five years, king Edward died, upon whoſe deceaſe queen Mary ſucceeded, and with her came perſecution. The extremity and force whereof at laſt ſo purſued this good man, that he looked every hour to go to priſon; whereupon many who had received comfort by his inſtructions, began to perſuade him to ſhift for himſelf, and diſpoſe of his goods by ſome reaſonable order to the uſe of his wife and children.

Howbeit he continued ſtill in his good purpoſes, till at laſt he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man ſuſpected of hereſy, upon which apprehenſion he was convened before the biſhop of Landaff, then at his houſe near Chepſtow: by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins White was committed to priſon in Chepſtow.

At laſt he was removed from Chepſtow to the caſtle of Cardiff, where he continued for the ſpace of one whole year; during which time, this reporter reſorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother, (who was a great favourer of thoſe that were in affliction in thoſe days,) and others of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praiſes to God.

When he had continued in Cardiff caſtle for the ſpace of one whole year, the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the biſhop of Landaff cauſed him to be brought again from the caſtle of Cardiff unto his own houſe near Chepſtow; and while he continued there, the biſhop endeavoured by various means to reduce him to ſome conformity. But when they found their threatening words and flattering promiſes ineffectual, the biſhop deſired him to adviſe and determine with himſelf, either to recant his opinions, or elſe to ſuffer the rigour of the law, and thereupon gave him a day of determination: which day being come, the biſhop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of the neighbours that had the curioſity to ſee their proceedings. When the biſhop and his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins White was brought before them. The biſhop made a long diſcourſe, declaring the cauſe of his being ſent for, was his being well known to hold heretical opinions, and that by his inſtructions many were led into blind error. In the end, he exhorted him to conſider his own ſtate wherein he ſtood, offering favour if he recanted.

When the biſhop had made an end, this good father Rawlins boldly ſaid, My lord, I thank God I am a chriſtian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I deſire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a chriſtian man ought to be. The biſhop then told him plainly, that he muſt proceed againſt him by the law, and condemn him as an heretic.

Proceed in your law in God's name, ſaid Rawlins; but for an heretic you ſhall never condemn me while the world ſtands. But (ſaid the biſhop to his company) before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that he would ſend ſome ſpark of grace upon him, and it may ſo chance, that God through our prayers will here turn his heart.

Having prayed, the biſhop ſaid, Now Rawlins, wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no? Surely, my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. When he perceived his hypocriſy took no effect, with ſharp words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the ſentence; but upon ſome advice given to him by his chaplains, he thought beſt firſt to have a maſs, thinking, that by ſo doing ſome wonderful change would have been wrought in Rawlins.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himſelf to prayer in a ſecret place, until the prieſt came to the ſacring, as they term it, which is a principal part of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the ſacring-bell ring, he roſe out of his place, and came to the choir door, and there ſtanding a while, turning himſelf to the people, ſpeaking theſe words; Good people, if there be any brethren amongſt you, or at leaſt, if there be but one brother amongſt you, the ſame one bear witneſs at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol (meaning the hoſt that the prieſt held over his head.)

Maſs being ended, Rawlins was called for again; to whom the biſhop uſed many perſuaſions: but the bleſſed man continued ſo ſtedfaſt in his former profeſſion, that the biſhop's diſcourſe was altogether in vain. Whereupon the biſhop cauſed the definitive ſentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was diſmiſſed, and from thence he was by the biſhop's commandment carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the priſon of the town, called Cockmarel, a very dark, loathſome, and moſt vile dungeon.

Having continued a priſoner in Cockmarel priſon at Cardiff, ſome time, about three weeks before the day wherein he ſuffered, the head officers of the town that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him becauſe they would be ſooner rid of him; although they had no writ of execution awarded, as by the law they ſhould have; but by the advice of one H. Lewes, the recorder of the town, they ſent to London for the writ above-named: upon the receipt whereof they made ſpeed to the execution. The day being at hand, wherein the good father ſhould perform and accompliſh the laſt act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before engaged in preparing himſelf.

Now when Mr. Rawlins perceived his time was no leſs near than it was reported, he ſent forthwith to his wife, and deſired her by the meſſenger, that in any wiſe ſhe ſhould make ready and ſend unto him his wedding garment, meaning a ſhirt, which afterwards he was burned in. This requeſt, or rather commandment of his, his wife with grief of heart did perform, and early in the morning did ſend it to him, which he received moſt gladly and joyfully.

The hour of his execution being come, this good and conſtant martyr was brought out of priſon, having on his body the long ſhirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old ruſſet-coat which he was wont to wear. Beſides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buſkins. And thus being brought out of priſon, he was accompanied, or rather guarded with a great number of bills and weapons. Which ſight when he beheld, Alas! (ſaid he) what meaneth all this? By God's grace I will not run away: with all my heart and mind I give God moſt hearty thanks that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name's ſake.

He now came to a place, where his poor wife and children ſtood weeping, and making great lamentation, the ſudden ſight of whom ſo pierced his heart, that the very tears trickled down his face. But he ſoon after, as though he had miſliked this infirmity of his fleſh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himſelf: inſomuch, that ſtriking his breaſt with his hand, he uſed theſe words, Ah fleſh, hindereſt thou me ſo? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canſt, thou ſhalt not, by God's grace, have the victory.

By this time he approached a ſtake ready ſet up, with ſome wood towards the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he ſet forward very boldly: but in going towards the ſtake, he fell down upon his knees and kiſſed the ground; and in riſing again, a little earth ſticking on his noſe, he ſaid theſe words, Earth unto earth, and duſt unto duſt; thou art my mother, and unto thee I ſhall return.

Then went he chearfully and ſet his back cloſe unto the ſtake. A ſmith came with a great chain of iron, whom when he ſaw, he caſt up his hand, and with a loud voice, gave God great thanks.

Now when the ſmith had made him faſt to the ſtake the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little ſtraw and reeds: wherein the good old man was no leſs occupied than the beſt; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the ſtraw and reeds, and lay it about him in places moſt convenient for his ſpeedy diſpatch.

When all things were ready, directly over-againſt the ſtake, in the face of Rawlins White, there was a ſtanding erected, whereon ſtept up a prieſt, addreſſing himſelf to the people, which were many in number, becauſe it was market day. When Rawlins perceived him, and conſidered the cauſe of his coming, he reaching a little ſtraw unto himſelf, made two little ſtays, and ſet them under his elbows. Then went the prieſt forward in his ſermon, wherein he ſpake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. At laſt, he came to the ſacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh againſt Rawlins's opinions: in which harangue he cited the common place of ſcripture. When Rawlins perceived, that he went about not only to preach and teach the people falſe doctrine, but alſo to confirm it by ſcripture, he ſuddenly ſtarted up, and beckoned his hands to the people, ſaying twice, Come hither good people, and hear not a falſe prophet preaching: and then ſaid unto the preacher, ah! thou wicked hypocrite, doſt thou preſume to prove thy falſe doctrine by ſcripture?

Hereupon ſome that ſtood by cried out, Put fire; ſet to fire; which being done, the ſtraw and reeds caſt up a great and ſudden flame. In which flame this good man bathed his hands ſo long, until ſuch time as the ſinews ſhrunk; and the fat dropped away, ſaving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was ſomewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, O Lord, receive my ſpirit, until he could not open his mouth. At laſt, the extremity of the fire was ſo vehement againſt his legs, that they were conſumed almoſt before the reſt of his body was hurt, which made the whole body fall over the chain in the fire ſooner than it would have done. He was, at the time of his death, about ſixty years of age.

TRANSACTIONS *in the* PRIVY COUNCIL, *and* PUBLIC OCCURRENCES, *in the Months of March and April*, 1555.

MARCH 28th, the queen ſummonſed into her preſence four of her privy council, namely, William, lord marquis of Wincheſter, high-treaſurer of England; ſir Robert Rocheſter, knight, the queen's comptroller; ſir William Peter, knight, ſecretary; and ſir Francis Inglefield, knight, maſter of the wards: to whom ſhe thus ſpoke:

"You are here of our council, and we have ordered you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my mind, concerning the lands and poſſeſſions, as well of monaſteries as of other churches whatſoever, being now preſently in my poſſeſſion.

"Firſt, I do conſider, that the ſaid lands were taken away from the churches aforeſaid in the time of ſchiſm, and that by unlawful means, ſuch as are contrary both to the law of God, and of the church; for which cauſe my conſcience doth not ſuffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expreſsly refuſe either to claim or retain the ſame lands for mine, but with all my heart freely and willingly, without any covenant or condition, here and before God I do ſurrender and relinquiſh the ſaid lands and poſſeſſions, or inheritances whatſoever, and do renounce the ſame with this mind and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken as ſhall ſeem beſt to our moſt holy lord the pope, or elſe his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"You may object to me, that conſidering the ſtate of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforeſaid; yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the ſalvation of my own ſoul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the ſaid poſſeſſions I utterly refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and give moſt hearty thanks to Almighty God who hath given me an huſband likewiſe minded, with no leſs good affection in this behalf, than myſelf.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, do reſort together to-morrow to the moſt reverend lord legate, and ſignify to him the premiſes in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my kingdom, and of the aforeſaid poſſeſſions accordingly, as you yourſelves do underſtand the matter, and can inform him in the ſame."

On Wedneſday, in Eaſter week, there were hearſes ſet up, and dirges ſung, (a ſervice for the dead uſed by the papiſts) which ceremony was ordered and celebrated by the queen and her council for the death of his pope's holineſs Julius, who led, by all accounts, a very unholy life. At which time a woman going into St. Magnus' church, at the bridge foot in London, and there ſeeing an hearſe and other preparation, aſked what it meant: ſome that ſtood by, ſaid that it was for the pope, and that ſhe muſt pray for him. Nay, ſaid ſhe, that I will not, for he needeth not my prayers: and ſeeing he could forgive us all our ſins, I am ſure he is clean himſelf: therefore I need not to pray for him.

Some who ſtood by, heard her ſpeak theſe words, and upon their information ſhe was put into the cage, at London-bridge.

On the 2d of April, John Awcock died in priſon, and was buried in the fields, as the manner of the papiſts was, to deny chriſtian burial to ſuch as died out of their popiſh antichriſtian church.

The beginning of this month, a letter was ſent to the ſheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Woodgate and William Maynard, for preaching ſecretly, and to ſend them up to the council.

On the 7th, another letter was ſent to the ſheriff for the apprehenſion of one Harwich, who went about with a boy preaching from place to place.

On the 15th, a letter was directed to ſir Nicholas Hare, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, requiring them to examine Mr. Flower, alias Branch, what he meant by wearing about his neck this motto: *Deum time, idolum fuge*, "Fear God, beware of idolatry:" and whom elſe he knew to wear the like; praying them alſo to ſpeak to Bonner, biſhop of London, ſpeedily to proceed againſt him for his religion according to the laws, and that the juſtices of peace of Middleſex ſhould likewiſe proceed againſt him for ſhedding of blood in the church, according to the ſtatute, ſo as if he continued in his opinion he might be executed at the fartheſt by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be ſtruck off the day before his execution, or the ſame day.

The 22d of April, there was a like letter ſent to the juſtices of peace of Middleſex, with a writ for the execution of the ſaid Flower, commanding them to ſee his hand ſtruck off before his burning.

The 29th of April, Mr. Robert Horneby, ſervant then to the lady Elizabeth, was convened before the council for his religion; and ſtanding conſtantly to the truth, notwithſtanding their threats and other perſuaſions, was therefore committed to the Marſhalſea.

C H A P. VII.

The HISTORY of the LIFE, EXAMINATION, and MARTYRDOM of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, who was Burned for profeſſing the TRUTH of the GOSPEL, at WEST-CHESTER, April 24th, 1555.

GEORGE MARSH was born in the pariſh of Deane, in the county of Lancaſter, and was well brought up in learning and honeſt trade of living by his parents: who afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, took to wife an honeſt maiden of the country; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then God taking his wife out of this world, he (leaving his houſhold and children in good order) went unto the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied, and much increaſed in learning, and was a miniſter of God's holy word and ſacraments, and for a while was curate to the Rev. Mr. Laurence Saunders, as himſelf reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a ſpace, earneſtly ſetting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of Antichriſt's falſe doctrine, by his godly readings and ſermons, as well there and in the pariſh of Deane, as elſewhere in Lancaſhire.

At length he was apprehended, and kept cloſe priſoner in Cheſter, by George Cotes, then biſhop of that ſee, within the precinct of the biſhop's houſe, about the ſpace of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that aſked for him, and to ſignify their names unto the biſhop, as by the particular deſcription of his ſtory, teſtified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently will appear in what followeth.

The FIRST EXAMINATION of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, before the EARL of DERBY and others, written by himſelf.

ON the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th of March, it was told me at my mother's houſe, that Roger Wrinſtone, with other of Mr. Barton's ſervants, did make diligent ſearch for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave ſtrict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marſh, to find and bring me to Mr. Barton the next day following, with orders, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

I knowing this, by my friends, was diverſely affected; my mother, and other my friends adviſing me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended, after a week then next enſuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; ſeeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion, (as they thought I would not, and as God ſtrengthening and aſſiſting me in his Holy Spirit I never will,) it would not only have put them to great ſorrow, heavineſs, and loſſes, with coſts and charges, to their ſhame and rebuke in this world, but alſo my own ſelf, after troubles and painful impriſonment, unto ſhameful death.

This conſidered, they adviſed and counſelled me to depart and fly the country, as I intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whoſe counſel my weak fleſh would gladly have conſented, but my ſpirit did not fully agree; thinking and ſaying thus to myſelf, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and ſaid, that I did not only fly the country, and my neareſt and deareſt friends, but much rather from Chriſt's holy word, according as theſe years paſt I had with my heart, or at leaſt with mine outward living profeſſed, and with my word and mouth taught, according to the ſmall talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their counſel and advice, and the thoughts and counſels of my own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's houſe, ſaying, I would come again at evening.

In the mean time I ceaſed not by earneſt prayer to aſk and ſeek counſel of God, (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my friends, whoſe pious judgments and knowledge I much truſted to. After this I met with one of my friends on Deane-moore, about ſun ſetting, and after we had conſulted together of my buſineſs, not without hearty prayer, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, ſaid, I doubt not but God (according as our prayer and truſt was) would give me ſuch wiſdom and counſel, as ſhould be moſt to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining my eternal ſalvation by Chriſt in heaven.

This done, I returned to my mother's houſe again, where ſeveral of Mr. Barton's ſervants had been ſeeking after me; who, when they could not find me, ſtrictly charged my brother and William Marſh to ſeek me that night, and to bring me to Smethehills the next day; who being ſo charged, were gone to ſeek me in Adderton, or elſewhere.

Thus intending before to have been all night with my mother, but then conſidering that my tarrying there would diſquiet her with her houſhold, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking little reſt, and conſulting much with myſelf of my trouble.

At my firſt awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, who ſaid thus: My friend's advice was that I ſhould in no wiſe fly, but abide and boldly confeſs the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. At whoſe words I was ſo confirmed and eſtabliſhed in my conſcience, that from thenceforth I conſulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myſelf, that I would not fly, but go to Mr. Barton, who did ſeek for me, and there preſent myſelf, and patiently bear ſuch croſs as it ſhould pleaſe God to lay upon my ſhoulders. Whereupon my mind before being much diſquieted and troubled, was now merry and at eaſe.

I aroſe early in the morning, and after I had ſaid the Engliſh litany (as my cuſtom was) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed ſide, I prepared myſelf to go toward Smethehills; and as I was going thither, I went into the houſes of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralf Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardſon, deſiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and comfort my mother, and be good to my little children; for (as I ſuppoſed) they ſhould not ſee my face any more before the laſt day; and ſo took my leave of them, not without tears ſhed on both ſides, and came to Smethehills about nine o'clock, and preſented myſelf to Mr Barton; who ſhewed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to ſend me with others to Lathum.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marſh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o'clock, before the ſaid earl or his council. I made earneſt ſuit, with other ſpecial friends, which I had there at the ſame time, to Mr. Barton, that he would take ſome one, or all of them, bound by recognizance or otherwiſe, for my appearing before the ſaid earl or his council, that my brother and William Marſh might be at home, becauſe it was the chief time of ſeeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and ſhifted part of my clothes, and praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marſh, and both their houſholds, they and I both weeping, and departing from them, went towards Lathum, and lay all night within a mile and a half of it. The next day, which was Wedneſday, we aroſe, prayed, and came to Lathum betimes, and tarried there till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Then was I called by Roger Mekinſon, to my lord and his council, and was brought into the chamber of preſence, where were preſent ſir William Nores, ſir Pierce Alee, Mr. Sherburn, the parſon of Grapnal, Mr. Moore, with others. Where, when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned himſelf towards me, and ſked what was my name: I anſwered, Marſh.

Then he aſked, whether I was one of thoſe that ſowed evil ſeed and diſſention amongſt the people: which thing I denied, deſiring to know my accuſers, and what could be laid againſt me: but that I could not know.

Then, ſaid he, he would with his council examine me themſelves, and aſked me whether I was a prieſt; I ſaid, no. He aſked me what had been my living, I anſwered, I was a miniſter, ſerved a cure, and kept a ſchool. Then ſaid my lord to his council, This is a wonderful thing; before he ſaid he was no prieſt, and now he confeſſeth himſelf to be one. I anſwered, By the laws now uſed in this realm, (as far as I do know) I am none.

They aſked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any. I anſwered, I received orders of the biſhop of London and Lincoln.

Then ſaid they one to another, thoſe are of theſe new heretics: and aſked me what acquaintance I had with them? I anſwered, I never ſaw them but at the time when I received orders.

They aſked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had miniſtered with a good conſcience. I anſwered I had been curate but one year, and had miniſtered with a good conſcience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have ſuffered me, I would have miniſtered ſtill; and if they at any time hereafter would ſuffer me to miniſter after that ſort, I would miniſter again.

At which they murmured, and the parſon of Grapnal ſaid, This laſt communion was the moſt deviliſh thing that ever was deviſed. Then they aſked me what my belief was.

I anſwered, I believed in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, according as the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments do teach, and according as the four ſymbols or creeds that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apoſtles, the creed of the council of Nice, of Athanaſius, and of Auſtin and Ambroſe, do teach.

After a few words the parſon Gripnal ſaid, But what is thy belief in the ſacrament of the altar?

I anſwered, I believe that whoever, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, did receive the holy ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, did eat and drink Chriſt's body, and with all the benefits of his death and reſurrection to their eternal ſalvation; for Chriſt, ſaid I, is ever preſent with his ſacrament.

They aſked me, whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the prieſt, were changed in the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, and that the ſacrament, whether he were received or reſerved was the very body of Chriſt. Whereunto I made anſwer, I knew no farther than I had ſhewed already.

After many other queſtions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the ſaying of St. Paul, "Fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing they do but ingender ſtrife;" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write my anſwers to the queſtions of the ſacrament abovenamed; and I wrote as I had anſwered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct anſwer, ſaying, I ſhould not chuſe but do it.

Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being ſore grieved, after many threatenings, ſaid, I ſhould be put to a ſhameful death like a traitor, with other like words; and ſometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

In concluſion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, ſtone-houſe, where was little room; there I lay two nights without any bed, ſaving a few great canvaſs tent clothes, and ſo continued till Palm-Sunday, occupying myſelf as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and ſtudy; for no man could be ſuffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

SECOND EXAMINATION *of the* Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.

ON Palm Sunday after dinner, I was ſent for to my lord and his council, (ſaving ſir William Nores and ſir Pierce Alee were not then preſent) amongſt whom were ſir John Beram, and the vicar of Preſcot. So they examined me once again of the ſacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Preſcot a good while concerning that matter, he returned with me to my lord and his council, ſaying, That anſwer which I had made before, and then did make, (as it is above written) was ſufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profeſs a perfect knowledge in that matter, until ſuch times as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleaſed, ſaying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Preſcot I would be conformable in other things; and after many fair words he commanded I ſhould have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongſt his ſervants, on condition I would do no harm with my communication amongſt them.

And ſo after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my mind than before, becauſe I had not with more boldneſs confeſſed Chriſt, but in ſuch ſort as mine adverſaries thereby thought they ſhould prevail againſt me; whereat I was much grieved.

A day or two after I was ſent for to the vicar of Preſcot, and the parſon of Gripnal; where our communication was concerning the maſs: and he aſked what offended me in the maſs. I anſwered, the whole maſs did offend me, firſt becauſe it was in a ſtrange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv. and becauſe of the manifold and intolerable abuſes and errors contained therein, contrary to Chriſt's prieſthood and ſacrifice.

Then they aſked me in what place thereof; and I named ſeveral; which places they went about with gentle and far ſought interpretations to mitigate, ſaying, thoſe places were underſtood far otherwiſe than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

So they cauſed a maſs-book to be ſent for, and ſhewed me where in ſome places of the maſs was written, A ſacrifice of praiſe. Whereto I anſwered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it ſignified a ſacrifice or oblation of praiſe or thankſgiving; and although it did, yet was not a ſacrifice of praiſe or thankſgiving to be offered for the people.

After this, Mr. George Marſh was ſent to Lancaſter caſtle, and being brought with other priſoners unto the ſeſſions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors; at which time the earl of Derby had this converſation with him.

A CONVERSATION *between the* Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, *and the* Earl *of* DERBY.

I Said unto my lord, I had not dwelled in the country the three or four years paſt, and came home but lately to viſit my mother, children, and others of my friends, and meant to have departed out of the country before Eaſter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I truſted, ſeeing nothing could be laid againſt me, wherein I had offended againſt the laws of this realm, his lordſhip would not with captious queſtions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great diſcomfort of my mother, but ſuffer me to avoid peaceably, ſeeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of my own will came to his lordſhip.

He ſaid to his council, he had heard tell of me before at London; and intended to make ſearch for me, and take me either in Lancaſhire or at London, and aſked me into what land I would have gone.

I anſwered, I would have gone either into Almain, or elſe into Denmark. He ſaid to his council, in Denmark they uſed ſuch hereſy as they have done in England: but as for Almain, he ſaid the emperor had deſtroyed them.

So after ſuch like words, I ſaid unto him, my truſt was that his lordſhip being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, conſenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, under great pain, would not ſo ſoon after conſent to put poor men to ſhameful deaths, as he had threatened me for embracing the ſame with ſo good a conſcience.

He anſwered, that he, with the lord Windſor and lord Dacres, with one more, whoſe name I have forgot, did not conſent to thoſe acts, and that the name of them four would be ſeen, as long as the parliament houſe ſtood. Then my lord did rehearſe the misfortune of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, becauſe they favoured not the true religion; and again the proſperity of the queen's highneſs, becauſe ſhe favoured the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God; and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and ſaid that the duke of Northumberland confeſſed ſo plainly.

After remaining ſome weeks in confinement at Lancaſter, he was removed to Cheſter, and placed in the biſhop's liberty, where his lordſhip frequently conferred with him, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, the maſs, confeſſion, and in ſhort, of all the tenets and practices of the Church of Rome.

When the biſhop found he would not aſſent to a ſingle point, he remanded him back to priſon; and in a few days ſummonſed him before him in the cathedral church of Cheſter, where, in the preſence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he cauſed him to take a ſolemn oath to anſwer truly to ſuch articles as might be alledged againſt him.

The FIRST EXAMINATION *of the* Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.

WITHIN a few days the Rev. Mr. Marſh was ſent for by Dr. Cotes, biſhop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody elſe being preſent; and then he aſked him certain queſtions concerning the ſacrament: to whom he made ſuch anſwers as the biſhop ſeemed therewith to be content, ſaving that he utterly denied tranſubſtantiation, and allowed not the abuſe of the maſs, nor that the lay-people ſhould receive under one kind only, contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution; in which point the biſhop went about to perſuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Other diſcourſe he had with him to ſubmit himſelf to the univerſal church of Rome; and when he ſaw he could not prevail, he ſent him to priſon again: and after being there, came to him divers times Mr. Maſſey, a fatherly old man, Mr. Wrench, a ſchoolmaſter, Mr. Henſhaw, the biſhop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more: who with all plauſibility of words, philoſophy, and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, but not after Chriſt, went about to perſuade him to ſubmit himſelf to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope to be heard thereof, and to interpret the ſcriptures no otherwiſe than that church did; with many ſuch like arguments and perſuaſions of fleſhly wiſdom.

To whom the ſaid Mr. George Marſh anſwered, that he did acknowledge and believe one holy catholic and apoſtolic church, without which there is no ſalvation, and that this church is but one, becauſe it ever hath, doth, and ſhall confeſs and believe one only God, and him only worſhip, and one only Meſſiah, and in him only truſt for ſalvation; which church alſo is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is univerſal and catholic, becauſe it ever hath been ſince the world's beginning, is, and ſhall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, ſtates, and conditions of men: and that this church is built only upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head corner ſtone, and not upon the Romiſh laws and decrees, the biſhop of Rome being the ſupreme head.

And where they ſaid the church did ſtand in ordinary ſucceſſion of biſhops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and ſo had continued for the ſpace of fifteen hundred years and more; he made anſwer, that the holy church, which is the body of Chriſt, and therefore moſt worthy to be called holy, was before any ſucceſſion of biſhops, general councils, or Romiſh decrees; neither was it bound to any time or place, ordinary ſucceſſion, general councils, or traditions of fathers; nor had it any ſupremacy over empires and kingdoms: but it was a poor ſimple flock, diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, as ſheep without a ſhepherd in the midſt of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherleſs children: and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, councils, and word of Chriſt, he being the ſupreme head of this church, and aſſiſting, ſuccouring, and defending her from all aſſaults, errors, and perſecutions, wherewith ſhe is ever encompaſſed about.

The SECOND EXAMINATION *of the* Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.

AFTER that the ſaid biſhop had taken his pleaſure in puniſhing this his priſoner, and often reviling him with the odious names of heretic, &c. he cauſed him to be brought forth into a chapel in the cathedral church of Cheſter, called our Lady's-chapel, at two o'clock in the afternoon, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the ſaid city, Dr. Wall, and other prieſts aſſiſting him, placed not far from the biſhop; George Wenſloe, chancellor, and one John Getham, regiſter, ſat directly over againſt him.

Then they cauſed the ſaid Mr. Marſh to take an oath, to anſwer truly unto ſuch articles as ſhould be objected againſt him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid to his charge, that he had preached and openly publiſhed moſt heretical and blaſphemous doctrines, within the pariſhes of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other places within the biſhop's dioceſe, in the months of January, February, or ſome other time of the year laſt, proceeding directly againſt the pope's authority, and catholic church of Rome, the bleſſed maſs, the ſacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which he anſwered, that he neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or ſpoke againſt any of the ſaid articles; but ſimply and truly, as occaſion ſerved, and (as it were thereunto forced in conſcience) maintained the truth touching the ſame articles, as he ſaid all you now preſent did acknowledge the ſame in the time of the late king Edward VI.

Then they examined him ſeverally of every article, and bade him anſwer yes, or no, without equivocation; for they were come to examine, and not to diſpute at that preſent.

Then he anſwered them unto every article very modeſtly, according to the doctrine by public authority received, and taught in this realm at the death of king Edward; which anſwers were every one written by the regiſter to the uttermoſt that could make againſt him. After this, the company for that time broke up, and he was returned to priſon again.

The THIRD *and* LAST EXAMINATION *of the* Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH.

THE biſhop was now determined, if Mr. Marſh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce ſentence definitive againſt him. Wherefore he bade the ſaid George Marſh to be well adviſed what he would do, for it ſtood upon his life: and if he would not at that preſent forſake his heretical opinions, it would (after the ſentence given) be too late, though he would ever ſo gladly deſire it.

Then the chancellor firſt aſked him, Whether he were not of the biſhop's dioceſe? To which he anſwered, that he knew not how large his dioceſe was at Cambridge. But they aſked, whether he had not lately been at Deane pariſh in Lancaſhire, and there abode? He anſwered, Yes.

Then the chancellor read all his anſwers that he made in that place at his former examination, and at every one he aſked him whether he would ſtick to the ſame or no? To which he anſwered again, Yes, yes. Said the chancellor, in your laſt examination, amongſt many other damnable and ſchiſmatical hereſies, you ſaid, That the church and doctrine taught, and ſet forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome was not the true and catholic church.

So ſaid I, replied Mr. Marſh, and I believe it to be true. Here alſo others took occaſion to aſk him (for that he denied the biſhop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were biſhops of Rome, were not good men; and he anſwered, Yes, and divers others; but he ſaid, they claimed no more authority in England, than the biſhop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I ſtrive not with the place, neither ſpeak I againſt the perſon of the biſhop, but againſt his doctrine, which in moſt points is repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt.

Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed, ſaid the biſhop. In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Chriſt?

To whom Mr. Marſh anſwered, Oh, my lord, I pray you judge not ſo of me. I ſtand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my caſe hath no cauſe to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the diſagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome erreth in the ſacrament. For where Chriſt in the inſtitution thereof did as well deliver the cup as the bread, ſaying, "Drink ye all of this;" and St. Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the ſame ſort alſo it was uſed in the primitive church for the ſpace of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the laity. Wherefore if I could be perſuaded in my conſcience by God's word, that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then ſaid the biſhop, there is no diſputing with a heretic. Therefore when all his anſwers were ready, he aſked him whether he would ſtand to the ſame, being as they were full of hereſy, or elſe forſake them, and come unto the catholic church?

To whom he made this full anſwer, That he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of hereſy, although they moſt untruly ſo did ſlander him. And he deſired all the people there to bear him witneſs, (if any hereafter ſhould ſlander him, and ſay that he held any grievous hereſy) that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was by law eſtabliſhed, and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward VI. and in the ſame pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, ſtand, live, and die. Here the chancellor ſpake to one Leach, who ſtood near to Mr. Marſh, and bade him ſtand farther from him; for his preſence did him no good.

This being done, the biſhop took a writing out of his boſom, and began to read the ſentence of condemnation: but when he had read almoſt half thereof, the chancellor called him, and ſaid, Good my lord, ſtay, ſtay: for if you proceed any further, it will be too late to call it again, and ſo the biſhop ſtayed. Then his popiſh prieſts, and many of the ignorant people, called upon Mr. Marſh, with many earneſt words to recant; and amongſt others, one Pulleyn, a ſhoemaker, ſaid to him, For ſhame man, remember thyſelf, and recant. They bade him kneel down, and pray, and they would pray for him: ſo they kneeled down, and he deſired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The biſhop then aſked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he anſwered, he did gladly deſire the ſame, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durſt not deny his Saviour Chriſt, leſt he loſe his mercy everlaſting, and ſo win everlaſting death.

Then the biſhop put his ſpectacles on, and read forward his ſentence about five or ſix lines, and there again the chancellor with flattering words and ſmiling countenance called to the biſhop, and ſaid, Yet, good my lord, once again ſtay, for if that word be ſpoken, all is paſt, no relenting will then ſerve; and the biſhop (pulling off his ſpectacles) ſaid I would ſtay if it would be.

How ſayeſt thou, ſaid he, wilt thou recant? Many of the prieſts and ignorant people bade him do ſo, and call to God for grace; and pulling him by his ſleeve, bade him recant and ſave his life. To whom he anſwered, I would as fain live as you, if in ſo doing I ſhould not deny my maſter Chriſt, and then he would deny me before his Father in heaven.

Then the biſhop read out his ſentence unto the end and afterwards ſaid unto him, Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog. Mr. Marſh anſwered, That notwithſtanding he would pray for his lordſhip; and after this the biſhop delivered him unto the ſheriffs of the city. His late keeper ſaid, Farewell good George, with weeping eyes, which cauſed the officers to carry him to a priſon at the north-gate, where he was very ſtrictly kept until he went to his death, during which time he had ſmall comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark priſon, none that would do him good could ſpeak with him, or at leaſt durſt enterprize ſo to do, for fear of accuſation; and ſome of the citizens who loved him, for the goſpel's ſake, (whereof there were but few) although they were never acquainted with him, would ſometimes in the evening at a hole upon the wall of the city (that went into the ſaid priſon) call to him and aſk him how he did. He would anſwer them moſt chearfully, that he did well, and thanked God moſt highly that he would vouchſafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witneſs of his truth, and to ſuffer for the ſame, wherein he did moſt rejoice; beſeeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the croſs, but patiently bear the ſame to his glory, and comfort of his church.

When the day and time appointed came that he ſhould ſuffer, the ſheriffs of the city, whoſe names were Amry and Couper, with their officers, and a great number of poor ſimple barbers with ruſty bills and poll-axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out Mr. George Marſh, who came with them moſt humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, ſome folks proffered him money, and looked that he ſhould have gone with a little purſe in his hand (as felons were accuſtomed in that city in times paſt, at their going to execution) to the end to gather money to give unto a prieſt to ſay maſſes for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be ſaved; but Mr. Marſh ſaid, he would not then be troubled to receive money, but deſired ſome good man to take the money, if the people were diſpoſed to give any, and to give it to the priſoners or poor people. He went all the way with his book in his hand, looking upon the ſame, and many ſaid, This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deſerveth to die.

When he came to the place of execution without ~~the city~~, near unto Spittal-Boughton, one Cawdry, being then ~~a~~ deputy chamberlain of Cheſter, ſhewed Mr. Marſh a writing under a great ſeal, ſaying, That it was a pardon for him if he would recant. He anſwered, foraſmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

He now began to ſpeak to the people, ſhewing the cauſe of his death, and would have exhorted them to ſtick unto Chriſt. Whereupon one of the ſheriffs ſaid, George Marſh we muſt have no ſermoning now. To whom he ſaid, Maſter, I cry you mercy; and ſo kneeling down ſaid his prayers, put off his clothes unto his ſhirt, and then was chained to the poſt, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in it, over his head; the fire being unſkilfully made, and the wind driving the ſame to and fro, he ſuffered great extremity in his death, which notwithſtanding he bore very patiently.

When he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his fleſh ſo broiled and puffed up, that they who ſtood before him, could ſee the chain wherewith he was faſtened, and therefore ſuppoſed he had been dead; ſuddenly he ſpread abroad his arms, ſaying, Father of heaven have mercy upon me, and ſo yielded his ſpirit into the hands of the Lord. Upon this, many of the people ſaid he was a martyr, and died marvellouſly patient; which cauſed the biſhop ſhortly after to make a ſermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirm, that the ſaid Marſh was an heretic, burnt as ſuch, and was a firebrand in hell.

The Rev. Mr. Marſh wrote, beſides his examinations while in priſon, ſeveral letters.

LETTER I.

From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH *to his* Friends.

HERE you have, dearly beloved frinds in Chriſt, the chief and principal articles of chriſtian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, profeſſed, and taught, and as yet do believe, profeſs, and teach, and am ſurely purpoſed, by God's grace, to continue in the ſame until the laſt day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, cauſes, effects, and contraries or errors of theſe articles, which whoſo deſireth to know, let them read over the common places of the pious and learned men, Philip Melancthon, and Eraſmus Sarcerius, whoſe judgment in theſe matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us underſtanding in all things, and deliver us from this evil world, according to his will and pleaſure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction into which it hath pleaſed the merciful Lord to throw us down: and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlaſting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

Though Satan be ſuffered as wheat to ſift us for a time, yet our faith faileth not through Chriſt's aid, but that we are all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, "and always ready to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh us a reaſon of the hope that is in us, and that with meekneſs and reverence, having a good conſcience: and whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch as they have falſely accuſed our good converſation in Chriſt." I thought myſelf now of late years, for the cares of this life, well ſettled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and alſo well quieted in the peaceable poſſeſſion of that pleaſant Euphrates, I do confeſs it; but the Lord, who worketh all things for the beſt to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whoſe death was a painful croſs to my fleſh.

Alſo I thought myſelf now of late well placed under my moſt loving and moſt gentle Mr. Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langhton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not ſuffer me long there to continue (although for the ſmall time I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle workman). But he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taſte of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that pleaſing Babylon, that I ſhould not taſte too much of her wanton pleaſures, but with his moſt dearly beloved diſciples to have my inward rejoicing in the croſs of his Son Jeſus Chriſt; the glory of whoſe church, I ſee it well, ſtandeth not in the harmonious ſound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glittering of mitres and copes, neither in the ſhining of gilt images and lights (as the blind papiſts do judge it), but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's ſake.

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the ſcribes and of the ſadducees; I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papiſts which with their gloſſes deprave the ſcriptures. For as the apoſtle St. Peter doth teach us, There ſhall be falſe teachers amongſt us, which privily ſhall bring in damnable ſects; and he ſaith, that many ſhall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth ſhall be evil ſpoken of, and that through covetouſneſs they ſhall with feigned words make merchandize of us: and Chriſt earneſtly warneth us, to beware of falſe prophets, which come to us in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. By their fruits you ſhall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are we chriſtians taught, that we ſhould try the preachers, and others that come under colour to ſet forth true religion unto us, according to the ſaying of St. Paul, Try all things, hold faſt that which is good.

Letter II. To the faithful profeſſors of Langhton on the ſame ſubject as Letter I.

LETTER III.

From the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH *to ſome of his* FRIENDS *at* MANCHESTER, *in* LANCASHIRE.

GRACE be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

After ſalutations in Chriſt to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrance of me, deſiring and wiſhing unto you, not only in my letters, but alſo in my daily prayers, ſuch conſolation in ſpirit, and taſte of heavenly treaſures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, perſevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and perſecutions, even unto the end and coming of Chriſt; theſe ſhall be earneſtly to exhort and beſeech you in Chriſt, as ye have received the Lord Jeſus, even ſo to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adverſaries, be they ever ſo many and mighty, and you on the other ſide ever ſo few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's. And as in times paſt, God was with Abraham, Moſes, Iſaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even ſo hath he promiſed to be with us alſo unto the world's end, and ſo to aſſiſt, ſtrengthen, and help us, that no man ſhall be able to withſtand us. "For as I was with Moſes, ſo will I be with thee," ſaith God, "and will never leave thee, nor forſake thee. Be ſtrong and bold; neither fear nor dread; for the Lord thy God is with thee, whitherſoever thou goeſt. Now if God be on our ſide, who can be againſt us?"

In this our ſpiritual warfare is no man overcome, unleſs he traitorouſly leave and forſake his captain, either cowardly caſt away his weapons, or willingly yield himſelf to his enemies, or fearfully turn his back and fly. Be ſtrong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand ſtedfaſt againſt the crafty aſſaults of the devil.

Now what weapons ye muſt fight withal, learn of St. Paul, a champion both much exerciſed, and alſo moſt valiant and invincible. For we muſt think none other but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valient warrior St. Paul being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that ſo many times, and alſo from ſo many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he himſelf doth witneſs, is fain to commit himſelf in the end to the rough waters of the ſea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear it) moſt ready to comfort and ſuccour him, and glorioſly delivered him out of all his troubles: ſo that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm: and in the end he was compelled to ſay, I have finiſhed my courſe, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be looſed, and to be with Chriſt, which is the beſt of all, moſt heartily deſiring death.

Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the ſhield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to uſe the ſame according to the example of our grand captain Chriſt. Let us faſt and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwiſe, as Chriſt doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and faſting, which is true abſtinence and ſoberneſs of living, if we uſe the ſame according to the doctrine of the goſpel and word of God. Faſting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocriſy, that is to ſay, if we uſe it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body may be tamed and brought under the ſubjection of the ſpirit: and again, if we faſt to this intent, that we may ſpare wherewith to help and ſuccour our poor needy brethren.

This faſt do the chriſtians uſe all the days of their life, although among the common ſort of people remaineth yet ſtill that ſuperſtitious kind of faſting, which God ſo earneſtly reproveth by his prophet Iſaiah. For as for true chaſtening of the body, and abſtaining from vice, with ſhewing mercy to our needy neighbours, we will neither underſtand nor hear of it, but ſtill think with the Jews, that we do God a great pleaſure when we faſt, and that we then faſt, when we abſtain from one thing and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our ſuperſtition much exceed the ſuperſtition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a faſt, to abſtain from fleſh, and to eat either fiſh or white-meat, as they call it.

To faſting or prayer muſt be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy; and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required.

Firſt, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart: for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.

Secondly, That we give liberally, putting aſide all niggerlineſs, knowing that he that ſoweth litttle, ſhall reap little, and he that ſoweth plenteouſly, ſhall reap plenteouſly. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The pooreſt wretch in the world may give as great and acceptable alms in the ſight of God, as the richeſt man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly pleaſe Chriſt; inſomuch that he himſelf affirmed, That ſhe of her penury had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their ſuperfluity had caſt in very much. "For if there be firſt a willing mind, (as St. Paul ſaith) it is accepted, according to what a man hath, and not according to what a man hath not."

Thirdly, We muſt give without hypocriſy and oſtentation, not ſeeking the praiſe of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the ſcriptures in ſome places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deſerve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth in us his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of thoſe goods which he hath received of God. "What haſt thou," ſaith the Apoſtle, that thou haſt not received? if thou haſt received it, why rejoiceſt thou, as though thou hadſt not received it?"

Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and venture your lives, if need ſhall require, for the teſtament of the fathers, and ſo ſhall ye receive great honour, and an everlaſting name.

Beloved in Chriſt, let us not faint becauſe of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are ſealed unto life everlaſting: for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Eſdras) is like a city built and ſet upon a broad field, and full of all good things, but the entrance thereof is narrow, (full of ſorrow and travail, perils and labours) like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one ſtrait path between them both, ſo ſmall, that there could but one man go there. If this city were now given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore ſeeing we are in this narrow and ſtrait way, which leadeth unto the moſt joyful and pleaſant city of everlaſting life; let us not ſtagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our captain Jeſus Chriſt in the narrow and ſtrait way, and be afraid of nothing, no, not even of death itſelf: for it is he that muſt lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door to everlaſting life. Conſider alſo the courſe of this world how many there be which for their maſter's ſake, or for a little promotion's ſake, would venture their lives in worldly affairs, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and tranſitory, and our's is unſpeakably great, and everlaſting. They ſuffer pains to be made lords on earth for a ſhort ſeaſon: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure much leſs, to be made kings in heaven for evermore? Conſider alſo the wicked of this world, which for a little pleaſure's ſake, or to be avenged on their enemies will fight with ſword and weapons, and put themſelves in danger of impriſonment and hanging. So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, ſo much ought we to excel them in this our ſpiritual battle.

And ſeeing, brethren, it hath pleaſed God to ſend me, and that moſt worthy miniſter of Chriſt, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where (for the time) is moſt danger, I beſeech you all, in the bowels of Chriſt, to help us, and all our fellow-ſoldiers ſtanding in like perilous places, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourſelves like men in the Lord, and give ſome example of boldneſs and conſtancy mingled with patience in the fear of God, that you and others our brethren, through our example, may be ſo encouraged and ſtrengthened to follow us, that you alſo may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

Conſider what I ſay? the Lord give us underſtanding in all things. Brethren, the time is ſhort; it remaineth that you uſe this world as though ye uſed it not: for the faſhion of this world vaniſheth away. Be meek and long-ſuffering, ſerve and edify one another, with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of ſtrange doctrine; lay aſide the old converſation of greedy luſts, and walk in a new life. Beware of uncleanneſs, covetouſneſs, fooliſh talking, falſe doctrine, and drunkenneſs: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and ſubmit yourſelves one to another. Ceaſe from ſin, ſpend no more time in vice, be ſober and apt to pray, be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark you ſhoot at in all your doings. And above all things cleave ye faſt to him, who was delivered to death for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and power for evermore. Amen.

Salute from me in Chriſt all others which love us in the faith, and at your diſcretion make them partakers of theſe letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the goſpel, that the ſame God (which by grace has called us from wicked popery unto true chriſtianity, and now of love proveth our patience by perſecution) will of his mercy and favour in the end glorioſly deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen. At Lancaſter, Auguſt 30, 1555.

By me, an unprofitable ſervant of Chriſt,
GEORGE MARSH.

A PRAYER

Of the Rev. Mr. GEORGE MARSH, *which he uſed to ſay daily.*

O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which art the only phyſician of wounded conſciences, we miſerable ſinners truſting in thy gracious goodneſs, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our hearts: thou thoroughly perceiveſt as well the inward luſts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as thoſe groſs outward ſins which we commit openly and daily. Wherefore we beſeech thee according to the little meaſure of our infirmity, although we be very unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldſt mercifully circumciſe our ſtony hearts, and for theſe old hearts create new within us, and repleniſh us with a new ſpirit, and water and moiſten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of ſpiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noiſome juice of the fleſh may be dried up, and cuſtom of the old man changed, and our hearts, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear ſpiritual fruits in righteouſneſs and holineſs, unto life everlaſting. Amen.

Beloved, among other exerciſes, I do daily on my knees uſe this confeſſion of ſins, willing and exhorting you to do the ſame, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulneſs, and diſobedience againſt him.

C H A P. VIII.

The LIVES, SUFFERINGS, *and* MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, *the* Rev. Mr. JOHN CARDMAKER, Mr. JOHN SIMSON, Mr. JOHN WARNE, *and* Mr. JOHN ARDELEY, *under the Perſecution of the* Inhuman BONNER, *in the Bloody Reign of* MARY I.

I.

The HISTORY *of* Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, *a* Monk *and* Prieſt, *who, for ſtriking a* Popiſh Prieſt, *was apprehended, and, firſt having his Hand cut off, was martyred for his* conſtant Adherence *to the* Truth.

WILLIAM FLOWER otherwiſe named Branch, was born at Snow-hill, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to ſchool ſome years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained a while, he was a profeſſed monk, according to the order and rule of the ſame houſe wherein he remained, uſing and bearing the habit of a monk, and obſerving the rules and orders of the ſame houſe, until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabouts; and before he came to that age, and being a profeſſed monk, he was made a prieſt alſo in the ſame houſe, and there did celebrate and ſing maſs. After that, by reaſon of a viſitation, and certain injunctions by the authority of Henry the eighth, he forſook the ſame houſe, and caſting from him the monk's habit and religion, took upon him and uſed the habit of a ſecular prieſt, and returned to Snow-hill, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and ſing maſs, and taught children about half a year.

He then went to Ludgate, in Suffolk, and there ſerved as a ſecular prieſt about a quarter of a year; from thence to Stoniland, where he tarried, and ſerved as a ſecular prieſt alſo, until the coming out of the ſix articles: and then he departed from thence, and went into Glouceſterſhire, where after he had made his abode in that country a while, at length in Tewkſbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honeſtly continued; and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkſbury about two years together, and from thence he went to Broſley where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practiſed phyſic and chirurgery. From thence he removed into Northamptonſhire, where under a gentleman he taught children to write and read. But departing from thoſe parts he came to London, and there remained for a certain ſpace. After that, being deſirous to ſee his country, he returned to Snow-hill, where he was born; from thence to Brankſtrey in Eſſex, then to Coxall, where he taught children, and coming to Lambeth, near London, he hired a houſe, where he and his wife did dwell together: however for the moſt part he was always abroad, except once or twice in a month, to viſit and ſee his wife; where he being at home upon Eaſter-Sunday, about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the ſame day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Weſtminſter; when ſeeing a prieſt, named John Cheltam, adminiſtering and giving the ſacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith being greatly offended in his conſcience with the prieſt for the ſame, did ſtrike and wound him upon the head, and alſo upon the arm and hand with his wood knife, the prieſt having the ſame time in his hand a chalice, with certain conſecrated hoſts therein, which were ſprinkled with the blood of the ſaid prieſt.

Being examined before biſhop Bonner, he confeſſed he had done wrong, ſubmitting himſelf willingly to puniſhment, when it ſhould come. Howbeit touching his belief in the ſacrament, and the popiſh miniſtration, he neither would nor did ſubmit himſelf.

Mr. William Flower being apprehended and laid in the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, (where he had given two groats the ſame day, to the priſoners, ſaying, he would ſhortly be with them) having as many irons as he could bear, was afterwards ſummonſed before biſhop Bonner his ordinary, April 19, 1555, where the biſhop, after he had ſworn him upon a book, (according to his ordinary manner) miniſtered articles and interrogatories to him. Previous to this the following converſation took place between Mr. Flower and Mr. Robert Smith, a fellow priſoner.

A CONVERSATION *between* Mr. ROBERT SMITH *and* Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, *concerning the Crime with which the latter ſtood charged, of having ſtruck and wounded a* Popiſh Prieſt, *while officiating before the* ALTAR, *at* Weſtminſter.

Smith. FRIEND, foraſmuch as I underſtand that you do profeſs the goſpel, and alſo have done ſo a long ſeaſon, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the aſtoniſhment not only of me, but of divers others that alſo profeſs the truth.

Flower. I praiſe God for his great goodneſs in ſhewing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your viſitation, intending by God's grace to declare all the truth that you ſhall demand lawfully of me, in all things.

Smith. Then I deſire you to ſhew me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltam, prieſt, in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was.

Flower. I came from my houſe at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, and there ſeeing the people falling down before a moſt deteſtable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I ſaw before my face diſhonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and ſtruck the prieſt which miniſtered the ſame unto them; whereupon I was immediately apprehended; and this is moſt true, as the act is manifeſt.

Smith. Did you not know the perſon that you ſtruck, or was you not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?

Flower. No, verily, I never to my knowledge ſaw the perſon before that time, neither had evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another ſhould, if I had at any time come where the like occaſion had been miniſtered, if God had permitted me to do it.

Smith. Do you think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the goſpel?

Flower. I do confeſs all fleſh to be ſubject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his miniſters to do his will and pleaſure; as in example, Moſes, Aaron, Phineas, Joſhua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing decrees, but alſo planting zeals to his honour, againſt all order and reſpect of fleſh and blood. For, as St. Paul ſaith, "His works are paſt finding out:" by whoſe Spirit I have alſo given my fleſh at this preſent unto ſuch order, as it ſhall pleaſe the good will of God to appoint, in death, which before the act committed I looked for.

Smith. Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?

Flower. No verily, neither do I know if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at St. Paul's church upon Chriſt's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealouſy: but when I came there, I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that which is done; and yet now being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my fleſh willingly without all fear, I praiſe God. Wherefore I cannot teach you to do the like. Firſt, Becauſe I know not what is in you. Secondly, Becauſe the rules of the goſpel command us to ſuffer with patience all wrongs and injury: yet neverthelеſs, if he makes you worthy, that hath made me zealous, you ſhall not be hindered, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unſpeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beſeech you to judge the beſt of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot expreſs with my mouth, the great mercies that God hath ſhewed on me in this thing, which I repent not.

Smith. Are you not aſſured to have death miniſtered unto you for the ſame act committed, and even with extremity?

Flower. I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the ſame: whereupon I carried about me in writing, my opinion of God and the holy ſcriptures; that if it had pleaſed God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the ſaid writing have ſeen my hope, which, (I praiſe God) is laid up ſafe within my breaſt, notwithſtanding any death that may be miniſtered upon my body in this world; being aſcertained of everlaſting life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and being moſt heartily ſorry for all my offences committed in this fleſh, and truſting ſhortly, through his mercy, to ceaſe from the ſame.

Smith. I need not examine or commune with you of the hope that you have any further: for I perceive (God be praiſed) you are in good ſtate, and therefore I beſeech God, for his mercies, ſpread his wings over you, that, as for his love you have been zealous, even to the loſs of this life, ſo he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this world into a better life, which I think will be ſhortly.

Flower. I hunger for the ſame, dear friend, being fully aſcertained that they can kill but the body, which I am aſſured ſhall receive life again everlaſting, and ſee no more death; intirely deſiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the ſame in me ſhortly.—And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this is the truth, as near as the ſaid Smith could report it.

Now to return again to the matter of his examination. We ſhewed before, how this William Flower, after his ſtriking the prieſt, firſt was laid in the Gatehouſe: then, being examined before biſhop Bonner, had articles miniſtered againſt him, the copy whereof here followeth.

ARTICLES *exhibited by* Biſhop BONNER, *againſt* Mr. WILLIAM FLOWER, *late of* LAMBETH, *in the County of* SURRY.

1. THAT thou being of lawful age and diſcretion, at the leaſt ſeventeen years old, waſt a profeſſed monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein after thy profeſſion thou remainedſt until the age of twenty-one years, uſing all the mean time the habit and religion of the ſame houſe, and waſt reputed and taken notoriouſly for ſuch a perſon.

2. That thou waſt ordained and made prieſt, according to the laudable cuſtom of the catholic church, and afterwards thou didſt execute and miniſter as a prieſt, and waſt commonly reputed, named, and taken for a prieſt.

3. That after the premiſes, thou, forgetting God, thy conſcience, honeſty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didſt, contrary to thy profeſſion and vow, take, as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the pariſh church of Tewkſbury, in the dioceſe of Glouceſter, with whom thou hadſt mutual cohabitation, as man and wife, and had by her two children.

4. That thou being a religious man and a prieſt, didſt, contrary to the order of the eccleſiaſtical laws, take upon thee to practiſe in divers places within the dioceſe of London, phyſic and chirurgery, when thou waſt not admitted expert nor learned.

5. That upon Eaſter-day laſt paſt, that is to wit, the 14th of April, within the pariſh church of St. Margaret's, at Weſtminſter, within the county of Middleſex, and dioceſe of London, thou didſt maliciouſly, outrageouſly, and violently pull out thy wood-knife or hanger. And whereas the prieſt and miniſter there, called John Cheltham, was executing his cure and charge, eſpecially in doing his ſervice, and adminiſtering the ſacrament of the altar to communicants, then didſt thou wickedly and abominably ſmite with thy ſaid weapon, the ſaid Prieſt, firſt upon the head, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly from him; the ſaid prieſt then holding the ſaid ſacrament in his hand, and giving no occaſion why thou ſhouldſt ſo hurt him; the people being grievouſly offended therewith, and the ſaid church polluted thereby, ſo that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and receive the ſaid ſacrament.

6. That by reaſon of the premiſes, thou waſt and art by the eccleſiaſtical laws of the church, amongſt other penalties, excommunicated and accurſed in very deed, and not to be accompanied withal, neither in the church nor elſewhere, but in ſpecial caſes.

7. That thou, concerning the truth of Chriſt's natural body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, haſt been by the ſpace of one or more years, and yet art at this preſent, of this opinion, that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained (under the form of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

8. That thou for the hatred and diſdain that thou hadſt and didſt bear againſt the ſaid ſacrament, and againſt the ſaid prieſt adminiſtering the ſame, didſt ſmite and hurt him in manner before declared.

9. That thou art alſo, by the order of the eccleſiaſtical laws of the church, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged a very heretic, and to be puniſhed by and with the pains due for hereſy, by reaſon of the ſaid hereſy and damnable opinion.

10. That all the premiſes be true, manifeſt, notorious, and famous, and that upon the ſame, and every part thereof, there was and is within the ſaid pariſh of St. Margaret's, and other places thereabouts, a public voice and fame.

WILLIAM FLOWER's *Anſwers*.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that he ſaith and confeſſeth that he never conſented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof. Howbeit he ſaith, that he never did, nor yet doth eſteem the ſaid order of prieſthood according to the order of the ſaid catholic church, becauſe he was offended therewith in his conſcience.

To the third article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he intended to live in holy matrimony, and not forgetting God did marry with the ſaid Alice Pulton named in this article, wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confeſſing and believing, that all the time when he was a profeſſed monk, and made prieſt, he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did ſo marry the ſaid Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he ſaith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he anſwereth and believeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the fifth article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That his conſcience being greatly offended with the ſaid John Cheltam, prieſt, for adminiſtering the ſacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time ſpecified in this article, he did ſo ſmite and ſtrike the ſame prieſt with his hanger or wood-knife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body, which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was ſhed in the ſaid church, as he believeth, having, as he ſaith, none other cauſe or matter ſo to do, but only that his conſcience was offended and grieved, in that the ſame prieſt did ſo give and adminiſter the ſaid ſacrament to the people: which people he believed was greatly abaſhed and offended with this ſaid act and doing, and were compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the ſaid ſacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he intended to have killed the ſaid prieſt, or not; he ſaid he would not anſwer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in ſtriking the ſaid prieſt, he would make no anſwer thereunto.

To the ſixth he anſwereth, That whether he be ſo excommunicated or accurſed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himſelf to the eccleſiaſtical laws.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth, That by the ſpace of 26 years now paſt, he hath always been, and yet is of this opinion touching the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, as followeth; that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained, under form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

To the eighth he anſwereth and believeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he anſwereth, and herein he referreth himſelf to the ſaid laws, cuſtom, and ordinance ſpecified in this article, that is to ſay, the canonical laws.

To the laſt he anſwereth and believeth, That thoſe things before by him confeſſed be true, and thoſe which he hath denied be untrue; and that the ſaid common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon thoſe things by him before confeſſed.

By me WILLIAM FLOWER.

After the depoſitions of certain witneſſes were taken, the ſaid biſhop ſpake to William Flower, and aſked him, if he knew any matter or cauſe why ſentence ſhould not be read, and he to be pronounced as an heretic. Whereunto he anſwered, I have nothing at all to ſay, for I have already ſaid unto you all that I have to ſay; and what I have ſaid, I will not go from: and therefore do what you will. Which when he had ſpoken, the biſhop proceeded to the ſentence, condemning and excommunicating him for an heretic, and after pronounced him alſo to be degraded, and ſo committed him to the ſecular power. Upon the 24th day of the aforeſaid month of April, which was St. Mark's eve, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's church-yard at Weſtminſter, where the fact was committed.

Mr. Cholmeley now came to him, deſiring him to recant his hereſy, whereby he might do good and not be damned: to which Flower anſwered, Sir, I beſeech you for God's ſake to be contented: for what I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I truſt to the living God he will give me his holy Spirit to continue to the end.

This done, firſt his hand being held up againſt the ſtake, was ſtruck off, his left hand being faſtened behind him. At which he in no part of his body did ſhrink, but once a little he ſtirred his ſhoulders. When fire was ſet unto him, he cried with a loud voice, O thou Son of God have mercy upon me, and receive my ſoul, three times, lifting up, notwithſtanding, his ſtump with his other arm as long as he could.

May 3, 1555, a letter was ſent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make ſearch for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walſh, who uſed to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, ſhewed them to the people, perſuading them to be conſtant in his religion; and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Eaſe in the Tower, there to remain two or three days till further examination.

The 12th day, Mr. Thomas Roſs, preacher, was by the council's letters delivered from the Tower to the ſheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed to the biſhop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or elſe proceed againſt him according to the law.

The 16th, a letter was ſent to the lord treaſurer, ſignifying what the lord-lieutenant had done for Roſs; and as for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his lordſhip perceiving the ſame to be true, ſhould commit him to Bedlam, there to remain till their further order.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. JOHN CARDMAKER, *and* Mr. JOHN WARNE, *May* 30, 1555.

MR. Cardmaker was firſt an obſervant friar before the diſſolution of the abbeys; afterwards was a married miniſter, and in king Edward's time appointed to be a reader in St. Paul's, where the papiſts were ſo enraged againſt him for his doctrine's ſake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. Mr. Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow, biſhop of Bath, was brought to London and put in the Fleet priſon, king Edward's laws being yet in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as ſupreme head of the church, and the biſhops had alſo gotten power and authority, officially, to exerciſe their tyranny, theſe two were brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor, and others appointed by commiſſion (as before mentioned) to examine the faith of ſuch as were then priſoners; and as unto others before, ſo now unto them the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made ſuch an anſwer, as the chancellor with his fellow commiſſioners allowed them for catholics. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, the biſhop of London procuring it to be publiſhed, that he ſhould ſhortly be delivered, after he had ſubſcribed to tranſubſtantiation and certain other articles.

ARTICLES *againſt* JOHN CARDMAKER.

1. I Edmund, biſhop of London, object againſt thee John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou waſt and art of the city and dioceſe of London, and ſo of the juriſdiction of me Edmund, biſhop of London.

2. Item, That thou in times paſt didſt profeſs the rule of St. Francis, and didſt by vow promiſe to keep poverty, chaſtity, and obedience.

3. Item, that thou in times paſt did receive all the orders of the church then uſed.

4. Item, That thou after thy ſaid entry into religion and profeſſion, didſt take to wife a widow, and with her haſt carnal copulation, breaking thereby thy vow and order, and alſo the ordinance of the church.

5. Item, That thou haſt believed and taught, and ſo doſt believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the viſible ſigns there, (bread and wine) there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

6. Item, That the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly contained in the ſacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of God) the body and blood of Chriſt inviſibly and really preſent under the ſaid ſacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Chriſt, or a new body of Chriſt.

7. Item, That it may ſtand well together, and ſo is the faith of the catholic church, that the body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into heaven, and there is in the viſible form of his humanity; and yet the ſame body in ſubſtance is inviſibly and truly contained in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That Chriſt at his laſt ſupper taking bread into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his apoſtles, and ſaying, Take, eat, this is my body; did inſtitute a ſacrament there, willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Mr. CARDMAKER's ANSWERS.

TO the firſt article he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſecond article he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he being under age, did profeſs the ſaid order and religion, and afterwards by the authority of king Henry VIII. he was diſpenſed with for the ſame religion.

To the third he anſwereth, and confeſſeth the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he anſwereth and confeſſeth the firſt part thereof to be true; and to the ſecond part of the ſame article he anſwereth, that in marriage he brake no vow becauſe he was ſet at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and alſo by the laws and ordinances of the church of the ſame.

To the fifth he anſwereth and confeſſeth, That he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now ſo believe or teach.

To the ſixth he anſwereth, That he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the ſeventh he anſwereth, That he doth not believe the ſame to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he anſwereth and doth believe, that it is true, that is to ſay, that Chriſt taking bread at his laſt ſupper into his hands, bleſſing it, breaking it, giving it to his diſciples, and ſaying, Take, eat, this is my body, did inſtitute a ſacrament there. And to the other part of this article, namely, Willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament, no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof, he anſwereth, that he doth not believe the ſame to be true.

By me
JOHN CARDMAKER.

The next day Mr. Cardmaker did exhibit unto the biſhop the following ſchedule:

"Where in my anſwers to your articles I deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, I mean not his ſacramental preſence, for that I confeſs, but my denial is of his carnal preſence in the ſame. But yet further, becauſe this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but alſo for the whole adminiſtration and receiving of the ſame according to Chriſt's inſtitution: ſo I ſay, that Chriſt is preſent ſpiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the ſacrament: ſo that my denial is ſtill of the real, carnal, and corporal preſence in the ſacrament, and not of the ſacramental nor ſpiritual preſence. This I have thought good to add to my former anſwer, becauſe no man ſhould miſunderſtand it."

ARTICLES *objected againſt* JOHN WARNE, Upholſterer, *of the* Pariſh *of* St. JOHN, *in* WALBROOK.

FIRST, That thou John Warne, being aged 29, of the pariſh of St. John of Walbrook, in London, haſt believed, and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Chriſt in ſubſtance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Item, That thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there is not the body of Chriſt; but that there doth only remain the ſubſtance of material bread, as it is before the conſecration.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid and doſt believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the maſs now uſed in England, and in other places of Chriſtendom, a ſacrifice containing the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught.

Item, That thou haſt ſaid, that about a twelvemonth ago and more, a rough ſpaniel of thine was ſhorn on the head, and had a crown like a prieſt made on the ſame, thou didſt laugh at it, and like it, though thou didſt it not thyſelf, nor kneweſt who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent laſt paſt, nor at any time ſince the queen's majeſty's reign, haſt come into the church, or heard maſs, or been confeſſed, or received the ſacrament of the altar; and haſt ſaid that thou art not ſorry that thou haſt ſo done, but that thou art glad, becauſe thou haſt not therewith defiled thy conſcience.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the ſaid biſhop Bonner, in the preſence of divers witneſſes, May 23, 1555, did confeſs and believe the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

It was alſo objected by the aforeſaid biſhop,

Item, That thou John Warne waſt in time paſt here in the city of London, accuſed in Guildhall of hereſy againſt the ſacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry VIII. and when alderman Barnes was then ſheriff, and the Thurſday after that Anne Aſkew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou waſt ſent a priſoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund biſhop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to inſtruct thee in the true faith of Chriſt, touching the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the body of Chriſt, nor any corporal preſence

ſence

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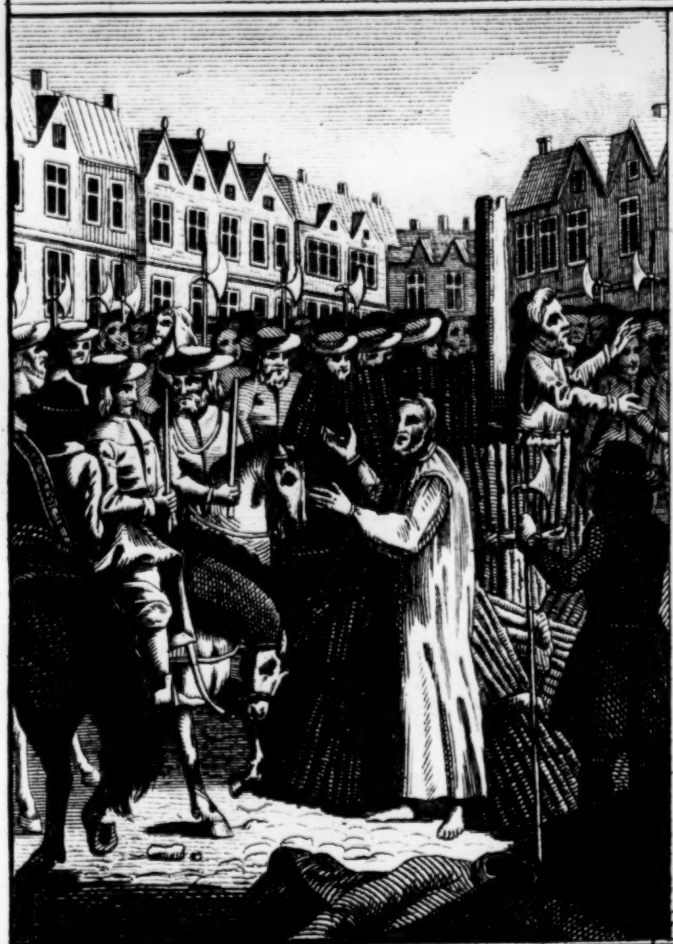
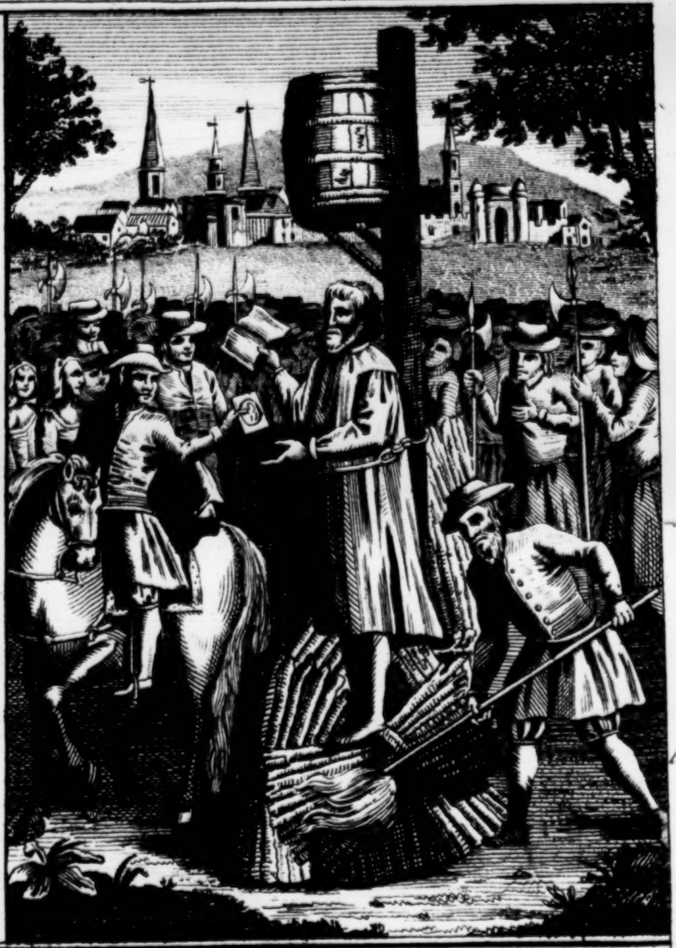
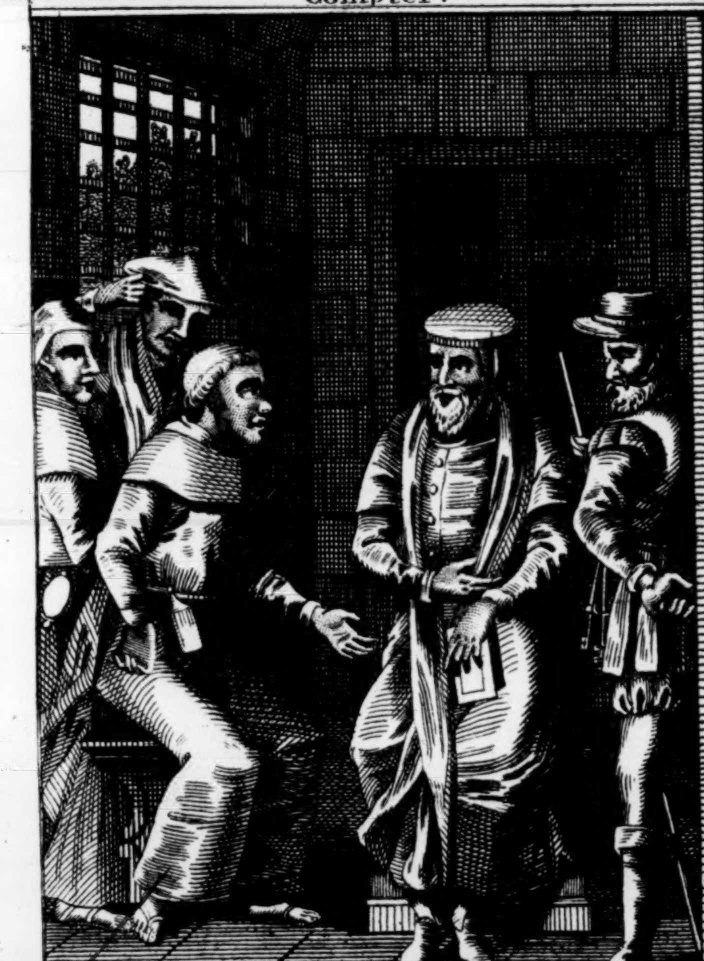
The Martyrdom *of the* Revd. Mr. John Cardmaker *and* Mr. John Warne, *in* Smithfield.



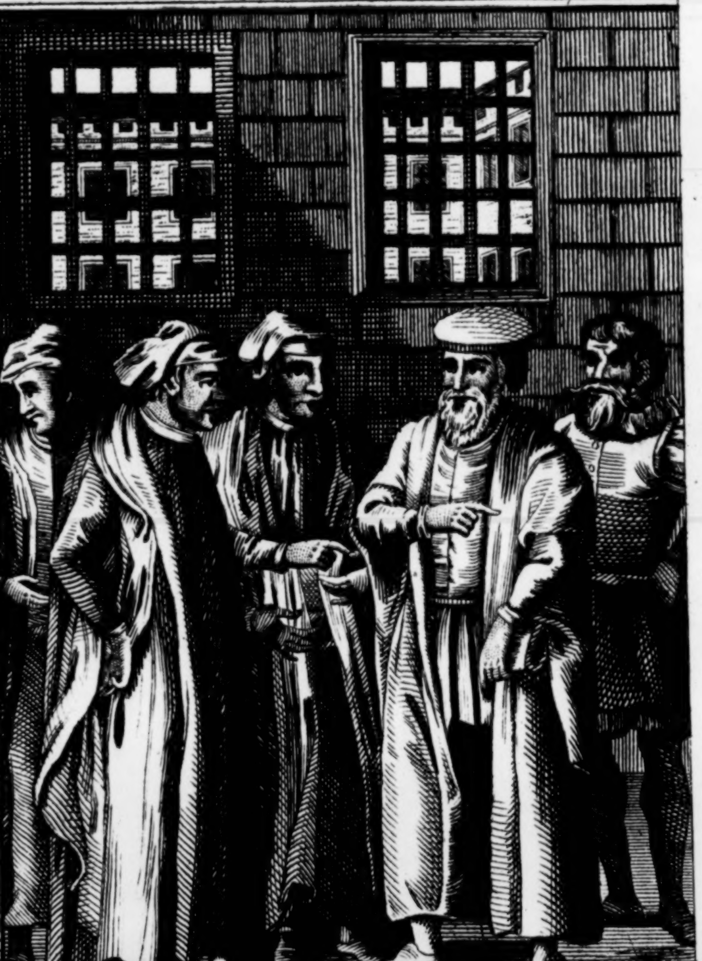
The Martyrdom *of* Mr. George Marsh, *at* West Chester.



Philips *and* Alphonsus (*two* Spanish Friars) *disputing with the* Revd. Mr. Bradford, *in the* Compter.



The Archbishop *of* York & Bishop *of* Chichester *at another time disputing with* Mr. Bradford, *in the* ſame Prison.



fence of Chriſt's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine; but that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all: and becauſe thou wouldſt not leave and forſake thy ſaid hereſy therein, but perſiſt and abide obſtinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the ſaid laws condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon ſuit being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadſt a pardon of king Henry VIII. and thereby didſt ſave thy life.

Neverthelefs, in thy heart, conſcience, and mind, thou didſt both then, and alſo afore believe no otherwiſe than at this preſent thou doſt believe; that is to ſay, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Chriſt, nor any other ſubſtance but the ſubſtance of material bread and wine; and to receive the ſaid material bread and wine, and to break it, and to diſtribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Chriſt's body, and no otherwiſe: ſo that thy faith and belief is, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is no ſubſtance of Chriſt's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there is material bread, and the receiving of it as before; and that the ſubſtance of the natural and true body of Chriſt, born of the virgin Mary, is only in heaven and not in the ſacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou haſt ever hitherto ſince continued, and ſo doſt continue at this preſent, thou confeſſing all this to be true, and in witneſs thereof ſubſcribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

John Warne being examined upon the aforeſaid articles by the biſhop before certain witneſſes, whoſe names were John Roſwell, John Heywood, and Robert Ravens, the 23d of May, did anſwer for the ſame, confeſſing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, ſubſcribing alſo the ſame with his hand. Such ſtrength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to ſtand ſtoutly and confidently to the defence of the ſincere doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the biſhop exhorting him with many words to leave his hereſies, (as he called them) and to return to the boſom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24th of May.

Who ſo doing (and anſwering as he did before) was ordered to come thither again in the afternoon, and ſo he did: at which time he was earneſtly exhorted by the ſaid biſhop to recant his opinions. To whom he anſwered, that he would not depart from his received profeſſion, unleſs he were thereunto thoroughly perſuaded by the holy ſcriptures.

Upon which anſwer he was ordered to come again the next day, being the 25th of May, at one of the clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the biſhop examined him again upon all his former articles objected, to which he moſt conſtantly adhered with this further anſwer added thereunto: I am in the right opinion, and I am perſuaded (ſaid he) that I am in the right opinion, and I ſee no cauſe to recant; for all the filthineſs and idolatry is in the church of Rome.

The biſhop then ſeeing that notwithſtanding all his fair promiſes and terrible threatnings, (whereof he uſed many) he could not prevail; finiſhed this examination with the definitive ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt the ſaid John Warne, and charged the ſheriffs of London with him, under whoſe cuſtody he remained in the priſon of Newgate, until the 30th day of May.

Which day being appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, and the ſaid John Warne, were brought by the ſheriffs to the place where they ſhould ſuffer; who being come to the ſtake, firſt the ſheriffs called Mr. Cardmaker aſide, and talked with him ſecretly, during which time Mr. Warne had ſaid his prayers, was chained to the ſtake, and had wood and reeds ſet about him, while Mr. Cardmaker was talking with the ſheriffs.

The people who had before heard that Mr. Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this, were greatly afflicted, thinking indeed that Mr. Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Mr. Warne. At length Mr. Cardmaker departed from the ſheriffs, and came towards the ſtake, and (in his garments as he was) kneeled down and made a long prayer in ſilence to himſelf. His prayers being ended, he roſe up, put off his clothes unto his ſhirt, and went with a bold courage unto the ſtake, and kiſſed it: and taking Mr. Warne by the hand, he heartily comforted him, and cheerfully gave himſelf to be bound to the ſtake. The people ſeeing this ſo ſuddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, ſaying, God be praiſed, the Lord ſtrengthen thee, Cardmaker, the Lord Jeſus receive thy ſpirit. And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and both paſſed through the fire to the bleſſed reſt and peace among God's holy ſaints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect ſoldiers and warriors of Chriſt Jeſus in his bleſſed kingdom.

The MARTYRDOM *of* JOHN SIMSON *and* JOHN ARDELEY, *of the* Pariſh *of* WIGBOROW-THE-GREAT, *in* ESSEX.

JOHN SIMSON and JOHN ARDELEY were condemned for the ſame cauſe and on the ſame day with Mr. Cardmaker and John Warne, which was the 25th day of May. But before we come to the ſtory of them, firſt here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter directed from the court the ſame day, and ſent by a poſt early in the morning to biſhop Bonner, in tenor and form as followeth.

"Right reverend father in God, right truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addreſſed our letters to the juſtice of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby amongſt other inſtructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a ſpecial regard unto ſuch diſordered perſons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refuſing to ſhew themſelves conformable to the catholic religion of Chriſt's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions, or elſe, if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: underſtanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the ſaid diſordered perſons, being by the juſtices of the peace, for their contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be uſed as aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travelled with, as chriſtian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of juſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their errors, to the diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; we have thought convenient both to ſignify our knowledge, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you that when any ſuch offenders ſhall be by the ſaid officers or juſtices of the peace brought unto you, you to uſe your good wiſdom and diſcretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or elſe in proceeding againſt them (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) according to the order of the laws. Given under our ſignet at our manor of Hampton-court, the 24th of May, the firſt and ſecond years of our reign."

This letter coming from the court to the biſhop, made him the more earneſt and haſty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of theſe men, of whom we are now treating, namely, Mr. John Simſon and Mr. John Ardeley; who being both of one country, of one town, and of one trade, that is, being both huſbandmen in the town of Wigborow in Eſſex, and almoſt of one age, Simſon 34, the other 30, they were brought up both together by the under-ſheriff of Eſſex, before Bonner, biſhop of London, upon the accuſation of hereſy, as in that time it was called.

Here followeth the articles objected againſt them, with their anſwers, taken out of the biſhop's regiſters.

ARTICLES *objected by* BISHOP BONNER, *againſt* JOHN SIMSON *and* JOHN ARDELEY, Huſbandmen, *at* FULHAM.

1. THAT thou John Simſon (or John Ardeley) huſbandman, of the age of 34 years or thereabouts, waſt and art of the pariſh of Great-Wigborow, within the dioceſe of London, and thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that there is here on earth one catholic and univerſal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary articles and ſacraments of the ſame.

2. Item, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, and to the religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſaid faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the ſaid faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou haſt not believed, nor doſt believe that that faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, and the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion which all chriſtian people ought to believe, obſerve, follow, and keep; but to the contrary, thou haſt believed, and doſt believe, that that faith and religion, which the ſaid church of Rome, and all the other churches aforeſaid have hitherto believed, and do now believe, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed by any chriſtian man.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is in ſubſtance the very body and blood of Chriſt under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid church of Rome, and all other the churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed, nor doſt ſo believe; but contrariwiſe, thou haſt and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, under the ſaid forms of bread and wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the ſaid material and common bread and wine, are only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou haſt believed and taught, and thou haſt openly ſpoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſt's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to diſtribute it amongſt the people, remembering thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt only.

6. Item, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, taught, and ſpoken, that the maſs now uſed in this realm of England and other the churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſs in it, ſaving the Glory in the higheſt, and the epiſtle and the goſpel: and that therefore thou haſt not, and wilt not come to be preſent at the maſs, nor receive the ſacrament of the altar, or any other ſacrament of the church, as they are now uſed in this realm of England, and other the churches aforeſaid.

7. Item, That thou haſt in time paſt believed preciſely, and obſtinately affirmed and ſaid, and ſo doſt now believe and think, that auricular confeſſion is not needful to be made unto the prieſt, but it is a thing ſuperfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other perſon: and likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the ſervice of the ſame, and haſt ſaid, that no ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe ſaid, it is unlawful and naught.

JOHN SIMSON *and* JOHN ARDELEY'S ANSWERS *to the aforeſaid* ARTICLES.

TO the firſt, they believe, that here on earth there is one catholic and univerſal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the firſt article, and that this church is diſperſed and ſcattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the ſecond, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the ſecond article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they ſay, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the ſaid church of England be ruled and governed by the word of life, then the church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwiſe: and do ſay alſo, that if the church of England were ruled by the word of life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this hereſy.

To the fourth they anſwer, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered nor changed in ſubſtance in any wiſe, and that he receiveth the ſaid bread and wine, doth ſpiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Chriſt, but not the very natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance under the forms of bread and wine.

To the fifth they ſay, they have anſwered, in anſwering to the ſaid fourth article, and yet nevertheleſs they ſay, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but only the ſubſtance of the natural bread and wine.

To the ſixth they ſay, that they believe, that the maſs is of the pope, and not of Chriſt; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodneſs, ſaving the Glory in the higheſt, the epiſtle and goſpel, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer; and for this cauſe they ſay they have not, nor will they come and hear maſs.

To the ſeventh John Ardeley anſwereth and ſaith, That he believeth the contents of the ſame to be true; but John Simſon doth anſwer, that he is not as yet fully reſolved with himſelf, what anſwer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily ſervice ſaid and uſed in the church, he ſaith that he never ſaid that ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue; neither did he ever ſay, that if it be otherwiſe ſaid and uſed than in Engliſh, it is unlawful and naught.

JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMSON.

The biſhop, according to his uſual manner, reſpited them to the afternoon, between the hours of two and three. At which time repeating the articles, and beginning with John Ardeley, he urged and ſolicited him to recant, but in vain. After this he read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, and alſo againſt John Simſon, ſtanding likewiſe in the ſame cauſe and conſtancy with John Ardeley.

Now John Simſon and John Ardeley being delivered to the ſheriffs May 25th, they were ſhortly after ſent down from London to Eſſex, where they were both put to death in one day, but not in the ſame place; for John Simſon ſuffered at Rochford, and John Ardeley at Railey.

The commiſſioners charged them with ſtubbornneſs and vain-glory, unto whom they anſwered in defence of their own ſimplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, that they might be ſuffered to live under her, in keeping their conſcience free from all idolatry and popery. Yet this could not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart's blood; ſo greedy and thirſty are the perſecutors of chriſtian blood.

C H A P. IX.

Further PROCEEDINGS *of* Biſhop BONNER *againſt the* PROTESTANTS, *together with the* LIVES, EXAMINATIONS, *and* MARTYRDOMS *of* THOMAS HAUKES, THOMAS WATS, THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, *and* NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, *who were all* inhumanly burnt *in the bloody Reign of* Queen MARY I.

The ridiculous Proceeding *of* Biſhop BONNER, *againſt* JOHN TOOLY, *whoſe Body being taken out of his* Grave, *was given to the* ſecular Power, *and ſo burned for an* Heretic.

ABOUT the ſame time of the burning of John Simſon and John Ardeley, in the beginning of the month of June, fell out a ſolemn proceſs, and much ado was made about the pope's ſpirituality, againſt John Tooly in a caſe of hereſy. The ſtory is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began firſt to make a ſtir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conſpired with others of this ſociety, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and altho' the deed was heinous and wicked of itſelf, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed againſt ſuch a perſon, and againſt ſuch a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, Tooly was found guilty, and adjudged to be hanged, whereas notwithſtanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The aforeſaid Tooley being led to the gallows, (which ſtood near Charing-Croſs) a little before he died, ſtanding upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two ſeveral papers: who then having the halter about his neck, deſired the people there preſent to pray for him, and to bear him witneſs that he died a true chriſtian man, and that he truſted to be ſaved only by the merits of Chriſt's paſſion, and ſhedding of his precious blood, and not by any maſſes, or trentals, images, or ſaints, which were, as he ſaid, mere idolatry and ſuperſtition, and deviſed by the biſhop of Rome; and as the ſame Tooly, and two others his fellows which were there hanged with him, did ſteal and rob for covetouſneſs, ſo the biſhop of Rome did ſell his maſſes and trentals, with ſuch paltry, with covetouſneſs, and there being in a great anger (as appeared) againſt the biſhop of Rome, ſpake with a loud voice the following words: "From the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities; from falſe doctrine and hereſy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, Good Lord deliver us."

After this it happened, that when John Tooly had read the bill the firſt time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be an apprentice) ſtooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it to Tooly again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marſhal's officers, the book aforeſaid, and deſired him to deliver it to one Mr. Haukes, ſaying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley, ſerjeant, who deſired to have it of him; on the top of which was written a line, containing theſe word, Beware of Antichriſt, and ſubſcribed underneath, By me Thomas Harold, priſoner in the Marſhalſea, enemy to Antichriſt. For the bill aforeſaid, Robert Bromley was afterwards brought, and was fain to aſk pardon of the biſhop, and to deteſt all the words of Tooly, and glad ſo to eſcape.

Thus while Tooly had made his prayers, as is aboveſaid, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the ſame prayer he fell into great tyranny. For ſo ſoon as the report of this fact came to the ears of the prieſts and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that ſo great a reproach ſhould be done againſt the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooly's talk at his death was debated among them.

At laſt (after much pro and contra) they all conſented to thoſe men's judgment, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holineſs ſhould be revenged with fire and faggot. By the cardinal Poole's orders, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had been almoſt two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooly's carcaſs was at London. And beſides this, becauſe he would ſhew ſome token of his diligence in both univerſities, he cauſed Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the church-yard, and to be buried on the dung-hill. Of theſe two prodigious acts you ſhall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpoſe of Tooly, who having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again by the command of the biſhops, and becauſe he was ſo bold as to deny the authority of the biſhop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleaſed them to judge and condemn him as an heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

The Council's Letter *to* Biſhop BONNER.

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordſhip, underſtanding that of late amongſt others that have ſuffered about London for their offences, one lewd perſon that was condemned for felony, died very obſtinately, profeſſing at the time of his death ſundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that ſuch a matter ſhould be overpaſſed without ſome example to the world, ſo we thought good to pray your lordſhip to cauſe further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of ſuch proceſs as by the eccleſiaſtical laws is provided in that behalf. And ſo we bid your lordſhip heartily well to fare. From Hampton-Court, April 28, 1555.

Your lordſhip's loving friends,

Steph. Winton, Chanc. R. Rochester
F. Shrewsbury William Peter
John Gage R. Southwell
Thomas Cheney

Soon after a citation was ſet up upon St. Paul's church door, under the biſhop of London's great ſeal; the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Writ *or* Mandate *of* Biſhop Bonner, *ſet up at* Charing-Croſs, St. Paul's Church Door, *and at* St. Martin's *in the* Fields, *for the* citing *and* further inquiring *into the* Case *of* JOHN TOOLY.

EDMUND, by the ſufferance of God, biſhop of London, to all ſingular parſons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our dioceſe of London, and eſpecially unto Richard Clony, our ſworn ſumner, greeting, ſalutation, and benediction. Foraſmuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of ſeveral credible perſons, that one John Tooly, late citizen and poulterer of London, the ſon of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice at the ſelf ſame time in which he ſhould go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he ſhould have cared for the wealth of his ſoul, and to have died in the unity of the catholic church, did utter divers and ſundry damnable, blaſphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the verity of the catholic faith, and unity of the ſame, and did exhort, ſtir up, and encourage the people, there ſtanding in great multitude, to hold and defend the ſame errors and opinions: and moreover, certain of the people there ſtanding, as it did appear, affected with errors and hereſies, as favourers and defenders of the ſaid Tooly, did confirm and give expreſs conſent to the aforeſaid words, propoſitions and affirmations: which thing we do utter with ſorrow and bitterneſs of heart.

We therefore the aforeſaid Edmund, and biſhop aboveſaid, not being able, nor daring to paſs over in ſilence, nor wink at the aforeſaid heinous act, left by our negligence and ſlackneſs the blood of them might be required at our hands at the moſt terrible day of judgment, deſiring to be certified and informed whether the premiſes declared unto us be of the truth, and left that any ſcabbed ſheep, lurking amongſt the ſimple flock of our Lord, do infect them with deadly hereſy: to you therefore we ſtraitly charge and command that you cite, or cauſe to be cited all and ſingular, having or knowing the truth of the premiſes, by ſetting up this citation upon the church door of St. Martin's in the fields, being within our dioceſe of London, and alſo upon the cathedral church door of St. Paul's in London, leaving there the copy hereof, or by any other means or ways, the beſt you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and ſingular by the tenor of theſe preſents we cite and admoniſh that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar general, or commiſſary, whatſoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, in the conſiſtory place, upon Thurſday the ſecond day of May, now next enſuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the clock in the forenoon the ſame day, to bear witneſs of the truth in this behalf, and to depoſe and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premiſes, and moreover to do and receive what law and reaſon doth require.

Further we commit unto you as before, and ſtraitly enjoining you do command, that ye will generally cite the wife of the ſaid Tooly that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and familiars eſpecially, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that deſire to defend and purge the remembrance of the perſon in the premiſes, that ye admoniſh them after the manner and form aforeſaid, whom we likewiſe, by the tenor of theſe preſents, do in ſuch ſort cite and admoniſh that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep ſilence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our vicar general in ſpiritual matters, or ſuch our commiſſary, at the day, hour, and place aforeſaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to ſay, alledge, and propoſe in due form of law a cauſe reaſonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the ſaid John Tooly, that is dead, ought not to be determined, and declared for ſuch an heretic and excommunicate perſon, and his remembrance condemned, in the deteſting and condemning of ſo heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcaſe to lack church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the ſame to be committed to the arm and power ſecular, and they compelled hereafter forever to hold their peace.

And moreover, that you cite and admoniſh, after the manner aforeſaid, all and every of the receivers, favourers, and creditors of the ſaid John Tooly that is dead, eſpecially if any of them do incline and give conſent to thoſe wicked and deteſtable affirmations, propoſitions, and rehearſals aforeſaid, that on this ſide the ſaid Thurſday they return and ſubmit themſelves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy church: which thing if they do, we truſting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promiſe that we will receive them being penitent for ſuch their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own ſouls; and what ye ſhall do in the premiſes, let him among you, which ſhall execute this our preſent mandate, certify us, or our vicar general in ſpiritual matters, either by his own perſon, or by his letters patent, together with theſe authentically ſealed. Dated at London under our ſeal, the laſt day of April, 1555, and of our tranſlation the 11th.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooly being cited did not appear; next in order of law came the ſuſpenſion, (whereas one ſuſpenſion had been enough for him) and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man ſhould eat or drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he ſhould not bid him good morrow, and beſides that, he ſhould be excluded from the communion of the church. Theſe things being prepared in ſuch a manner, as in ſuch caſes full wiſely they uſe to do, at length one ſtood up that made anſwer to certain articles, rehearſed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither ſpeak for himſelf, nor did (as they ſaid) ſufficiently anſwer them by the other, to avoid the name of an heretic; firſt witneſſes were provided againſt him, whoſe names were Henry Clark, Eſq; Thomas Way, keeper of the Marſhalſea; Philip Andrew, under-marſhal; William Holingworth, fiſhmonger; William Gellard, William Walter, chandlers; Richard Longman, merchant-taylor; Philip Britten, John Burton, brewers; Thomas Smith, ſerjeant. Then he was condemned for an heretic, and ſo committed to the ſecular power, namely to the ſheriffs of London, who with the like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, being ſuſpended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretic, and beſides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

The LIFE *and* MARTYRDOM *of* THOMAS HAUKES, Gentleman.

IMmediately after the ſtory of Dr. Taylor, mention was made of ſix men brought before biſhop Bonner upon the eighth day of February, whoſe names were Stephen Knight, W. Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, J. Lawrence, William Hunter. In which number was alſo Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewiſe with them the 9th day of February. But becauſe his execution did not ſo ſhortly follow their's, but was prolonged to the 10th day of June, it followeth therefore now conſequently to give an account thereof; firſt beginning briefly with his pious converſation and inſtitution of life, then ſhewing of his troubles, alſo of his examinations and conflicts with the biſhop and other adverſaries, according as the order of the ſtory doth require.

As he was of the county of Eſſex, born of an honeſt ſtock, in calling and profeſſion a courtier; beſides that, he was of ſuch comelineſs of ſtature, ſo well endued with excellent qualities, that he might ſeem on every ſide a man (as it were) made for the purpoſe. But his gentle behaviour towards others, and eſpecially his fervent ſtudy and ſingular love unto true religion and piety did ſurmount all the reſt. Wherein as God did ſingularly adorn him; even ſo he, being ſuch a valiant martyr of God, may ſeem to make famous the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright ſtar to make the church of God and his truth, of themſelves bright and clear, more glorioſly to ſhine by his example.

Mr. Haukes entered into the ſervice of lord Oxford, where he remained ſo long as Edward VI. lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, true piety not only to wax cold, but alſo to be in danger every-where. Haukes miſliking the ſtate of things, and eſpecially in ſuch men's houſes, rather than he would change the profeſſion of true godlineſs, which he had taſted, thought to change the place: and ſo, forſaking the nobleman's houſe, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himſelf to God, and uſe his own conſcience.

But what place in this world ſhall a man find ſo ſecret for himſelf, whither the old wicked ſerpent cannot creep, whereby he may have ſome matter to overthrow the quietneſs of the godly? Now in the mean time, Haukes keeping his houſe at home, had born unto him a young ſon, whoſe baptiſm was deferred to the third week, for that he would not ſuffer him to be baptized after the papiſtical manner, which thing the adverſaries not able to ſuffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reaſoned with, as not ſound in religion, in that he ſeemed to contemn the ſacraments of the church.

The earl either intending not to trouble himſelf in ſuch matters, or elſe ſeeing himſelf not able to weigh with him in ſuch caſes of religion, ſent him up to London with a meſſenger, and letters, and ſo, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, biſhop of London; the contents of which his letter ſent to Bonner, are as follow.

MOST reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have ſent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Eſſex, who hath a child that hath remained unchriſtened more than three weeks; who, being upon the ſame examined, hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now uſed in the church, whereupon I have ſent him to your good lordſhip, to uſe as you think beſt, by your good diſcretion.

When the biſhop had peruſed this letter, and afterwards read it to Mr. Haukes, he hearing the ſame, thought with himſelf that he ſhould not be very well uſed, ſeeing he was put to his diſcretion. Then wrote the biſhop a letter again to him that ſent the priſoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in ſetting forth the queen's proceedings. Then the biſhop began to enter communication with Mr. Haukes, firſt aſking, what ſhould move him to leave his child unchriſtened ſo long? To whom Mr. Haukes anſwered thus again as followeth.

Haukes. Becauſe we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

Bonner. Why? baptiſm is commanded by the word of God.

Haukes. His inſtitution therein I do not deny.

Bonner. What deny you then?

Haukes. I deny all things invented and deviſed by man.

Bonner. What things are thoſe that be deviſed by man, that you are ſo offended withal?

Haukes. Your oil, cream, ſalt, ſpittle, candle, and conjuring of water, &c.

Bonner. Will you deny that which all the whole world and your fathers have been contented withal?

Haukes. What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that ſtand I.

Bonner. The catholic church hath taught it.

Haukes. What is the catholic church?

Bonner. It is the faithful congregation, whereſoever it be diſperſed throughout the whole world.

Haukes. Who is the head thereof?

Bonner. Chriſt is the head thereof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Chriſt, or in the church now?

Bonner. Have you not read in the eighth of St. John where he ſaid, He would ſend his Comforter which ſhould teach you all things?

Haukes. I grant you it is ſo, that he would ſend his Comforter, but to what end? Forſooth to this end, that he ſhould lead you into all truth and verity, and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

Bonner. Ah ſir, you are a right ſcripture man. For you will have nothing but the ſcripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know.

Bonner. I thought you were acquainted with him: it ſeemeth of your judgment. What preachers do you know in Eſſex?

Haukes. I know none.

Bonner. Do you know one Baget?

Haukes. Yes, forſooth, I know him.

Bonner. What manner of man is he?

Haukes. An honeſt man ſo far as I know.

Bonner. Do you know him if you ſee him?

Haukes. Yes, that I do. [Then ſaid he to one of his ſervants, Go call me Baget hither; and then ſaid to me, You ſeem to be a very proud man and ſtubborn. He that brought me up, ſtood all this while by.]

Haukes. What ſhould move your lordſhip ſo to ſay?

Bonner. Becauſe I ſee in a man that came with you much humility and lowlineſs.

Haukes. It ſeemeth your lordſhip ſpeaketh that to me, becauſe I make no courtſey to you: and with that came Baget. Then the biſhop ſaid to Baget, How ſay you, ſir, know you this man?

Baget. Yes, forſooth my lord; with that Baget and I ſhook hands. Then ſaid the biſhop to Baget, Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchriſtened, (as I have letters to ſhew) who refuſeth to have it baptized, as it is now uſed in the church: how ſay you thereto?

Baget. Forſooth, my lord, I ſay nothing thereto (with low courteſy to the hard ground).

Bonner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and uſed in the church or not.

Baget. I beſeech your lordſhip to pardon me, he is old enough, let him anſwer for himſelf.

Bonner. Ah knave, are you at that point with me? Go call me the porter, ſaid he to one of his men, thou ſhalt ſit in the ſtocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and are you at this point? Then came the biſhop's man, and ſaid, The porter is gone to London: then ſaid the biſhop to Baget, Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, (who was one of his own teaching) who deſired amongſt other things to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Eſſex, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Haukes. When I ſee your commiſſion, I will make you anſwer. And then immediately came the biſhop again: but before he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the biſhop ſat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me alſo, and ſaid to Baget, How ſay you now unto baptiſm? Say whether it be to be frequented and uſed in the church, as it is now, or no?

Baget. Forſooth, my lord, I ſay it is good.

Bonner. I befool your heart, could you not have ſaid ſo before? You have wounded this man's conſcience. Then the biſhop turned to me, and ſaid; How ſay you now, ſir? this man is turned and converted.

Haukes. I build not my faith upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Chriſt Jeſus, who (as St. Paul ſaith) is the founder and author of all men's faith.

Bonner. I perceive you are a ſtubborn fellow. I muſt therefore go to work another way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatſoever you do, I am ready to ſuffer it; for I am in your hands to abide it.

Bonner. Well, you are ſo, come on your ways, you ſhall go in, and I will uſe you chriſtian-like: you ſhall have meat and drink, ſuch as I have in my houſe: but in any wiſe talk not.

Haukes. I purpoſe to talk nothing but the word of God and truth.

Bonner. I will have no hereſy talked on in my houſe.

Haukes. Why, is the truth become hereſy? God hath commanded that we ſhould have none other talk in our houſes, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

Bonner. If you will have my favour, be ruled by my counſel.

Haukes. Then I truſt you will grant me my requeſt.

Bonner. What is that?

Haukes. That your doctors and ſervants give me no occaſion: for if they do, I will ſurely utter my conſcience. Then he commanded his men to take in Baget, that Haukes and he might not have an opportunity to talk together. And ſo thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the ſteward's table.

After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But, amongſt others, there was one named Darbiſhire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the biſhop's kinſman, who ſaid to me, that I was too curious: for you will have (ſaid he) nothing but your little pretty God's book.

Haukes. And is it not ſufficient for my ſalvation?

Bonner. Yes, it is ſufficient for our ſalvation, but not for our inſtruction.

Haukes. God ſend me the ſalvation, and you the inſtruction. And as we thus reaſoned came the biſhop, who ſaid unto me; I gave you a commandment that you ſhould not talk.

Haukes. And I deſired of you that your doctors and ſervants ſhould give me no occaſion. Then we went into his orchard again, he and I and his doctors.

Bonner. Would not you be contented, provided your child ſhould be chriſtened after the book that was ſet out by king Edward?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will; it is the thing that I deſire.

Bonner. I thought ſo: you would have the ſame thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and in neceſſity it may ſerve.

Haukes. Chriſt did uſe it without any ſuch neceſſity: and yet we lack the chiefeſt point.

Bonner. What is that?

Haukes. "Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.

Bonner. Thou ſpeakeſt that becauſe I am no preacher.

Haukes. I ſpeak the text: I do not mean you. Then ſaid all the doctors, and his men that were with him, He ſpake it of you, my lord (with a great noiſe that they made).

Bonner. Will you be content to tarry here, and your child ſhall be baptized, and you ſhall not know of it, ſo that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would ſo have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the ſame counſel given before.

Bonner. You ſeem to be a luſty young man; you will not give your head for the waſhing; you will ſtand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do you think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in ſpite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the queen and you can do, I will not ſtand in it: but you get my conſent never the ſooner.

Bonner. Well, you are a ſtubborn young man: I perceive I muſt work another way with you,

Haukes. You are in the hands of God, and ſo am I.

Bonner. Whatſoever you think, I will not have you ſpeak ſuch words unto me. And ſo we departed until even-ſong time: and before even-ſong was begun, my lord called for me to come to him in the chapel, and ſaid; Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knoweſt that I am thy paſtor, and one that ſhould anſwer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I ſhould anſwer for thy ſoul.

Haukes. What I have ſaid, I will ſtand to, God willing: there is no way to remove it.

Bonner. Nay, nay, Haukes, thou ſhalt not be ſo wilful. Remember Chriſt bade two go into his vineyard; the one ſaid he would, and went not; the other ſaid he would not, and went.

Haukes. The laſt went.

Bonner. Do thou likewiſe, and I will talk friendly with thee; how ſayeſt thou? It is in the ſixth of St. John; "I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whoſoever eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlaſting life. My fleſh is very meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my fleſh and driketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Do you believe this?

Haukes. Yes, I muſt needs believe the ſcriptures.

Bonner. Why, then, I truſt that you be found in the bleſſed ſacrament.

Haukes. I beeſech your lordſhip to feel my conſcience no farther then in that which I was accuſed in unto you.

Bonner. Well, well, let us go unto even-ſong.

Haukes. With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Bonner. Why will you not tarry even-ſong?

Haukes. No, forſooth.

Bonner. And why?

Haukes. For I will not.

Bonner. And why will you not?

Haukes. Becauſe I have no edifying thereby, for I underſtand no Latin.

Bonner. Why, you may pray by yourſelf. What books have you?

Haukes. I have the New Teſtament, the books of Solomon, and the Pſalter.

Bonner. Then I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your Pſalter.

Haukes. I will not pray in this place, nor in any ſuch. Then ſaid one of his chaplains, Let him go, my lord, and he ſhall be no partaker with us in our prayers.

Haukes. I think myſelf beſt at eaſe when I am fartheſt from you, and ſo the biſhop went to even-ſong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till even-ſong was done; and within an hour after even-ſong was done, the biſhop ſent for me into his chamber where he lay himſelf, and when I came there was he and three of his chaplains.

Bonner. You know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the ſacrament. You would not have your conſcience ſought any farther, than in that you were accuſed of.

Haukes. I thought you would not be both mine accuſer and judge.

Bonner. Well, you ſhall anſwer me to the ſacrament of the altar, the ſacrament of baptiſm, the ſacrament of penance, and the ſacrament of matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of theſe, but I dare ſpeak my conſcience in them.

Bonner. The ſacrament of the altar you ſeem to be ſound in.

Haukes. In the ſacrament of the altar? why, ſir, I do not know it.

Bonner. Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, before we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that ſhall ye never do.

Bonner. Yes, a faggot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a fig for your faggot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that ſhall ye do, and more ye ſhall not do.

Bonner. Do you not believe that there remaineth in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Chriſt? And at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes. I do believe as Chriſt hath taught me.

Bonner. Why? did not Chriſt ſay, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

Haukes. Chriſt ſaid ſo: but therefore it followeth not, that the ſacrament of the altar is ſo as you teach, neither did Chriſt ever teach it ſo to be.

Bonner. Why? the catholic church taught it ſo, and they were of Chriſt's church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The apoſtles never taught it ſo. Read the Acts, the ſecond and the twentieth. Neither St. Peter nor St. Paul ever taught it, nor inſtituted it ſo.

Bonner. Ah ſir, you will have no more than the ſcripture teacheth, but even as Chriſt hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwiſe, I will not believe him.

Bonner. Why? then you muſt eat a lamb, if you will have but Chriſt's inſtitution only.

Haukes. Nay, that is not ſo, for before Chriſt did inſtitute the ſacrament, that ceremony ceaſed, and then began the ſacrament.

Bonner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the inſtitution.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Bonner. Marry, we will teach you; but you are ſo ſtubborn you will not learn.

Haukes. Except you teach me by the word of God, I never will credit you, nor believe you: and thus we concluded.

A CONVERSATION *between* Mr. HARPSFIELD *and* Mr. THOMAS HAUKES.

UPON Monday morning very early, the biſhop called for me. There was with him Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the biſhop ſaid, This is the man which I told of, who would not have his child chriſtened, nor will have any ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Chriſt uſed ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took ſpittle, and made the blind man to ſee?

Haukes. That I well know, but Chriſt did never uſe it in baptiſm. If ye will needs have it, put it to the uſe that Chriſt put it unto.

Harpsfield. Admit your child die unchriſtened: what a heavy caſe you ſtand in!

Haukes. I admit if it do, what then?

Harpsfield. Marry, then are you damned, and your child both.

Haukes. Judge you no farther than you may by the ſcriptures.

Harpsfield. Do you not know that your child is born in original ſin?

Haukes. Yes, that I do.

Harpsfield. How is original ſin waſhed away?

Haukes. By true faith and belief in Chriſt Jeſus.

Harpsfield. How can your child, being an infant, believe?

Haukes. The deliverance of it from ſin ſtandeth in the faith of his parents.

Harpsfield. How prove you that?

Haukes. By St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 14. "The unbelieving man is ſanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is ſanctified by the believing man, or elſe were your children unclean."

Bonner. Recant, recant: do you not know that Chriſt ſaid, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be ſaved?

Haukes. Doth chriſtianity conſiſt in outward ceremonies, or no?

Bonner. Partly it doth: what ſay you to that?

Haukes. I ſay as St. Peter ſaith, "Not the waſhing of water purgeth the filthineſs of the fleſh, but a good conſcience conſenting unto God."

Bonner. Let us make an end here. How ſay you to the maſs?

Haukes. I ſay it is deteſtable, abominable, and unprofitable.

Bonner. What nothing profitable in it? what ſay you to the epiſtle and goſpel?

Haukes. It is good if it be uſed as Chriſt left it to be uſed.

Bonner. How ſay you to the *Confiteor?*

Haukes. I ſay it is abominable and deteſtable, yea, and a blaſphemy againſt God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, to call upon any, to truſt to any, or to pray to any, ſave only Chriſt Jeſus.

Harpsfield. What books have you?

Haukes. The New Teſtament, Solomon's books, and the Pſalter.

Harpsfield. Will you read any other books?

Haukes. Yes; Latimer's books, my Lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's ſermons, and Ridley's books.

Bonner. Away, away, he will have no books but ſuch as maintain his hereſies: ſo they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day came hither an old biſhop, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him unto my lord a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had loſt his living becauſe he had a wife. Then the biſhop called me again into the orchard, and ſaid to the old biſhop, This young man hath a child, and will not have it chriſtened.

Haukes. I deny not baptiſm.

Bonner. Thou art a fool, thou canſt not tell what thou wouldſt have. This he ſpake with much anger.

Haukes. A biſhop muſt be blameleſs or faultleſs, ſober, diſcreet, no chider, nor given to anger.

Bonner. Thou judgeſt me to be angry: no by my faith I am not, and ſtruck himſelf upon the breaſt.

Then ſaid the old biſhop, Alas good young man, you muſt be taught by the church, and by your elders, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

Bonner. No, no, he will have nothing but the ſcriptures, and God knows he doth not underſtand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one: what ſay you to holy water?

Haukes. I ſay to it as to the reſt, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Bonner. Why, the ſcriptures do allow it?

Haukes. Where prove you that?

Bonner. In the book of Kings, where Eliſha threw ſalt into the water.

Haukes. You ſay truth, that it is written in 2 Kings, chap. ii. the children of the prophets came to Eliſha, ſaying, "The dwelling of the city is pleaſant, but the waters be corrupted." This was the cauſe that Eliſha threw ſalt into the water, and it became ſweet and good: and ſo when our waters be corrupted, if you can by putting in of ſalt make them ſweet, clear, and wholeſome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.

Bonner. How ſay you to holy bread?

Haukes. Even as I ſaid to the other. What ſcripture have you to defend it?

Bonner. Have you not read where Chriſt fed five thouſand men with five loaves and three fiſhes?

Haukes. Will ye make that holy bread? There Chriſt dealt fiſh with his holy bread. He did not this miracle, or other, becauſe we ſhould do the like miracle, but becauſe we ſhould believe and credit his doctrine thereby.

After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the biſhop deſired the old biſhop to take me into his chamber; for I would be glad (ſaid he) if you could convert him. So he took me into his chamber, and ſat himſelf down in a chair, and ſaid to me; I would to God I could do you ſome good: you are a young man, and I would not wiſh you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear ſomewhat.

Haukes. I will bear nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked, that the old biſhop ſhould have made me an anſwer, but he was faſt aſleep. Then I departed out of the chamber alone.

The next day Dr. Fecknam came to me, and ſaid, Are you he that will have no ceremonies?

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. You will not have your child chriſtened, but in Engliſh, and you will have no ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatſoever the ſcripture commandeth to be done, I refuſe not.

Fecknam. How ſay you, Chriſt took bread, and brake it, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body."

Haukes. I grant Chriſt ſaid ſo.

Fecknam. Why, then, is Chriſt a liar?

Haukes. Is every word to be underſtood as Chriſt ſpake it? Chriſt ſaid I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, &c.

Fecknam. Chriſt ſpake theſe words in parables.

Haukes. And why ſpeaketh he this in parables, when he ſaid I am a vine, a door, a king, a way, &c. more than when he ſaid, This is my body? For after the ſame phraſe of ſpeech, as he ſaith, This is my body; ſo ſaith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he ſaith not I am like a door, like a vine, &c.

Then Fecknam ſtood up, and ſaid, I had ſuch a one before me the other day. Alas! thoſe places ſerve nothing for your purpoſes. But I perceive you hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

Haukes. I know nothing elſe by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

Bonner. If any of thoſe recant, what will you ſay to it?

Haukes. When they recant, I will make you an anſwer.

Bonner. Then thou wilt ſay as thou doſt now for all that?

Haukes. Yes indeed will I, and that truſt to it by God's grace.

Bonner. I dare ſay, Cranmer would recant, ſo that he might have his living. And the biſhop and Fecknam departed from me laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

The next day Dr. Chedſey came to the biſhop and him. They declared unto him that I had ſtood ſtubbornly in the defence againſt the chriſtening of my child, and againſt the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it chriſtened but in Engliſh.

Then ſaid Dr. Chedſey, he denies the order of the catholic church.

Bonner. Yes, he thinketh there is no church but in England and Germany.

Haukes. And you think that there is no church, but the church of Rome.

Chedſey. What ſay you to the church of Rome?

Haukes. I ſay it is a church of a ſort of vicious cardinals, prieſts, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe.

Chedſey. What ſay you to the biſhop of Rome?

Haukes. From him, and all his deteſtable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

Bonner. He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear maſs: for neither the maſs, nor the ſacrament of the altar can he abide, neither will he have any ſervice but in Engliſh.

Chedſey. Chriſt never ſpake in Engliſh.

Haukes. Neither did he ever ſpeak any Latin, but always in ſuch a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And St. Paul ſaith, "That tongues profit us nothing." He maketh a ſimilitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be underſtood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himſelf to the battle? So if I hear a tongue, that I do not underſtand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

Chedſey. If you underſtand St. Paul's ſaying, he ſpeaketh under a prophecy, "If one propheſy to you in tongues," &c.

Haukes. St. Paul maketh a diſtinction between propheſying and tongues, ſaying, "That if any man ſpeak with tongues, let it be two or three at the moſt, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep ſilence in the congregation, and let himſelf pray unto God: and then let the prophets ſpeak two or three, and that by courſe, and let the others judge: and if any revelation be made to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace:" ſo that it ſeemeth that St. Paul maketh a diſtinction between tongues and propheſying.

Chedſey. What goſpel have you been taught?

Haukes. Praying to ſaints, and to our lady, and truſting in the maſs, holy bread, holy water, and in idols.

Chedſey. He that teaches you ſo, teaches you not amiſs.

Haukes. Curſed be he that teacheth me ſo: for I will not truſt him, nor believe him.

The next day Dr. Chedſey preached in the biſhop's chapel, and did not begin his ſermon until all the ſervice was done: and then came the porter for me, and ſaid, My lord would have you come to the ſermon, and ſo I went to the chapel door, and ſtood without the door.

Bonner. Come in, man.

Haukes. No, that I will not. He called again, and I anſwered I will come no nearer, and ſo I ſtood at the door. Then ſaid the biſhop, Go to your ſermon.

Then Dr. Chedſey put the ſtole about his neck, and carried the holy water-ſprinkle unto the biſhop, who bleſſed him and gave him holy water, and ſo he went to his ſermon.

The text that he treated on was the 16th of St. Matthew, "Whom do men ſay that I the Son of Man am? Peter ſaid, Some ſay that thou art Elias, ſome ſay that thou art John the Baptiſt, ſome ſay thou art one of the prophets. But whom ſay ye that I am? Then ſaid Peter, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God." Then he left the text there, and ſaid, Whoſe ſins ſoever ye bind, are bound: which authority (ſaid he) is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and ſo unto all the reſt that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at ſince the beginning: yet kick the heretics, ſpurn the heretics ever ſo much, the church doth ſtand and flouriſh. And then he went ſtraitway to the ſacrament, and ſaid his mind on it, exalting it above heaven, (as moſt of them do) and ſo returned to his place again, ſaying, Whoſe ſins do ye remit, are remitted and forgiven: and ſo he applied it to the biſhops and prieſts to forgive ſins, and ſaid, All that be of the church will come and receive the ſame. And this he proved by St. John, chap. xi. ſaying that Chriſt came to raiſe Lazarus, who when he was riſen was bound in bands: then ſaid Chriſt to them that were in authority, (who were his diſciples) Go ye and looſe him, let him go. And this was the effect of his ſermon, applying all to them, that they have the ſame authority that Chriſt ſpake of to his apoſtles.

Another CONVERSATION *between* THOMAS HAUKES, Bishop BONNER, *and others.*

AFTER dinner I was called into the chapel, where were ſeveral of the queen's ſervants, and other ſtrangers whom I did not know.

Bonner. Haukes, How like you the ſermon?

Haukes. As I like all the reſt of his doctrine.

Bonner. What, are you not edified thereby?

Haukes. No, ſurely.

Bonner. It was made only becauſe of you.

Haukes. Why, then I am ſorry that you had no more heretics here, as you call them: I am ſorry that you have beſtowed ſo much labour on one, and ſo little regarded.

Bonner. Well, I will leave you here, for I have buſineſs, I pray you talk with him, for if you could do him good, ſaid he, I would be glad.

This the biſhop ſpake to the queen's men, who ſaid unto me, Alas! what mean you to trouble yourſelf about ſuch matters againſt the queen's proceedings?

Haukes. Thoſe matters have I anſwered before them that be in authority: and unleſs I ſee you have a further commiſſion, I will anſwer you nothing at all. They cried, Faggots, burn him, hang him, to priſon with him, it is pity he liveth, lay irons upon him; and with a great noiſe they ſpake theſe words. Then in the midſt of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day the biſhop called me into his chamber, and ſaid, You have been with me a great while, and you are never the better, but worſe and worſe: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but ſend you to Newgate.

Haukes. Truly I did look for none other when I came to your hands.

Bonner. Come on your ways, you ſhall ſee what I have written. Then did he ſhew me certain articles, and theſe are the contents of them:

Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Chriſt's real preſence doth remain in the ſacrament or no, after the words of conſecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are theſe; "Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Chriſt, and the cup which we bleſs, the partaking of the blood of Chriſt?" which if it were not ſo, St. Paul would never have ſaid it.

Haukes. What your church doth I cannot tell: but I am ſure that the holy catholic church doth never ſo take it, nor believe it.

Bonner. Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptiſm that now is uſed in the church, or no?

Haukes. I anſwered to it as I did to the other queſtion before.

After many perſuaſions on his part we ended, and then departed.

The next day in the morning, which was the firſt of

July, the biſhop called me himſelf from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make myſelf ready to go to priſon, and to take ſuch things with me as I had of my own. And I ſaid, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to ſteal, God willing. Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gate-houſe at Weſtminſter, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who with his own man and one of the biſhop's men brought me to priſon, and delivered the warrant and me to the keeper; and this was contained in the warrant:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a ſafe priſoner, and that no man ſpeak with him, and that you deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a juſtice; for he is a ſacramentary, and one that ſpeaketh againſt baptiſm, a ſeditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in theſe perilous days." And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the biſhop ſent two of his men unto me, ſaying, My lord would be glad to know how you do. I anſwered them, I do like a poor priſoner. They ſaid, My lord would know, whether you be the ſame man that you were then when you departed. I ſaid I am no changeling. They ſaid, My lord would be glad that you ſhould do well. I ſaid, if my lord will do me any good, I pray you deſire him to ſuffer my friends to come to me. So they ſaid they would ſpeak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the firſt examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then biſhop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to priſon at Weſtminſter: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the 3d of September.

SECOND EXAMINATION *of* Mr. THOMAS HAUKES.

THE biſhop of Wincheſter, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Croſs, and the biſhop of London ſaid to my keeper, I think your man will not go to the ſermon to-day.

Haukes. Yes, my lord, I pray you let me go; and that which is good I will receive, and the reſt I will leave behind me, and ſo I went. And when the ſermon was done, I and my keeper came to the biſhop's houſe, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the biſhop called for me, and aſked me if I was the ſame man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no changeling, nor none will be.

Bonner. You ſhall find me no changeling neither. And ſo he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the ſide of a ſheet of paper, and all that while I ſtood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well ſtand in the chamber. And as I ſtood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted as it appeared in print) ſaying, he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I aſked him what he was? Then ſaid they that ſtood by, he is Dr. Smith. Then ſaid I, Are you he that did recant? And he ſaid, It was no recantation, but a declaration.

Haukes. You were beſt to term it well for your own honeſty.

Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaſeth you?

Haukes. To be ſhort with you, I will know whether you will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and ſo I departed from him to the other ſide of the chamber. Then ſaid the biſhop's men and his chaplains, that my lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that ſtood by, cried with a great noiſe, Hang him, burn him, it is a great pity that he lives.

Then ſaid one Miles Huggard, where prove you that infants were baptized?

Haukes. "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt." Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. Huggard. What ſhall we go to teach children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?

Mr. Huggard. So I am called.

Haukes. Be you not a hoſier, and dwell in Pudding-lane?

Mr. Huggard. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It ſhould ſeem ſo, for you have more ſkill in eating pudding, and ſelling ſtockings, than in diſputing from the ſcriptures. With that he was in a great rage and chafed up and down. Then I deſired that ſome perſon would take pains to appeaſe the gentleman, he did ſo fret for anger. Then one that ſtood by me (who was parſon of Horn-church and Rumford in Eſſex) ſaid, Alas, what do you mean? A young man to be ſo ſtubborn? there ſeemeth too much pride in you.

Haukes. Are you not the parſon of Horn-church?

Parſon. Yes? that I am.

Haukes. Did you not ſet ſuch a prieſt in your benefice?

Parſon. Yes, for a ſhift.

Haukes. Like maſter, like man. For I know the prieſt to be as vile a man as can be. I aſked the parſon, what kin he was to the weather-cock of St. Paul's? and he fell into a great laughter with the reſt of his companions. He ſaid I did rail.

Then ſaid another that ſtood by unto me, What books have you here? I anſwered the New Teſtament. May I look in it, ſaid he? Yes, that you may, ſaid I; and ſo he looked into my book, and ſaid it was corrupt. I anſwered him, if the things contained in it be true, then ye are falſe prophets. He ſaid that he would oppoſe me in the firſt word of the Teſtament, ſaying, Here is the generation of Chriſt; and Iſaiah ſaith, no man can tell his generation.

Haukes. What meaneth Iſaiah by that?

I would learn of you, ſaid he:

Haukes. You would be angry if the ſcholar ſhould teach the maſter: but if you will have me to teach you, I will tell you Iſaiah's meaning.

Then ſaid he, No man can tell the generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare ſay) did know it before.

Haukes. Iſaiah denieth not the generation.

Then ſaid he, Why is Chriſt called Chriſt?

Haukes. Becauſe he is the Meſſiah.

Then ſaid he, Why is he called the Meſſiah?

Haukes. Becauſe he was ſo propheſied by the prophets.

Then ſaid he, Why is your book called a book?

Haukes. Theſe words do breed more ſtriſe than godly edifying.

Beware, ſaid he, that you do not decline from the church, for if you do, you will prove yourſelf an heretic.

Haukes. Even as you do call us heretics, that do incline to Chriſt's church from your church; ſo are ye all falſe prophets that do decline from Chriſt's church to you own church. And by this ſhall all men know you to be falſe prophets, if ye ſay, This ſaith the church: and will not ſay, This ſaith our Lord. And ſo he went away as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another, and ſaid unto me, he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he ſaid) that I was angry and out of patience.

Haukes. I will ſee your commiſſion, before I talk with you, or with any more. For I knew not how to be rid of them, they gathered ſo thick about me. And I ſaid, I came to talk with my lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the biſhop, bringing a letter in his hand, which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner: I Thomas Haukes do here confeſs and declare before my ſaid ordinary Edmund, biſhop of London, that the maſs is abominable and deteſtable, and full of all ſuperſtition, and alſo as concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt (commonly called the ſacrament of the altar) that Chriſt is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe, &c.

Haukes. Stop there, my lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that ſtand I, and will. Then he took his pen, and ſaid that he would ſcrape it out for my pleaſure, and ſo he did to my thinking.

Then he went farther with his writing, and ſaid, I Thomas Haukes have talked with my ſaid ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithſtanding I ſtand ſtill in mine opinion.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myſelf to ſtand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men.

Bonner. You will grant that you have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleaſure. Then ſaid all his doctors, if your lordſhip be ruled by him, he will cauſe you to put out all together: and then read more to me. Here unto this bill have I ſet my hand; and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me ſet my hand to it.

Haukes. You ſhall not have my hand to any thing of your making or deviſing.

Bonner. Wilt thou not ſet to thy hand? It ſhall be to thy ſhame for the denying it.

And then he called all his doctors, and ſaid, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber? and ſo he had all their hands to it, and ſaid, He that will not ſet his hand to it, I would he were hanged; and ſo ſaid all his chaplains with a great noiſe.

Then the biſhop thruſt me on the breaſt with great anger; and ſaid he would be even with me, and with all ſuch proud knaves in Eſſex.

Haukes. You ſhall do no more than God ſhall give you leave.

Bonner. This jeer ſhall not be unpuniſhed, truſt to it.

Haukes. As for your curſing, railings, and blaſphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms ſhall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool.

Bonner. I will be even with you at a future time.

Haukes. You may in your malice deſtroy a man: but when you have done, you cannot do ſo much as make a finger; and you be meetly even with ſome of us already.

Bonner. If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me.

Haukes. Solomon faith, "Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his honour."

Bonner. Solomon ſaith, "Give not a fool an anſwer."

Haukes. What, do you count me a fool?

Bonner. Yes, by my troth do I, and ſo doſt thou me too: but God forgive thee, and ſo do I.

Haukes. Thought is free, my lord. Then the biſhop took the bill and read it again; and when he ſaw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it him again.

Haukes. What needeth that ceremony? neither ſhall it come into my hand, heart, or mind. Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his boſom, and went away in great anger, and called for his horſe, for the ſame day he rode on his viſitation into Eſſex: and ſo I went to priſon again with my keeper. This was the ſecond time of my examination.

After all theſe private conferences, perſuaſions, and long debates with Mr. Haukes in the biſhop's houſe, as hitherto hath been declared, the biſhop ſeeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was determined to proceed openly againſt him after the ordinary courſe of his popiſh law. Whereupon Mr. Haukes was ſhortly after cited with the reſt of his companions above-mentioned, namely, T. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygot, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter, to appear at the biſhop's conſiſtory, the eighth day of February, 1555. Upon which appearance was laid againſt him, in like order as to the others, firſt the bill of his confeſſion, written with Bonner's own hand, to which bill it has been already mentioned this worthy man refuſed to ſubſcribe.

The biſhop then aſſigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a reſolute anſwer what they would ſtick to. But ſtill perſevering in the true faith, biſhop Bonner at laſt read the ſentence of death upon him, and he was condemned the ſame day with the reſidue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheleſs his execution was prolonged, and he remained in priſon till the 10th day of June. Then he was committed to the hands and charge of the lord Rich, who being ſufficiently aſſiſted with power by the worſhipful of the ſhire, had Thomas Hawkes down into Eſſex, with ſix other fellow priſoners, whoſe ſtories hereafter follow, there to ſuffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coxehall, the others in ſeveral other places.

Thomas Haukes by the way uſed much exhortation to his friends, and whenſoever opportunity ſerved to talk with them, he would familiarly admoniſh them.

Mr. Haukes being led to the ſtake, there mildly and patiently prepared himſelf for the fire, having a ſtrait chain caſt about his middle, with a multitude of people on every ſide. Having ſecretly promiſed his friends to ſhew a pious diſregard of pain, he would during his agonies lift up his hand above his head towards heaven; this noble martyr, when he had continued long in the fire, his ſpeech taken away, his ſkin alſo drawn together, and his fingers conſumed, mindful of his promiſe, ſuddenly reached up his hands burning on a light fire, over his head, and with great rejoicing, as it ſeemed, ſtruck, or clapped them three times together: then ſtraitway ſinking down into the fire, gave up his ſpirit, June 10, 1555. And thus have we plainly and expreſsly deſcribed unto you the whole ſtory, as well of the life, as of the death of Mr. Haukes, a moſt faithful witneſs of Chriſt's holy goſpel.

The Hiſtory *of* Mr. THOMAS WATS.

THOMAS WATS, of Billerica within the county of Eſſex, of the dioceſe of London, was by his occupation a linen-draper; who, before he was apprehended, had ſold and made away his cloth in his ſhop, his things being ſet in order for his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he daily expected to be taken by God's adverſaries and his, as ſhortly came to paſs; upon the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich, and other commiſſioners at Chelmsford, and there being accuſed for not coming to the church, was upon the ſame examined before the lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, ſir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiſeman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weſton, juſtice Gaudy, &c.

When Thomas Wats came before the lord Rich and the juſtices, at the ſeſſions at Chelmsford, lord Rich ſpoke to him as follows:

Wats, you be brought hither, as I underſtand, becauſe of diſobedience to the king and queen's laws. You will not come to the church, you will not hear maſs, &c. but have your conventicles a ſort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings. To which Mr. Wats anſwered and ſaid:

My lord, if I have offended a law, I am ſubject here to the law. Then Anthony Brown, juſtice, ſaid unto him; Wats I pray thee tell me who hath been thy ſchoolmaſter to teach thee this religion, or where didſt thou firſt learn it? Forſooth, ſaid Wats, even of you, ſir, you taught it me, and none more than you. For in king Edward's days in open ſeſſions you ſpake againſt this religion now uſed, no preacher more. You then ſaid the maſs was abominable, and all their trumpery beſides, wiſhing and earneſtly exhorting that none ſhould believe therein, and that our belief ſhould be only in Chriſt: and you ſaid then whoſoever ſhould bring in any ſtrange nation to rule here, it were treaſon, and not to be ſuffered. Then Mr. Brown ſaid to my lord Rich, He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this! He will ſoon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face. And my lord Rich ſaid again, I dare ſay he doth ſo.

The commiſſioners being weary of him, or elſe not willing to meddle further in theſe matters, ſent him up to the biſhop of London, with a letter, declaring the cauſe.

The reception he met with from the biſhop and a ſummary of the proceedings in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's, (the common ſtage of theſe tragedies) will appear in the ſucceeding Chapter.

The

The FIRST APPEARANCE *of* Mr. THOMAS WATS, *in the* Bishop's CONSISTORY.

FIRST upon Thurſday, the 2d of May, Mr. Thomas Wats was brought before the biſhop of London, and there being examined upon his words ſaid before the lord Rich, and others, as contained in their letter, he did earneſtly affirm the ſame to be true. Whereupon the biſhop objected, and examined him upon theſe articles, to which he anſwered likewiſe as follows.

ARTICLES *objected againſt* Mr. THOMAS WATS, *of* BILLERICA, *in the* County *of* ESSEX, *within the* Dioceſe *of* LONDON, *by* Bishop BONNER.

1. THAT the ſaid Thomas Wats is of Billerica, and ſo of the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.

2. Item, That he believeth not in the ſacraments, of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the ſame, ever hitherto hath believed, and is taught by all good and faithful people: nor hath allowed the ſacraments, rites, uſages, or ceremonies of the ſaid church, but hath deſpiſed the ſame.

3. Item, That he believeth, and alſo hath taught others, that the ſubſtance of material bread and wine do remain in the ſacrament of the altar after the conſecration, and that the ſaid material bread and wine are the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body hanged upon the croſs, and of his blood there ſhed; and that in the ſaid ſacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Chriſt's body and blood, and nothing elſe.

4. Item, That he believeth, and doth preciſely affirm, that the very true preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in ſubſtance, is not in the ſacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where elſe.

5. Item, That he believeth, affirmeth, and ſaith, the maſs now uſed in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedneſs, and that Chriſt did never inſtitute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be uſed in his church.

6. Item, That he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confeſſion to be made unto the prieſt is not neceſſary but ſuperfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confeſs himſelf unto God, without any prieſt or miniſter at any time, though he may have the prieſt to confeſs him unto.

7. Item, That he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have held againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and ſuffered death by fire or otherwiſe for the maintenance of the ſaid opinion, were good men, and faithful ſervants and martyrs of Chriſt in ſo living and dying.

8. Item, That he hath and doth believe, that no faſt, prayer, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall be ſaved without doing of them; and if he ſhall be damned, they ſhall not help him, or do him any good at all.

9. Item, That the ſaid Wats of late coming into open court at the ſeſſions before the lord Rich, ſir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, eſquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confeſs, that he had refuſed to come to the church, and to hear there the divine ſervice, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: becauſe that like as the ſervice of the church ſet out in the days of the late king Edward VI. was ſaid and alledged to be abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and altogether naught; ſo he the ſaid Thomas Wats, then and there ſaid openly before the ſaid commiſſioners, that all that is now uſed and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical, and altogether naught: and that he did alſo then utter, before the ſaid commiſſioners, other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his ſoul, and to the evil example of the people there preſent.

10. Item, That he the ſaid Thomas, by reaſon of the premiſes, was, and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as an heretic, and for the ſame, by order of the eccleſiaſtical laws, is to be declared accurſed; and being obſtinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the ſecular power, to be puniſhed as an heretic.

11. Item, That he, over and above all theſe offences and treſpaſſes aforeſaid, had alſo added this treſpaſs, namely, That he had believed and deliberately ſaid, that the church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, ſacraments, inſtitutions, and traditions, is the ſynagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had aſſented and agreed in opinion with one John Tooly, of late hanged at Charing-croſs, who at the time of his execution deſired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, with all his enormities; as much as to ſay, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, That the premiſes and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifeſt, and openly ſpoken and talked of amongſt the honeſt and credible perſons in great multitude; and that of all and ſingular the ſame within Billerica aforeſaid, and other places thereabout, being of the dioceſe of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The ANSWER *of* Mr. THOMAS WATS *to the aforeſaid* ARTICLES.

TO the firſt he ſaid and confeſſed the ſame to be true in every part thereof.

To the ſecond article he anſwered, that he believeth in all the ſacraments according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the catholic church; but not according to the biſhop of Rome's church: and further ſaid, that he doth not believe now as he had done in times paſt; for in times paſt he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not ſo believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he ſaid he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Chriſt hath taught him; and further ſaid, that he was ſo taught to believe by the preaching of Mr. Alvey, and others whoſe names he remembereth not, who did preach the word of God truly and ſincerely.

To the third he anſwered, that he hath and doth believe that Chriſt's body is in heaven, and no where elſe: and further, that he never will believe that Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament.

To the fourth he anſwered, confeſſing and firmly believing the ſame to be true.

To the fifth, That he did believe that the maſs is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the ſixth, That he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the prieſt can abſolve him from his ſins; howbeit, he denieth not that it is good to aſk counſel at the prieſt's mouth.

To the ſeventh he ſaid, That he knew not what the opinions of the ſaid perſons named in the ſaid article were; and in caſe the ſaid perſons did believe, that the body and blood of Chriſt were really and in very deed in the ſacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in caſe they did believe that the body and blood of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good men.

To the eighth he ſaid, That he had not ſpoken as is contained in this article; but he hath and doth believe, that faſting, prayers, and alms-deeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confeſſed, That he did utter and ſpeak, as in this article is contained, and further he deſired God that he might die in that faith and belief wherein he now is.

To the tenth he anſwered and ſaid, That he will ſubmit himſelf herein to the order of the law; and further ſaid, that he truſteth that with God he ſhall be bleſſed, although with men he be accurſed.

To the eleventh he ſaid, he believed that the biſhop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Chriſt and his church. And as for Tooly he ſaid, he did never ſee or know him; but in caſe the ſaid Tooly did wiſh and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewiſe wiſh and conſent with him therein.

To the twelfth he anſwered, That all which before he confeſſed to be true, is alſo true; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the ſame to be according to ſuch things as he hath confeſſed.

By me THOMAS WATS.

Theſe articles thus propounded and anſwered, the biſhop commanded him to appear again in the ſame place at three o'clock in the afternoon, upon the ſame day; when after many perſuaſions to cauſe him to recant, he ordered him to depart, and come again on Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning. Where the biſhop being abſent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, earneſtly exhorted him to deny his opinions. But Wats being ſtill reſolute, Dr. Harpsfield ordered him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10th day of the ſame month of May. Upon which day the biſhop ſent for him privately into his chamber, but finding all perſuaſion in vain he was again diſmiſſed until Friday the 17th of May, and then commanded to appear in the conſiſtory; when being condemned he was delivered to the ſheriffs of London, and by them ſent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or (as ſome aſſert) to the 22d of May: at which time he was carried to Chelmsford, to Mr. Scot's houſe, which was an inn, where, as they were eating with Mr. Haukes and the reſt that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Mr. Wats went and prayed privately by himſelf, and afterwards came to his wife and ſix children, when having exhorted them to remain ſtedfaſt in the true faith, bade them farewell, kiſſed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the ſtake, after he had kiſſed it, he ſpake to my lord Rich theſe or the like words: My lord, ſaid he, beware, beware, for you do againſt your own conſcience herein, and without you repent, the Lord will avenge it: for you are the cauſe of this my death. Thus did this good martyr offer his body to the fire, in defence of the true goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

In the beginning of this month about Whitſuntide, vain rumour was ſpread about in London of the ſafe delivery of the queen, and the birth of the expected child. Bells were rung, bonfires and proceſſions made, not only in the city of London, and in moſt other parts of the realm, but alſo in the town of Antwerp, guns were fired upon the river by the Engliſh ſhips, and the mariners rewarded with an hundred piſtolets or Italian crowns by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Several preachers, particularly the parſon of St. Ann within Alderſgate, after proceſſion and Te Deum ſung, took upon them to deſcribe the prince; but ſoon after the people were certified, that the queen neither was then delivered, nor even after in hopes to have a child.

A proclamation was now iſſued for the reſtraining all books and writings, tending againſt the doctrine of the Pope and his church. The book of common ſervice ſet forth by authority of parliament in the time of King Edward VI. was prohibited—in the ſtead of which were only allowed popiſh books, particularly the Lady's Mattins or catholic Primmer, containing prayers to the ſaints and Virgin Mary.

ARTICLES *to be* inquired *upon by the* Wardens *of every* Company, *touching ſeditious* Books, *eſpecially concerning the* Book *called,* A WARNING for ENGLAND.

1. Whether they have ſeen any of the aforeſaid books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the ſaid books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have ſeen them.
4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the ſea, eſpecially from Zurich, Straſburgh, Frankfort, Weſel, Embden, and Doeſburgh.
5. Whom they know or vehemently ſuſpect to be common carriers of letters, or money thither from hence.
6. That they bring to my lord mayor all ſuch ſeditious books as they have, or ſhall have found hereafter.

In this proclamation the reader will eaſily diſcover the profound and learned cenſure of the Roman catholic church, what books they diſlike and reject as heretical, ſchiſmatical, and pernicious. On which catholic cenſure of the learned fathers, we have not leiſure at preſent to enlarge; neither is it neceſſary in this place to enter into a particular defence of the authors here condemned. Suffice it therefore, to take a general view of the ridiculous (not to ſay blaſphemous) matter contained in ſome of the popiſh books; which by being contraſted with the doctrines of the oppoſite ſide, may give an opportunity of judging the better, which is moſt agreeable to God's holy word and truth, and of diſcerning between the true catholic church and the mother of abominations.

And firſt to begin with the primmer in Engliſh, for children, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen's majeſty's letters patent, in the reign of queen Mary. Let us repeat and ſurvey ſome part of the ſaid primmer.

To Thomas Becket, Archbiſhop of Crnterbury.

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did ſpend,
Make us, Chriſt, to climb, where Thomas did aſcend."

Of St. Nicholas.

"O God, which haſt glorified bleſſed St. Nicholas, thy holy biſhop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beſeech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.

"Grant, we beſeech thee, thy mercy, to let her purchaſe for us the bliſs everlaſting." &c.

Another Prayer to our Lady.

"The dolorous paſſion of God's ſweet mother,
Bring us to the bliſs of Almighty God the Father," &c.

Another.

"Hail queen mother of mercy, our life, our ſweetneſs, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and ſigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our patroneſs; caſt upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our baniſhment, ſhew to us the bleſſed fruit of thy womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son, &c. &c.

Likewiſe the Lady's Pſalter, produced by Bonaventure, a ſeraphical doctor, biſhop alſo and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus IV. in the year 1482, for a ſaint in the kalendar. In the ſecond part of his whole works, (which were printed at Argentine, anno 1495) to ſhew himſelf a devout ſervant to his lady, he hath taken every pſalm of David's Pſalter, put out the name of the Lord, and ſubſtituted the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole Pſalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Pſalter, uſed to be ſung and ſaid in the praiſe and ſervice of our Lady. A brief ſpecimen whereof, for example's ſake, we thought proper here to exhibit unto the reader as followeth.

The Title of the Pſalter in Engliſh.

"Here beginneth the Pſalter of the bleſſed Virgin, made by the ſeraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, biſhop of Alban, and cardinal of the holy church of Rome.

1. "BLESSED is the man which underſtandeth thy name, O virgin Mary, thy grace ſhall comfort his ſoul. Thou ſhalt bring forth in him the moſt plentiful fruit of juſtice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou ſurpaſſeſt in beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels, in the excellency of thy holineſs. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where. Glory be to the Father, &c.

2. Why do your enemies fret and imagine vain things againſt us? let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and deſtroying them as a ſword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and ſhe will give reſt unto your ſouls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance ſhall eſtabliſh and comfort you. Bleſs her with all your heart, for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, &c.

3. Why are they ſo many, O lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou ſhalt perſecute and deſtroy them. Looſe the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our ſins. Have mercy upon me, O lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my ſorrow and the anguiſh of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my

ſoul. Bring me unto the haven of ſalvation, and reſtore my ſpirit unto my maker and creator. Glory be to the Father," &c.

4. "When I called to thee, thou heardſt, O my lady, and out of thy high throne thou didſt vouchſafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themſelves to devour me. and out of the hands of ſuch as ſeek after my life, thy grace ſhall deliver me; becauſe thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Bleſſed be thou, O lady, for ever, and thy majeſty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth." &c.

5. "Hear my words, O lady, &c. turn our mourning into gladneſs, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power daſh their heads in pieces."

6. "O lady, ſuffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chaſtened in his heavy diſpleaſure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlaſting gates be opened, that we may ſhew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Becauſe the dead, nor they that be in hell, ſhall not praiſe thee, O lady, but they which obtain by thy grace life everlaſting," &c. &c. &c.

This, it is preſumed, is ſufficient ſpecimen of the pſalms of popery.

Account *of* THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, *and* THOMAS OSBORNE, *&c.*

MENTION was made before in the ſtory of Thomas Haukes, of ſix priſoners beſides, which were ſent down with him to Eſſex the ſame time as he went to execution. Of which ſix priſoners, three were ſent to be burnt, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next to treat. The names of the ſix were theſe, Thomas Oſmond, fuller, William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver, Thomas Oſborne, fuller, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver, Thomas Brodehill, weaver, Richard Web, weaver, being all of the town of Coxhall. All which men, next after the examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas Wats, were ſent up to biſhop Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford and ſir Philip Paris, knight, a letter alſo being ſent with them, and were brought before the ſaid biſhop the 17th of the ſaid month, to be examined upon divers and ſundry articles miniſtered and objected againſt them; whereunto they were compelled to anſwer, and put their hands to the ſame: the copy of which their articles and anſwers, being all in one form and effect, here followeth.

The COPY *of the* ARTICLES *objected againſt* THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, *and* NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN.

FIRST, That thou Thomas Oſmond, fuller, waſt and art of the pariſh of Coxhall, within the dioceſe of London, and thou haſt not believed nor doſt believe, that there is here in the earth one catholic and univerſal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Chriſt, and all the neceſſary articles and ſacraments of the ſame.

2. Item, That thou haſt not believed nor doſt believe, that thou art neceſſarily bounded under the pain of the damnation of thy ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame in all neceſſary points of the ſaid faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the ſaid faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou haſt not believed that the faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the ſaid catholic and univerſal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the faith and religion of Chriſt, and alſo is the very true faith and religion which all chriſtian people ought to believe, obſerve, follow, and keep; but contrariwiſe, thou haſt believed and doſt believe, that that faith and religion which the ſaid church of Rome, and all the other churches aforeſaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is falſe, erroneous, and naught, and in no wiſe ought to be believed, obſerved, kept, and followed of any chriſtian perſon.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is in ſubſtance the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt under the forms of bread and wine; and albeit that it be ſo believed, taught and preached undoubtedly in the ſaid church of Rome, and all other churches aforeſaid, yet thou haſt not ſo believed, no doſt ſo believe, but contrariwiſe, thou haſt believed and doſt believe firmly and ſtedfaſtly, that there is not the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, under the ſaid forms of bread and wine, the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material and common bread and wine, with the form thereof, and that the ſaid material and common bread and wine are only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, and are by faith received only for a remembrance of Chriſt's body and blood, and are by faith to be received only for a remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion and death, without any ſuch ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou haſt believed and taught, and haſt openly ſpoke and defended, and ſo doſt believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Chriſt's body and blood is only to take material and common bread, and to break it and diſtribute it among the people, remembering thereby the paſſion and death of Chriſt only.

6. Item, That thou haſt likewiſe believed, thought, and ſpoken that the maſs, now uſed in the realm of England, and other the churches aforeſaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the inſtitution of Chriſt, and hath no goodneſs in it, ſaving the Gloria in Excelſis, the epiſtle and goſpel, and therefore thou haſt not, nor wilt come to be preſent at maſs, nor receive the ſacrament of the altar, nor any other ſacrament of the church, as they are now uſed in the realm of England, &c.

7. Item, That thou haſt in times paſt believed, and yet doſt now believe, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made unto the prieſt, but is a thing ſuperfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God and to none other perſon. And likewiſe thou haſt condemned as ſuperfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the ſervice of the ſame, and haſt ſaid that no ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but in the Engliſh tongue, and if it be otherwiſe, it is unlawful and naught.

8. Item, That thou being notoriouſly and openly ſuſpected for an heretic, and a perſon culpable in the premiſes, waſt of late called and brought before the earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, and there waſt charged with the ſaid hereſies, and wouldſt not come to the church to be confeſſed and receive the ſaid ſacrament as other chriſtian people did, but utterly didſt refuſe to do the ſame, thou waſt by the ſaid earl of Oxford, and Mr. Philip Paris, ſent up by a conſtable unto me biſhop of London, and was by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an heretic and miſbelieving perſon.

9. Item, That thou haſt known and believed, thou doſt know and believe, or at leaſt thou haſt credibly heard, reported, ſpoken, and ſaid, that all and all manner of perſons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the ſacraments of the church, or any of the articles of faith, otherwiſe than is found already diſcuſſed and determined by our mother the holy church, or doth call into doubt or queſtion that thing which is already decided or determined by the church, or that willingly or wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any ſlanderous or blaſphemous words concerning the ſaid ſacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep any ſect or kind of hereſy, againſt the wholeſome doctrine of the church, and do wittingly or obſtinately defend the ſect or kind of hereſy, are by the canons of the whole and univerſal catholic church, and alſo by the eccleſiaſtical laws of this church of England, by their ſo doing, accurſed with that curſe, which doth ſeparate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the ſacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are (in continuing in this ſad ſect and hereſy) to be pronounced, declared and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the ſecular power, and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the cuſtom of the ſame, to be by the ſaid ſecular power put to death, and burnt for this ſaid ſect and hereſy.

10. Item, That thou, by reaſon of the premiſes, waſt and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged, for a manifeſt and open, wilful and obſtinate heretic, for a wicked and curſed perſon, and to be puniſhed accordingly for the ſame, according to the ſaid canon laws, uſages, and cuſtoms.

The ANSWERS *of* THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, *and* NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, *to the aforeſaid* ARTICLES.

TO the firſt they anſwered and confeſſed the ſame to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in earth one catholic and whole church, and that the ſame church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this article.

To the ſecond they anſwer and believe the ſaid article not to be true; for they ſay that they have and do believe that they are neceſſarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their ſoul, to give full faith and credence unto the ſaid catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the ſame, in all neceſſary points of the ſame faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.

To the third they anſwer, That the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be uſed in faith and religion) of the catholic church of Chriſt, and that the faith and religion, uſed in the ſaid churches is not agreeable with the church of Chriſt, but is falſe and erroneous.

To the fourth they anſwer and ſay, That howſoever the ſaid churches of Rome and others of Chriſtendom have and do believe touching the ſacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the ſacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, but that there is only the ſubſtance of material bread and wine, and that the ſame material bread and wine be only the ſigns and tokens of Chriſt's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion and death, without any ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood at all.

To the fifth article they anſwer, That the true receiving and eating of Chriſt's body, according to Chriſt's inſtitution, is to take, diſtribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the paſſion and death of Chriſt, and ſo receive by faith (as they believe) Chriſt's body and blood, and not otherwiſe.

To the ſixth they anſwer, The ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that over and beſides the Gloria in Excelſis, the epiſtle and goſpel, which they believe to be good, they believe the Pater-noſter and Creed uſed in the maſs to be alſo good.

To the ſeventh they anſwer and confeſs, That auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to the prieſt; nevertheleſs they think it is neceſſary to go to ſuch a prieſt as is able to give good counſel; and that for counſel only, and not otherwiſe. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they anſwer the ſame to be vain and unprofitable. No ſervice in the church ought to be ſaid but only in the Engliſh tongue.

To the eighth they anſwer, and believe the ſame to be true in every part thereof, except that they do not believe that they be heretics, or ſuſpected of hereſy.

To the ninth, Oſmond and Bamford anſwered, That they referred themſelves to the ſaid laws mentioned in that article; but Chamberlain made no anſwer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the ſaid Oſmond and Bamford anſwered and ſaid, That by reaſon of their belief before by them confeſſed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or adjudged for wilful and obſtinate heretics, nor to be puniſhed therefore, as is declared in that article. The other anſwered nothing.

Theſe articles thus propounded and anſwered, they were diſmiſſed till the afternoon. At which time they did again appear, and were ſent away again until the next day, being Saturday, the 18th of May; when being condemned, they were delivered to the ſheriffs, and then to the ſheriff of Eſſex, and by him were executed, Chamberlain at Colcheſter, the 14th of June; Thomas Oſmond at Manningtree; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the 15th of June.

C H A P. X.

The LIFE, ACTS, *and* MARTYRDOM *of the* Rev. Mr. JOHN BRADFORD, *who, together with* Mr. JOHN LEAF, *was burned in* SMITHFIELD, *in the bloody Reign of* QUEEN MARY I.

The LIFE *and* ACTS *of the* Rev. Mr. JOHN BRADFORD.

MR. John Bradford was born at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire; his parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained ſuch knowledge in the Latin tongue, and ſkill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in ſome honeſt condition. Then he became ſervant to ſir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. which he had in hand when he was treaſurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times, in Boulognois, had ſuch experience of Mr. Bradford's activity in writing, his expertneſs in the art of auditors, as alſo his faithful truſtineſs, that not only in thoſe affairs, but in many others of his private buſineſs, he truſted Mr. Bradford before others.

Mr. Bradford continued ſeveral years in an honeſt and thriving way, after the courſe of this world, if his mind could have ſo liked, or had been given to the world as many others be. But the Lord, which had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the goſpel of Chriſt, called this his choſen ſervant to the underſtanding and partaking of the ſame goſpel. In which call he was ſo truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then he forſook his worldly affairs and forwardneſs in worldly wealth, and after a juſt account given to his maſter of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the miniſtry of his holy word, he gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures. And the better to accompliſh his deſign, he departed from the Temple at London, and went down to the univerſity at Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in ſtudy, his profiting in knowledge and pious converſation, ſo pleaſed all men, that within a few years after he had been there, the univerſity gave him the degree of maſter of arts.

Immediately after, the maſter and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him fellowſhip in their college with them, and that good man, Martin Bucer, ſo liked him, that he held him not only moſt dear unto him, but alſo oftentimes exhorted him to beſtow his talent in preaching. To which Mr. Bradford always anſwered, that he was unable to ſerve in that office through want of learning. To which Bucer was wont to reply, ſaying, if thou haſt not fine wheat bread, yet give the poor people barley-bread, or whatſoever elſe the Lord hath committed unto thee. And while Mr. Bradford was thus perſuaded to enter into the miniſtry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy biſhop of London, and glorious martyr of Chriſt, according to the order that was then in the church of England, called him to take the degree of deacon. Which order, becauſe it was not without ſome abuſe, as to which Mr. Bradford would not conſent, and the biſhop perceiving that he was willing to enter into the miniſtry, was content to ordain him deacon without any abuſe, even as he deſired. This being done, he obtained from him a licenſe to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office Mr. Bradford diligently laboured for the ſpace of three years.

On the 13th of Auguſt, in the firſt year of the reign of queen Mary, Mr. Bourne, then biſhop of Bath, made a ſeditious ſermon at Paul's Croſs, in London, to ſet popery abroad in ſuch ſort, that it moved the people to great indignation, being almoſt ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the preſence of biſhop Bonner, who was then his maſter, nor yet the command of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, ſtay their rage: but the more they ſpake, the more the people were incenſed. At length Mr. Bourne ſeeing the people in ſuch a mood, and himſelf in ſuch peril, deſired Mr. Bradford, who ſtood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to ſtand in his place and ſpeak to the people. Good Mr. Bradford at his requeſt was content, and there ſpake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as ſoon as the people heard begin to ſpeak unto them, they were ſo glad that they gave a great ſhout. The tumult ſoon ceaſed, and in the end each man departed quietly to his houſe.

Thus Bourne for that time, through Bradford's means, eſcaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be ſhewed in the time appointed.

The ſame Sunday in the afternoon, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church in Cheapſide, and reproved the people ſharply for their ſeditious miſdemeanor. After this he abode ſtill in London, with an innocent conſcience, to try what would come of his juſt doing.

Within three days after, he was ſent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of ſaving Bourne, which act they there called ſeditious, and alſo objected againſt him for preaching, and ſo by them he was committed firſt to the Tower, then to the King's Bench in Southwark, and after his condemnation he was ſent to the Compter in the Poultry in London; in which two places he preached twice a day continually, unleſs ſickneſs hindered him. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it; and his continual ſtudy was upon his knees.

In the afternoon before he was had to Newgate, walking in the keeper's chamber, ſuddenly the keeper's wife came up as one half amazed, and ſeeming much troubled, being almoſt out of breath, ſaid, Oh Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news. What is that? ſaid he. To-morrow, ſaid ſhe, you muſt be burned; and your chain is now a-buying, and you muſt ſoon go to Newgate. With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, ſaid, I thank God for it; I have looked for the ſame a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me ſuddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof! and ſo thanking her for her kindneſs, departed up unto his chamber, where he continued in private prayer for ſome time.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about 11 or 12 o'clock at night, when it was thought none would be ſtirring abroad; and yet, contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapſide and other places (between the Compter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to ſee him, who moſt gently bade him farewel, praying for him with moſt lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again moſt gently bade them farewel, praying moſt heartily for them and their welfare.

It was nine o'clock in the morning before Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going from Newgate thitherward, eſpied a friend of his whom he loved, ſtanding on one ſide of the way, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and alſo his handkerchief, with other things, and after a little private talk with him, they parted; when immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beſwick, who as ſoon as he had taken the ſaid Mr. Bradford by the hand, one of the ſheriffs of London, Mr. Woodroſe, came with his ſtaff and brake the ſaid Roger Beſwick's head, that the blood run about his ſhoulders; which ſight Mr. Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewel, deſiring him to recommend him to his mother and the reſt of his friends, and ſpeedily to go to ſome ſurgeon; ſo they parting, had little or no talk together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield, with a great company of armed men to guard him thither. Mr. Bradford now fell flat to the ground, ſecretly making his prayers to Almighty God; then riſing again, and putting off his cloaths unto his ſhirt, he went to the ſtake, and there ſuffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and conſtantly, whoſe name was John Leaf.

He remained in the Tower from the month of Auguſt, 1553, to the 22d of January, 1555, upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen, biſhop of Wincheſter, and other commiſſioners, the effect of which examination and communication which paſſed between him and them, proceedeth in manner as followeth.

The FIRST EXAMINATION *of* Mr. JOHN BRADFORD *before the* LORD CHANCELLOR *and others of the* COUNCIL.

AFTER the lord chancellor, and the reſt of the queen's council in commiſſion with him, had ended their talk with Farrar, late biſhop of St. David's, the under-marſhal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who being come into the preſence of the council ſitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but the lord chancellor immediately commanded him to ſtand up, and ſo he did.

When he was riſen, the lord chancellor ſpake thus to him in effect: That he had been a long time juſtly impriſoned for his ſeditious behaviour at Paul's-croſs, the 13th of Auguſt, in the year 1553, for his falſe preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now, ſaid he, the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highneſs, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us ſent for you, to declare and give the ſame, if ſo be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you ſhall find as we have found, I warrant you. This was the ſum of his words, and in manner the ſame words which he ſpake.

To theſe words Mr. John Bradford ſpake (after reverent obeiſance made) in this manner: My lord and lords all, I confeſs that I have been long impriſoned, and (with humble reverence be it ſpoken) unjuſtly, for that I did nothing ſeditiouſly, falſely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwiſe, but rather ſought truth, peace, and all godly quietneſs, as an obedient and faithful ſubject, both in going about to ſerve the Biſhop of Bath now, then Mr. Bourne, the preacher at the croſs, and in preaching for quietneſs accordingly.

Lord Chancellor. I know thou haſt a glorious tongue, and goodly ſhews thou makeſt; but all is lies thou ſpeakeſt. And again, I have not forgot how ſtubborn thou waſt when thou waſt before us in the Tower, whereupon thou waſt committed to priſon concerning religion; I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which cauſe thou haſt been kept in priſon, as one that would have done more hurt than I will ſpeak of.

Bradford. My lord, I ſtand as before you, ſo before God, and one day we ſhall all ſtand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not ſo take it. Yea, my lord, I dare ſay, that my lord of Bath, Mr. Bourne, will witneſs with me, that I ſought his ſafeguard with the peril of mine own life.

Bonner. That is not true; for I myſelf did ſee thee take upon thee too much.

Bradford. No, I took nothing upon me undeſired, and that of Mr. Bourne himſelf, as, if he were preſent, I dare ſay he would affirm. For he deſired me both to help him, to pacify the people, and alſo not to leave him till he was in ſafety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or ſaid any thing that did not beſeem me, if your lordſhips would tell me wherein it was, I ſhould and would preſently make you anſwer.

Lord Chancellor. Well, to leave this matter: how ſayeſt thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we have, and thou ſhalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon.

Bradford. My lord, I deſire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from: although (I thank God therefore) my conſcience doth not accuſe, that I did ſpeak any thing why I ſhould need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or ſpake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that preſent, and did tend much to quietneſs.

Lord Chancellor. I know well enough that we ſhall have glorious talk enough of thee: be ſure, that as thou haſt deceived the people with falſe and deviliſh doctrine, ſo ſhalt thou receive.

Bradford. I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and hope ſhall be ready to confirm with my blood. And as for the deviliſhneſs and falſeneſs in the doctrine, I would be ſorry you could ſo prove it.

Durham. Why, tell me, what ſay you by the miniſtration of the communion, as now you know it is?

Bradford. My lord, here I muſt deſire of your lordſhip and of all your honours a queſtion, before I dare make you an anſwer to any interrogatory or queſtion, wherein you now begin. I have been ſix times ſworn that I ſhall in no caſe conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction, or any authority on the biſhop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me whether you aſk me this queſtion by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may anſwer you any thing in his authority, which you ſhall demand of me, except I would be forſworn, which God forbid.

Secretary Bourne. Haſt thou been ſworn ſix times? what office haſt thou borne?

Bradford. I was thrice ſworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted maſter of arts, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke-hall, and when I was there, the viſitors came thither and ſware the univerſity. Again, I was ſworn when I entered into the miniſtry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was ſworn to ſerve the king a little before his death.

Mr. Rocheſter. My lords, I never knew wherefore this man was in priſon before now: but I ſee well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cauſe was that he was put in priſon, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cauſe he was, and is to be kept in priſon.

Secretary Bourne. Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting thoſe that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curſeth all that teach any falſe doctrine (for ſo he calleth that which is not according to that he taught), and moſt heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue ſtill in that they have received by him, and ſuch like as he is. All which words ſeveral of the council affirmed. Whereunto the ſaid Mr. Bourne added, ſaying, How ſay you, ſir, have you not thus ſeditiouſly written and exhorted the people?

Bradford. I have not written nor ſpoken any thing ſeditiouſly, neither (I thank God therefore) have I admitted any ſeditious thought, nor truſt ever ſhall do.

Secretary Bourne. Yea, thou haſt not written letters.

Lord Chancellor. Why ſpeakeſt thou not? Haſt thou not written as he ſaith?

Bradford. What I have written, I have written.

Lord Chancellor. We ſhall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be ſhort, wilt thou have mercy?

Bradford. My lords, if I may live as a quiet ſubject without clog of conſcience, I ſhall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwiſe I behave myſelf, then I am in danger of the law: in the mean ſeaſon I aſk no more than the benefit of a ſubject till I be convicted of tranſgreſſion. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

Now after a little pauſing, my lord chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was hereſy, uſing for probation and demonſtration thereof, no ſcripture nor reaſon, but this; that it ended with treaſon and rebellion, ſo that (ſaid he) the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Bradford. Ah my lord, that you could enter into God's ſanctuary, and mark the end of this preſent doctrine that you now ſo magnify.

Here my lord chancellor again offered mercy, and Bradford anſwered as before: Mercy with God's mercy ſhould be welcome, but otherwiſe he ſhould have none. Whereupon the lord chancellor rang a little bell to call in ſomebody; for there were few preſent beſides thoſe before named, and the biſhop of Worceſter. Now when one was come in, it is beſt, ſaid Mr. ſecretary Bourne, that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow. So the under marſhal was called in.

Lord Chancellor. You ſhall take this man to you, and keep him cloſe without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and ſuffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge to you now than he was before. And ſo they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a deſire to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

The SECOND EXAMINATION *in* St. MARY OVERY's CHURCH, *before the* Lord Chancellor, *and other* BISHOPS, *January* 29, 1555.

AFTER the excommunication of Mr. John Rogers, Mr. John Bradford was called in, and ſtanding before the lord chancellor, and other biſhops, the lord chancellor having made a long ſpeech, Mr. Bradford began: My lord, and my lords all, as I now ſtand in your ſight before you, ſo I humbly beſeech your honours to conſider, that you ſit in the ſeat of the Lord, who (as David doth witneſs) is in the congregation of judges, and ſitteth in the midſt of them judging: and as you would have your place to be by us taken as God's place, ſo demonſtrate yourſelves to follow him in your ſitting; that is, ſeek no guiltleſs blood, neither hunt by queſtions to bring into a ſnare them which are out of the ſame. At this preſent I ſtand before you guilty or guiltleſs, then proceed and give ſentence accordingly: if guiltleſs, then give me the benefit of a ſubject, which hitherto I could not have.

Here the lord chancellor replied, and ſaid, that the ſaid Bradford began with a true ſentence, That the Lord is in the midſt of them that judge. But, ſaid he, this and all thy geſture declareth but hypocriſy and vain glory. And further he endeavoured to clear himſelf that he ſought not guiltleſs blood, and ſo began a long proceſs how that Bradford's fact at St. Paul's Croſs was preſumptuous and arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much diſquietneſs, in that thou (ſpeaking to Bradford) was ſo refractory and ſtout in religion at that preſent. For which as thou wert then committed to priſon, ſo hitherto thou haſt been kept in priſon, where thou haſt written letters to the great hurt of the queen's ſubjects, as was credibly declared by the earl of Derby in the parliament-houſe. And to this he added, that the ſaid Mr.

Bradford did ſtubbornly behave himſelf the laſt time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee, ſaid he, but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

Brad. My lord, where you accuſe me of hypocriſy and vain-glory, I muſt and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, who will one day open your's and my truth and hearty meanings: in the mean ſeaſon, I will content myſelf with the teſtimony of my own conſcience, which if it yield to hypocriſy, could not but have God to be my foe alſo; and ſo both God and man were againſt me. And as for my fact at St. Paul's-Croſs, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did any thing which God uſed to public benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept a long time in Priſon. And as for letters and religion, I anſwer as I did the laſt time I was before you.

Lord Chancellor. There didſt thou ſay ſtubbornly and ſaucily, that thou wouldſt manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days.

Bradford. My lord, I ſaid the laſt time I was before you, that I had ſix times taken an oath, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction on the biſhop of Rome's behalf, and therefore I durſt not anſwer to any thing that ſhould be ſo demanded, leſt I ſhould be forſworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, ſaving my oath, I ſaid I was more confirmed in the doctrine ſet forth publicly in the days of king Edward, than ever I was before I was put in priſon: and ſo I thought I ſhould be, and yet think ſtill I ſhall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the ſame.

Lord Chancellor. I remember well that thou madeſt much ado about needleſs matter, as though the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome were ſo great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in ſuch ſort as thou haſt done: for thou pretendeſt a conſcience in it, which is nothing elſe but mere hypocriſy.

Bradford. My conſcience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As therefore, I ſaid then, my lord, ſo I ſay again now, That for fear leſt I ſhould be perjured, I dare not make anſwer to any thing you ſhall demand of me, if my anſwering ſhould conſent to the confirming or practiſing of any juriſdiction for the biſhop of Rome here in England.

Lord Chancellor. Why didſt thou begin to tell that we are Gods, and ſit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an anſwer?

Bradford. My lord, I ſaid, you would have your place taken of us now, as God's place: and therefore I brought forth that piece of ſcripture, that you might the more be admoniſhed to follow God and his ways at this preſent, who ſeeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conſcience I pretend this matter of the oath or not.

Lord Chan. No, all men may well ſee thy hypocriſy: for if for thine oath's ſake, thou didſt not anſwer, then wouldſt thou not have ſpoken as thou didſt, and have anſwered me at the firſt: but now men well perceive that this is but a ſtarting-hole to hide thyſelf in, becauſe thou dareſt not anſwer, and ſo wouldſt eſcape, blinding the ſimple people's eyes, as though of conſcience you did all you do.

Bradford. That which I ſpake at the firſt was not a reply or an anſwer to what you ſpake unto me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did ſpeak, than you did; but when I perceived you did not conſider it, but came to aſk matter, whereto by anſwering I ſhould conſent to the practiſing of juriſdiction on the biſhop of Rome's behalf here in England, and ſo be forſworn; then of conſcience and ſimplicity I ſpake as I do yet again ſpeak that I dare not for conſcience ſake anſwer you. And therefore I ſeek no ſtarting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours ſhall tell me, that you do not aſk me any thing, whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to the practiſing of the biſhop of Rome's juriſdiction, aſk me wherein you will, and you ſhall hear that I will anſwer you as flatly as ever any did, that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God; for I look, and have looked for nothing elſe at your hands a long time: but I am afraid when death cometh, I ſhould have matter to trouble my conſcience by the guiltineſs of perjury, and therefore do I anſwer as I do.

Lord Chancellor. Theſe are gay glorious words, full of hypocriſy and vain-glory, and yet doſt thou not know that I ſit here as biſhop of Wincheſter in my own dioceſe, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

Bradford. My lord, give me leave to aſk you this queſtion, that my conſcience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here before God, all this audience being witneſs, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine anſwering ſhould conſent to and confirm the practice of juriſdiction for the biſhop of Rome here in England, and then your honour ſhall hear me give as flat and plain anſwers briefly, to whatſoever you ſhall demand of me, as ever any did.

Here the lord chancellor was greatly offended, and ſaid that truly the biſhop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Mr. Bradford's anſwering, nor any ſuch as he was; and turned his diſcourſe to the people, ſaying, that Mr. Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, which becauſe they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would ſay that they had often ſworn, that they would never lend any more money, becauſe their debtors had ſo often deceived them. Even ſo thou, ſaid he to Mr. Bradford, doſt at this preſent, to caſt a miſt in the people's eyes, to blear them with an hereſy, (which is greater and more hurtful to the common-wealth than the other is) pretend thy oath, whereby the people might make a conſcience, whereas they ſhould not. Why ſpeakeſt thou not?

Bradford. My lord, as I ſaid, I ſay again, I dare not anſwer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me, or elſe I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some are according to faith and charity, as the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome; and ſome againſt faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need.

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, ſtill ſaying that Bradford durſt not anſwer, and further endeavoured to prove that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was againſt charity.

But Bradford anſwered, that howſoever his honour took him, yet he was aſſured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to anſwer: for as for death, my lord, ſaid he, as I know there are twelve hours in the day, ſo with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it ſhall be his good time, then I ſhall depart hence: but in the mean ſeaſon I am ſafe enough, though all the people had ſworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do, his good will be done. And ſaving mine oath, I will anſwer you in this behalf, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was not, nor is againſt charity.

Lord Chancellor. How prove you that?

Bradford. Forſooth, I prove it thus:

Nothing is againſt charity, which is with God's word, and not againſt it.

The oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority in England, is with God's word, and is not againſt it.

Ergo, The oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority in England, is not againſt charity.

Lord Chancellor. Is it againſt God's word, that a man ſhould take a king to be ſupreme head of the church in this realm?

Bradford. No, ſaving ſtill mine oath, it is not againſt God's word, but with it, being taken in ſuch ſenſe as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power, the ſovereignty in all his dominion.

Lord Chancellor. I pray you, where find you that?

Bradford. I find it in many places, but eſpecially in the 13th chap. of the Romans, where St. Paul, exhorteth "every ſoul to be ſubject to the higher powers:" but what power? "The power verily which beareth the ſword; which is not the ſpiritual, but the temporal power." As Chryſoſtom full well noteth upon the ſame place, which your honour knoweth better than I. He. (Chryſoſtom I mean) there plainly ſheweth that biſhops, prophets, and apoſtles, are obedient to the temporal magiſtrates.

Here the lord chancellor was angered yet more, and ſaid, how that Mr. Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: and ſo, ſaid he, this man would make God's word a warrant of his diſobedience; for he will anſwer the queen on this ſort, that when ſhe ſays, Now ſwear to the biſhop of Rome, or obey his authority: No, (will he ſay) for I ſhall be forſworn, and ſo he makes the queen no queen.

Bradford. No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's highneſs, but denying obedience in this part, if ſhe ſhould demand it. For I was ſworn to king Edward, not ſimply, that is, not only concerning his own perſon, but alſo concerning his ſucceſſors, and therefore in denying the queen's requeſt herein, I deny not her authority, nor become diſobedient.

Lord Chancellor. Yes, that thou doſt; and ſo he began to tell a long tale, how if a man ſhall make an oath to pay me a hundred pounds by ſuch a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor ſhould ſay, No, you cannot do it; for I am forſworn then.

Here Mr. Bradford deſired my lord chancellor not to trifle it, ſaying, that he wondered his honour would make ſolemn oaths made to God trifles in that ſort; and make ſo great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the biſhop for marriage of prieſts.

At theſe words the lord chancellor was much offended, and ſaid he did not trifle: but, ſays he, thou goeſt about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requires obedience to the biſhop of Rome.

Bradford. No, my lord, I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would diſcern between genus and ſpecies. Becauſe I may not obey in this, Ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reaſon. As if a man let or ſell a piece of his inheritance, yet this notwithſtanding, all his inheritance is not let or ſold: and ſo in this caſe, all obedience I deny not, becauſe I deny obedience in this branch.

Lord Chancellor. I will have none of theſe ſimilitudes.

Brad. I would not uſe them, if you went not about to perſuade the people, that I meant that which I never meant: for I myſelf not only mean obedience, but will give example of all moſt humble obedience to the queen's highneſs, ſo long as ſhe requires not diſobedience againſt God.

Lord Chancellor. No, no, all men may ſee your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be ſworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be ſworn to the French king and to the emperor.

Bradford. It is true, my lord, but the caſes be not alike; for here is an exception: Thou ſhalt not ſwear to the biſhop of Rome at any time. If we in like manner were ſworn; Thou ſhalt not ſerve the emperor, &c. you ſee there were ſome alteration and more doubt. But I beſeech your honour remember what you yourſelf have written, anſwering the objections againſt this in your book, of true obedience: "Let God's word, and the reaſon thereof, bear the bell away."

Here the lord chancellor was greatly moved, and ſaid ſtill, how that Mr. Bradford had written ſeditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did ſtoutly ſtand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, againſt all men: and now, ſays he, he ſays he dare not anſwer.

Bradford. I have written no ſeditious letters, I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and ſpoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And where your lordſhip ſays, that I dare not anſwer you; that all men may know that I am not afraid, ſave mine oath, aſk me what you will, and I will plainly make you anſwer, by God's grace, although I now ſee my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will: only ſanctify thy name in me, as in an inſtrument of thy grace, Amen. Now aſk what you will, and you ſhall ſee I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to anſwer.

Lord Chancellor. Well then, how ſay you to the bleſſed ſacrament? Do you not believe there Chriſt to be preſent concerning his natural body?

Bradford. My lord, I do believe that Chriſt is corporally preſent at and in the due adminiſtration of the ſacrament. By this word (corporally) I mean that Chriſt is there preſent corporally unto faith.

Lord Chancellor. Unto faith! we muſt have many more words to make it plain.

Bradford. You ſhall ſo: but firſt give me leave to ſpeak two words.

Lord Chancellor. Speak on.

Bradford. I have now been a year and almoſt three quarters in priſon, and in all this time you have never queſtioned me hereabout, when I might have ſpoke my conſcience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to hang up and put to death, if a man anſwer freely and not to your liking, and ſo now you come to demand this queſtion. Ah, my lord, Chriſt uſed not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the prophets or apoſtles. Remember what Bernard writes to Eugenius the pope; "I read, that the apoſtles ſtood to be judged, but I read not, that they ſat to judge. This ſhall be, that was," &c.

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it ſeemed, and ſaid moſt gently that he uſed not this means. It was not my doing, ſaid he, althongh ſome there be that think this to be the beſt way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes: which thing the biſhop of London confirmed, and ſo did almoſt all the audience, that he had been too mild and too gentle.

At which words Mr. Bradford ſpake thus; My lord, I pray you ſtretch out your gentleneſs that I may feel it, for hitherto I have never felt it.

As ſoon as ever he had ſpoke thus; the lord chancellor, perhaps thinking that Mr. Bradford would have had mercy and pardon, ſaid that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's highneſs would ſtretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

Bradford. Return, my lord! God ſave me from that going back; I mean it not ſo, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbad me paper, pen, and ink, and never in all that time, nor ſince, did I feel any gentleneſs from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now you have kept me in priſon thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you would have; God's good will be done.

Here now were divers telling my lord it was dinner time. And ſo he roſe up, leaving Mr. Bradford ſpeaking, ſaying, in the afternoon they would ſpeak more with him, and he was had into the veſtry, and was there all that day until night, when he was carried to priſon again.

In the mean time, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a gentleman, called Mr. Thomas Huſſey, of Lincolnſhire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's houſe, came into the veſtry to iuquire for one Stoning; and when it was anſwered him by the under-marſhal's officers of the King's-bench, that there was none ſuch, he entered into the houſe, and made an acquaintance with Mr. John Bradford, ſaying, that he would commune and ſpeak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

The next morning about ſeven o'clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein Mr. John Bradford lay, and being with him, he began a long oration, how that of love and acquaintance he came to ſpeak that which he would further utter. You did (ſaid he) ſo wonderfully behave yourſelf before the lord chancellor, and other biſhops yeſterday, that even the greateſt enemies you have, did ſee that they have no matter againſt you: and therefore I adviſe you, (ſpeaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him as he ſaid) this day, for anon you ſhall be called before them again, to deſire a time, and men to confer withal, ſo ſhall all men think a wonderful wiſdom, gravity and piety in you; and by this means you ſhall eſcape preſent danger, which elſe is nearer than you are aware of. To this Mr. Bradford anſwered, I neither can nor will make ſuch requeſt. For then ſhall I give occaſion to the people, and to all others to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confeſs, which thing I do not, for thereof I am moſt aſſured, and therefore I will give no ſuch offence.

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, whom when Mr. Bradford ſaw, he ſpake thus in his own mind: What, ſir, goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord, give me grace to remember thy leſſon, "Beware of thoſe men, &c. Caſt not your pearls before dogs;" for I ſee theſe men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witneſs to the other.

Dr. Seton, after ſome by-talk of Mr. Bradford's age, of his country, and ſuch like, began a gay and long diſcourſe of my Lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to anſwer any thing at all; and that therefore, my lord of Canterbury deſired to confer with the biſhop of Durham and others; all which talk tended to this end, that Mr. Bradford ſhould make the like ſuit, being nothing to be compared in learning to my lord of Canterbury.

To this Mr. Bradford briefly anſwered as he did before to Mr. Huſſey.

With this anſwer neither the doctor nor the gentleman being contented, after many perſuaſions, Mr. Doctor ſaid, I have heard much good talk of you, and even laſt night a gentleman made a report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that you were able to perſuade as much as any that he knew. And (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never ſee you before yeſterday) yet methought your modeſty was ſuch, your behaviour and talk ſo without malice and impatience, that I would be ſorry you ſhould do worſe than myſelf. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor hath a favour towards you: wherefore be not ſo obſtinate, but deſire reſpite and ſome learned man to confer withal, &c.

But Mr. Bradford kept ſtill one anſwer; I cannot, nor will I ſo offend the people. I doubt not, but I am moſt certain of the doctrine I have taught.

Here Mr. Doctor waxed hot, and called Mr. Bradford arrogant, proud and vain glorious.

But Mr. Bradford anſwered, Beware of judging, leſt you condemn yourſelf. But ſtill Dr. Seton urged him, ſhewing him how merciful my lord chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

Brad. I never ſaw any juſtice, much leſs love, (I ſpeak for my part, ſaid Mr. Bradford) in my lord chancellor. Long have I been unjuſtly impriſoned, and handled in the ſame uncharitably: and now my lord hath no juſt matter againſt me.

This talk ſerved not the doctor's purpoſe: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford ſtill gave him the hearing, and anſwered not: for he perceived that they both did come only to fiſh for ſome things which might make a ſhew that my lord chancellor had juſtly kept him in priſon.

When all their diſcourſe took no ſuch effect as they expected, Mr. Huſſey aſked Mr. Bradford, will you not admit conference, if my lord chancellor ſhould offer it publicly?

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered ſo that I might be at liberty to confer, and as ſure as he with whom I ſhould confer, then it were ſomething: but elſe I ſee not to what other purpoſe conference ſhould be offered, but to defer that which at length will come, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord ſhall make ſuch an offer of his own motion, I will not refuſe to confer with any he may appoint.

Dr. Seton hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatſoever it pleaſed him.

Then Bradford perceiving by them that he ſhould ſhortly be called for, beſought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wiſdom and grace of him; for, ſaid he, otherwiſe I am helpleſs: and ſo they with much ado departed. Then Mr. Bradford went and made his prayers to God, which the Lord of his goodneſs did graciouſly accept in his need, praiſed therefore be his holy name. Shortly after they were gone, Mr. Bradford was led to the aforeſaid church, and there tarried uncalled for till eleven o'clock, that is, till Mr. Saunders was excommunicated.

The laſt Examination *of* Mr. Bradford, *in the* Church *of* St. Mary Overies.

AFTER the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought in before the lord chancellor and other biſhops there ſitting, the lord chancellor began to ſpeak thus in effect: That if Bradford, being now come before them, would anſwer with modeſty and humility, and conform himſelf to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, becauſe they would be loth to uſe extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Mr. Bradford began to ſpeak thus: As yeſterday I beſought your honours to ſet in your ſight the majeſty and preſence of God to follow him, who ſeeketh not to ſubvert the ſimple by ſubtle queſtions; ſo I humbly beſeech every one of you to do this day: for you know well enough, that guiltleſs blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordſhips to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admoniſhed to do that, which none doth ſo much as he ſhould do: for our nature is ſo much corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yeſterday I pleaded mine oath and oaths againſt the biſhop of Rome, that I ſhould never conſent to the practiſing of any juriſdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; ſo do I again at this day, leſt I ſhould be perjured. And laſt of all, as yeſterday the anſwers I made, were by proteſtation and ſaving mine oath, ſo I would your honours ſhould know that mine anſwers ſhall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) ſhall come, I may not be troubled with the guilt of perjury.

At which words the lord chancellor was wroth, and ſaid, that they had given him reſpite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the bleſſed ſacrament, which yeſterday, ſaid he, before us you uttered.

Brad. My lord, you gave me no time for any ſuch deliberation, neither did I ſpeak any thing of the ſacrament which you do diſallow. For when I had declared a preſence of Chriſt to be there to faith, you went from that matter, to clear yourſelf that you were not cruel, and ſo went to dinner.

Lord Chan. What? I perceive we muſt begin all again with thee. Did I not yeſterday tell thee plainly, that thou madeſt a conſcience where none ſhould be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

Brad. No, indeed my lord: you ſaid ſo, but you have not proved it yet, nor ever can do.

Lord Chan. O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldſt go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament houſe, the knights and burgeſſes, and all the whole realm be perjured. O what an heretic is this! here good people, you may ſee what a ſenſeleſs heretic this fellow is. If I ſhould make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good anſwer to tell my neighbour deſiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Brad. O my lord, diſcern betwixt oaths that be againſt charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is againſt the biſhop of Rome.

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was ſpent about oaths, which were good, and which were evil, he captiouſly aſking often of Bradford a direct anſwer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give ſimply, but with a diſtinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended: but Bradford ſtill kept him at bay, that the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome was a lawful oath, uſing thereto the lord chancellor's own book, of true obedience, for confirmation.

At length they came to this iſſue, who ſhould be judge of the lawfulneſs of the oath; and Bradford ſaid, the word of God, according to Chriſt's word John xii. My word ſhall judge; and according to the teſtimony of Iſaiah and Micah, That God's word, coming out of Jeruſalem, ſhall give ſentence among the Gentiles. By this word, (ſaid Bradford) my lord, I will prove the oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath. So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her highneſs, ſo did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's highneſs, if ſhe ſhould demand an oath to the biſhop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; no more, ſaid he, than the ſale, gift, or leaſe of a piece of man's inheritance, proveth it a ſale, gift, or leaſe of the whole inheritance.

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and uſing many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and ſuch like. Which trifling talk Bradford did touch, ſaying, That it was a wonder his honour weighed conſcience no more in this, and would be ſo earneſt in vows of prieſts marriages made to biſhops, and be careleſs for ſolemn oaths made to God and to princes. In ſhort, this was the end. The lord chancellor ſaid, the queen might diſpenſe with it, and did ſo to all the whole realm. But Bradford ſaid, that the queen's highneſs could do no more but remit her right; as for the oath made to God, ſhe could never remit, foraſmuch as it was made unto God.

At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and ſaid, that in plain ſenſe I ſlandered the realm with perjury; and therefore, ſaid he to the people, you may ſee how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conſcience than all the wiſe men of England, and yet he hath no conſcience at all.

Bradford. Well, my lord, let all the ſtanders-by ſee who hath conſcience: I have been a year and a half in priſon: now before all theſe people, declare wherefore I was impriſoned, or what cauſe you had to puniſh me. You ſaid the other day in your own houſe, my lord of London witneſſing with you, that I took upon me to ſpeak to the people undeſired. There he ſitteth by you, I mean my lord of Bath, who deſired me himſelf, for the paſſion of Chriſt, I would ſpeak to the people. Upon whoſe words I coming in the pulpit, had like to have been ſlain with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I think) for it touched my ſleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promiſed him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day, and ſo went out of the pulpit and intreated with the people, and at length brought him myſelf into an houſe.

Beſides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there going up into the pulpit, one deſired me not to reprove the people; for, ſaid he, you will never come down alive, if you do it. And yet notwithſtanding I did in that ſermon reprove their fact, and called it ſedition at leaſt twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, impriſonment for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you are plotting. Let all men be judges where conſcience is.

They endeavoured to interrupt him while he was ſpeaking theſe words, but Mr. Bradford ſtill ſpake on, and gave no place till he had made an end. And then the lord chancellor ſaid, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the croſs was culpable.

Bradford. No, my fact was good, as you yourſelf did bear me witneſs. For when I was at firſt before you in the Tower, you yourſelf did ſay, that my fact was good, but my mind evil. Well, ſaid I, then my lord, in that caſe you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; but how can I otherwiſe declare my mind to man but by ſaying and doing? God one day, I truſt, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and your's is.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and ſaid, that he never ſaid ſo. I had not ſo little wit, ſaid he, as not to diſcern betwixt meaning and doing: and ſo brought forth many examples little to the purpoſe, to prove that men conſtrue things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not ſerve, then came he to another matter, and ſaid, that Bradford was put in priſon at firſt becauſe he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Bradford. Why, my lord, your honour knoweth that you would not reaſon with me on religion, but ſaid a time ſhould afterwards be found out, when I ſhould be talked withal. But if it were as your lordſhip ſaith, that I was put in priſon for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conſcience puniſh or caſt me in priſon therefore? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conſcience is wanting.

Here came forth Mr. Chamberlain of Woodſtock, and told my lord chancellor, that Bradford had been a ſerving man, and was with Mr. Harrington.

Lord Chancellor. True, and did deceive his maſter of ſeven-ſcore pounds, and becauſe of this, he went to be a goſpeller and a preacher, good people, and yet you ſee how he pretendeth conſcience.

Bradford. My lord, I am ready to face him, whoſoever he be, that can come forth and juſtly vouch, that ever I deceived my maſter. And as you are chief juſtice by office in England, I deſire juſtice upon them that ſo ſlander me, becauſe they cannot prove it.

Here my lord chancellor and Mr. Chamberlain were ſmitten blank, and ſaid they heard it. But, ſaid my lord chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this againſt you: for you are an heretic.

Yea, added the biſhop of London, he wrote letters to Mr. Pendleton, who knoweth his hand as well as his own; your honour did ſee the letters.

Bradford. This is not true, I never did write to Pendleton ſince I came to priſon, and therefore I am not juſtly ſpoken of.

Lond. But you indited it.

Bradford. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Then came in another, (I believe they call him Mr. Allen, one of the clerks of the council) putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancaſhire.

Lord Chancellor. You ſay true: for we have his hand to ſhew.

Bradford. I deny that you have my hand to ſhew of letters ſent into Lancaſhire, otherwiſe than before you all I will ſtand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all anſwered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter. Sir, ſaid he, in my houſe the other day you did moſt contemptuouſly deſpiſe the queen's mercy, and you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days againſt all men, and this you do moſt ſtoutly.

Bradford. Well, I am glad that all men ſee now you have had no matter to impriſon me before that day juſtly. Now ſay I, that I did not contemptuouſly deſpiſe the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though if juſtice might take place, I need it not) ſo that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or ſaying any thing againſt God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, becauſe I cannot tell how you will ſtretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I ſpake. I ſaid I was more confirmed in the religion ſet forth in king Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God ſo would, I truſt I ſhould declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and teſtification thereof. So I ſaid then, and ſo I ſay now. As for otherwiſe

wiſe maintain it, than pertaining to a private perſon by confeſſion, I thought not, nor think not.

Lord Chancellor. Well yeſterday thou didſt maintain falſe hereſy concerning the bleſſed ſacrament, and thereſore we gave thee reſpite till this day to deliberate.

Bradford. My lord, as I ſaid at the firſt, I ſpake nothing of the ſacrament, but that which you allowed, and therefore reproved it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

Lord Chancellor. Why? didſt thou not deny Chriſt's preſence in the ſacrament?

Bradford. No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Chriſt, body and blood, was as preſent as the bread and wine to the due receiver.

Lord Chancellor. Yea, but doſt thou not believe that Chriſt's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?

Bradford. My lord, I believe Chriſt is preſent there to the faith of the due receiver: as for tranſubſtantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a ſlanderer; for we aſk no queſtion, ſaid my lord chancellor, of tranſubſtantiation, but of Chriſt's preſence.

Bradford. I deny not his preſence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was tranſubſtantiate.

Worceſter. If he be not included, how is he then preſent.

Bradford. Indeed though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot expreſs it, nor you otherwiſe than by faith hear it, or underſtand it.

Here was much ado, now one doctor ſtanding up and ſpeaking this, and others ſpeaking that, and the lord chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius: but ſtill Bradford kept him at that point, that Chriſt is preſent to faith; and that there is no tranſubſtantiation nor including of Chriſt in the bread: but all this would not ſerve them.

Therefore another biſhop aſked this queſtion, Whether the wicked man received Chriſt's very body, or no? And Bradford anſwered plainly, No. Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Chriſt was preſent, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in a few words, that grace was at that time offered to his lordſhip, although he received it not: ſo that, ſaid he, the receiving maketh not the preſence, as your lordſhip ſhould infer; but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cauſe of the preſence, which grace, the wicked that lack faith cannot receive.

Here the lord chancellor and other biſhops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man elſe ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout.

My lord, are not theſe words, Take, eat, a commandment? and are not theſe words, This is my body, a promiſe? If you will challenge the promiſe and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourſelf?

Here the lord chancellor denied Chriſt to have commanded the ſacrament, and the uſe of it.

Bradford. Why, my lord, I pray you tell the people what mood *accipite manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Chriſt, in ſo ſaying, commandeth?

At theſe words the lord chancellor fell to parſing and examining, and concluded it was no commandment, but ſuch a phraſe as this, I pray you give me drink, which, ſaid he, is no commandment, I think.

Bradford. My lord, if it be not a commandment of Chriſt to take and eat the ſacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of neceſſity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a neceſſary commandment, once a year for all that be of diſcretion, to receive the ſacrament.

Here the lord chancellor called him again Diabolus or Calumniator, and began from theſe words, "Let a man prove himſelf, and ſo eat of the bread, (yea bread, ſaid Bradford) and drink of of the cup," to prove that was no commandment to receive the ſacrament: for then (ſaid he) if it were a commandment, it ſhould bind all men, in all places, and all times.

Bradford. O my lord, diſcern between commandments: ſome be general, as the ten commandments, that they bind always in all places, and all perſons: ſome be not ſo general, as this of the ſupper, the ſacrament of baptiſm, of the thrice appearing before the Lord at Jeruſalem, of Abraham offering of Iſaac, &c.

Here the lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded by Chriſt: for then, ſaid he, we ſhould have eleven commandments.

Bradford. Indeed I believe you think as you ſpeak: for elſe you would not take the cup from the people, in that Chriſt ſaith, "Drink ye all of it." But how ſay you, my lords? Chriſt ſaith to you biſhops eſpecially, "Go and preach the goſpel: feed Chriſt's flock," &c. Is this a commandment or no?

Here the lord chancellor was in a heat, and ſaid as pleaſed him.

Then the biſhop of Durham aſked Bradford, when Chriſt began to be preſent in the ſacrament? whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Mr. Bradford anſwered, that the queſtion was curious and not neceſſary; and further ſaid, that as the cup was the New Teſtament, ſo the bread was Chriſt's body to him that received it duly, but yet ſo that the bread is bread. For ſaid he, in all the ſcripture ye ſhall not find this propoſition, There is no bread. And ſo he quoted Chryſoſtom, to prove his aſſertions. Much ado was here, they calling Bradford heretic, and he deſiring them to proceed in God's name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

Lord Chancellor. This fellow is now in another hereſy of fatal neceſſity, as though all things were ſo tied together, that of mere neceſſity all things muſt come to paſs.

But Mr. Bradford deſired him to take things as they are ſpoken, and not wreſt them to a contrary ſenſe. Your lordſhip, ſaid he, doth diſcern betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to man they ſeem ſo ſometimes. I ſpeak but as the apoſtles did, "Lord (ſaid they) ſee how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together againſt thy Chriſt, to do that which thy hand and counſel hath before ordained for them to do."

Here the lord Chanceller began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, lay-man. Why, (ſaid he) art thou no prieſt?

Bradford. No, nor never was a prieſt, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had eſtabliſhed religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hands: but God, I doubt not, will give his bleſſing where you curſe. And ſo he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he had counted him worthy to ſuffer for his name's ſake; and prayed to God to give him repentance and a good mind. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the ſheriff of London, and ſo had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the City of London, this being propoſed by his murderers, that he ſhould be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancaſhire, and there to be burned in the town of Mancheſter, where he was born: but their purpoſe concerning the place was afterwards altered, for he ſuffered in London.

After the condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the laſt day of January, Mr. Bradford being ſent to priſon, remained there till the firſt of July, during which time he ſuſtained divers other conferences and conflicts with ſundry adverſaries, who repaired to him in the priſon. Of whom firſt biſhop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, the 4th day of February, began to diſcourſe with Mr. Bradford as follows:

CONVERSATIONS *between* Mr. BRADFORD, *and* BISHOP BONNER, *and others at different times.*

Bonner. WELL, Mr. Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you conſider yourſelf, and refuſe not charity when it is offered: becauſe I perceive you are deſirous to converſe with ſome learned men, I have brought Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield to you.

Bradford. Indeed, my lord, this is ſmall charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity, but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith as ſoon as I uttered it at your requeſts, before I had committed any thing againſt the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom you will. But to ſay that I deſire to confer, that do I not.

Bonner. Well, well. And ſo he called for Dr. Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Upon another day in February, Mr. Willerton, chaplain to the biſhop of London, came to confer with Mr. Bradford, and began to talk of the church, ſaying, that Bradford ſwerved from the church.

Bradford. No, that I do not, but you do. For the church is Chriſt's ſpouſe, and Chriſt's obedient ſpouſe, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of ſervice in the Engliſh tongue.

Willerton. Why? It is not profitable to have the ſervice in Engliſh, for it is written, "The lips of the prieſt ſhould keep the law, and out of his mouth man muſt look for knowledge."

Bradford. Should not the people then have the ſcriptures? Wherefore ſerveth this ſaying of Chriſt, "Search the ſcriptures?"

Willerton. This was not ſpoke to the people, but to the ſcribes and learned men.

Bradford. Then the people muſt not have the ſcriptures?

Willerton. No, for it is written, "They ſhall be all taught of God."

Bradford. And muſt we learn all from the prieſts?

Willerton. Yea.

Bradford. Then I ſee you would bring the people to hang up Chriſt, and let Barabbas go, as the prieſts did then perſuade the people. At which words Mr. Willerton was ſo offended, that he had no deſire to talk any more.

Upon the 14th of February, Percival Creſwell, an old acquaintance of Mr. Bradford's came to him, who after many words ſaid: "I pray you let me intercede for you."

Bradford. You may do what you will.

Creſwell. But tell me what ſuit I ſhall make for you.

Bradford. Forſooth, what you pleaſe: do it not at my requeſt, for I deſire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If ſhe will baniſh me, I will thank her. If ſhe will burn me, I will thank her. If ſhe will condemn me to perpetual impriſonment, I will thank her.

Creſwell. O, if ever you loved me, do one thing for me.

Bradford. What is that?

Creſwell. Deſire and name what learned man or men you will have to come unto you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you.

Bradford. No, never will I deſire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleaſure, and alſo that all men may know that I am not aſhamed to have my faith ſifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them. So they went their way.

Upon the 25th of February, Percival Creſwell came with Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a ſervant waiting upon him. After formal ſalutations, he made a long oration. That all men, even the Infidels, Jews, Turks, Anabaptiſts, and Libertines, deſire happineſs as well as the Chriſtians, and that every one thinketh they ſhall attain to it by their religion. To which Mr. Bradford anſwered briefly, that he ſpake not far amiſs.

Then ſaid Harpsfield, But the way thither is not alike: for the Infidels by Jupiter, Juno, &c. the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For ſo may I ſpeak of ſuch as believe the immortality of the ſoul.

Bradford. You ſpeak truly.

Harpsfield. Well, then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.

Bradford. We are not to invent ways. There is but one way, and that is Jeſus Chriſt, as he himſelf doth witneſs: "I am the way."

Harpsfield. What you ſay is true, and alſo falſe. I ſuppoſe what you mean by Chriſt, is believing in Chriſt.

Bradford. I have learned to diſcern betwixt faith and Chriſt. Albeit, I confeſs, that whoſo believeth in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall be ſaved.

Harpsfield. No, not all that believe in Chriſt: for ſome ſhall ſay, "Lord, Lord, have we not caſt out devils?" &c. but Chriſt will anſwer in the day of judgment to theſe, "Depart from me, I know you not."

Bradford. You muſt make a difference betwixt believing, and ſaying I believe.

Harpsfield. Well, this is not very material. There is but one way, Chriſt. How came we to know him? Where ſhall we ſeek to find him?

Bradford. Forſooth, we muſt ſeek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word.

Harpsfield. Very good: but tell me how firſt we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptiſm.

Bradford. Baptiſm is the ſacrament, by which outwardly we are ingrafted into Chriſt: I ſay outwardly, becauſe I dare not exclude from Chriſt all that die without baptiſm.

Harpsfield. Well, we agree, that by baptiſm then we are brought, and begotten to Chriſt. For Chriſt is our Father, and the church his ſpouſe is our mother. Now then tell me whether this church of Chriſt hath not been always?

Bradford. Yes, ſince the creation of man, and ſhall be for ever.

Harpsfield. Very good. But tell me whether this church is a viſible church, or no?

Bradford. It is no otherwiſe viſible, than Chriſt was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or ſhew that ſetteth her forth commonly, and therefore to ſee her we muſt put on ſuch eyes, as good men put on to ſee and know Chriſt when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the ſame ſubſtance that Adam was of, ſo was the church of the ſame ſubſtance that Chriſt was of.

Harpsfield. Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the goſpel, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of juriſdiction?

Bradford. What juriſdiction is exerciſed in perſecution and affliction?

Harpsfield. I mean by juriſdiction, admoniſhing one another, and ſo forth. It hath alſo ſucceſſion of biſhops. And here he endeavoured to prove this an eſſential point.

Bradford. You ſay as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church you go about to ſet up will fall down. You ſhall not find in all the ſcripture, this your eſſential part of ſucceſſion of biſhops. In Chriſt's church Antichriſt will ſit. And Peter tells us, as it went in the old church before Chriſt's coming, ſo it will be in the new church ſince Chriſt's coming: that as there were falſe prophets, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers.

This converſation continued for ſome time, and was renewed Feb. 26, when the archdeacon, not being able to diſſuade Bradford from his faith, lamented that he was ſo ſecure and careleſs.

Bradford. I am more carnally ſecure, and careleſs, than I ſhould be: God make me more vigilant. But in this caſe, I cannot be ſo ſecure, for I am moſt aſſured I am in the truth.

Harpsfield. That you are not; for you are out of the catholic church.

Bradford. No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet I am in the catholic church of Chriſt, and am, and by God's grace ſhall be a child, and an obedient child of it for ever. I hope Chriſt will have no leſs care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated out of the ſynagogue; and further, I am ſure that the neceſſary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the creed, I confeſs and believe with that which you call the holy church, ſo that even your church hath taken too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which by the teſtimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the ſacrament lately put forth, was free many hundred years after Chriſt, to believe or not believe.

Harpsfield. What is that?

Brad. Tranſubſtantiation.

Harpsfield. Why, you are not condemned only for that.

Brad. For that, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſt's body.

Harpsfield. You agree not with us in the preſence, nor in any thing elſe.

Brad. How you believe you know: for my part, I confeſs a preſence of whole Chriſt, God and man, to the faith of the receiver.

Harpsfield. Nay, you muſt believe a real preſence in the ſacrament.

Brad. In the ſacrament? Nay, I will not ſhut him in, nor tie it to him otherwiſe than faith ſeeth and perceiveth, And with this and ſuch like talk they departed.

On the 23d of the month, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Chicheſter came to the Compter to ſpeak with Mr. Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and eſpecially the biſhop of York, uſed him very gently: they deſired him to ſit down, and becauſe he would not, they alſo would not ſit. So they all ſtood, and whether he would or not, they would needs have him put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper-cap alſo, ſaying unto him, That obedience was better than ſacrifice.

While they were thus ſtanding together, my lord of York began to tell Mr. Bradford that they came to him out of pure love and charity, without being ſent; and himſelf alſo, for the acquaintance he had with Mr. Bradford, more than the biſhop of Chicheſter had; and after commending Mr. Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this queſtion, How he was certain of ſalvation and of his religion?

After thanks for their good will, Mr. Bradford anſwered, By the word of God, even by the ſcriptures, I am certain of ſalvation and religion.

York. Very well ſaid: but how do you know the word of God and the ſcriptures, but by the church?

Brad. Indeed my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man to know the ſcriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was the means by which the Samaritans knew Chriſt: but when they had heard him ſpeak, they ſaid, Now we know that he is Chriſt, not becauſe of thy words, but becauſe we ourſelves have heard: ſo after we come to the hearing and reading of the ſcriptures ſhewed unto us, and diſcerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Chriſt's ſheep, not becauſe the church ſaith they are the ſcriptures, but becauſe they be ſo, being aſſured thereof by the ſame ſpirit which wrote and ſpake them.

York. You know in the apoſtles time at firſt the word was not written.

Brad. True, if you mean it for ſome books of the New Teſtament; but elſe for the Old Teſtament St. Peter tells us, "We have a more ſure word of prophecy;" not that it is ſimply ſo, but in reſpect of the Apoſtles, which being alive and ſubject to infirmity, attributed to the written word more weight, as wherewith no fault can be found, whereas for the infirmity of their perſons men perchance might have found ſome fault at their preaching; although in very deed no leſs obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth from one ſpirit of truth.

York. That place of St. Peter is not ſo to be underſtood of the word written.

Brad. Yes, ſir, that it is, and of none other.

Chicheſter. Yes, indeed, Mr. Bradford doth tell you truly in that point.

York. Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and alledge the church againſt the heretics, and not the ſcripture.

Brad. True, for they had to do with ſuch heretics as did deny the ſcriptures, and yet did magnify the apoſtles, ſo they were enforced to uſe the authority of thoſe churches wherein the apoſtles had taught, and had ſtill retained the ſame doctrine.

Chicheſter. You ſpeak the very truth; for the heretics did refuſe all ſcriptures, except it were a piece of St. Luke's goſpel.

Brad. Then the alledging of the church cannot be principally uſed againſt me, which am ſo far from denying of the ſcriptures, that I appeal to them utterly, as to the only judge.

York. A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church! I pray you, where hath your church been hitherto? For the church of Chriſt is catholic and viſible hitherto.

Brad. My lord, I do not judge the church when I diſcern it from the congregation, and thoſe which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and viſible, although at ſome times it is more viſible than at others.

Chicheſter. I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was theſe 400 years.

Brad. I will tell you my lord, or rather you ſhall tell yourſelf, if you will tell this one thing, Where the church was in Elijah's time, when Elijah ſaid he was left alone?

Chicheſter. That is no anſwer.

Brad. I am ſorry that you ſay ſo: but this I will tell your lordſhip, that if you had the ſame eyes wherewith a man might have eſpied the church then, you would not ſay it were no anſwer. The fault why the church is not ſeen by you, is not becauſe the church is not viſible, but becauſe your eyes are not clear enough to ſee it.

Chicheſter. You are much deceived in making this compariſon betwixt the church then and now.

York. Very well ſpoken, my lord; for Chriſt ſaid, "I will build my church," and not I do, or have built it; but I will build it.

Brad. My lords, St. Peter teacheth me to make this compariſon, ſaying, "As in the people there were falſe prophets, which were moſt in eſtimation before Chriſt's coming, ſo ſhall there be falſe teachers amongſt the people after Chriſt's coming, and very many ſhall follow them." And as for your future tenſe, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Chriſt's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but Chriſt's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers.

Chicheſter. In good faith I am ſorry to ſee you ſo light in judging the church.

Brad. My lords, I ſpeak ſimply what I think, and deſire reaſon to anſwer my objections. Your affections and ſorrows cannot be my rules. If you conſider the order and caſe of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it ſhall ſomething move your honours. You know it well enough, no matter was laid againſt me, but was gathered upon mine own confeſſion. Becauſe I denied tranſubſtantiation, and the wicked to receive Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not by the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be accounted) did it.

Chicheſter. No: I heard ſay the cauſe of your impriſonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the ſword in one hand and the mattock in the other.

York. Yea, and you behaved yourſelf before the council ſo ſtoutly at firſt, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you impriſoned.

Brad. Your grace heard me anſwer my lord chancellor to that point. But ſuppoſe I had been ſo ſtout as they and your grace make it, were not the laws of the realm then on my ſide? Wherefore unjuſtly then was I impriſoned: only that which my lord chancellor propounded, was my confeſſion of Chriſt's truth againſt tranſubſtantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I ſaid.

York. You deny the preſence.

Brad. I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers.

York. Why? what is that to ſay other, than that Chriſt lieth not on the altar?

Brad. My lord, I believe no ſuch preſence.

Chicheſter. It ſeemeth that you have not read Chryſoſtom: for he proveth it.

Brad. Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chryſoſtom, that he ſaith that Chriſt lieth upon the altar, as the ſeraphims with their tongs touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is an hyperbolical ſpeech, of which you know Chryſoſtom is full.

York. It is evident that you are too far gone; but let us come then to the church, out of which you are excommunicated.

Brad. I am not excommunicated out of Chriſt's church, my lord, although they which ſeem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was, John ix. I am ſure Chriſt receiveth me.

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Mr. Bradford ſaid: Aſſuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romiſh church, ſo I think you have done wickedly to couple yourſelves to it again; for you can never prove that, which you call the mother church, to be Chriſt's church.

Chicheſter. Ah, Mr. Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the univerſity, I went with the world; but it was always againſt my conſcience.

Brad. I was but a child then, howbeit as I told you, I think you have done evil. For you are come and have brought others to that wicked man which ſitteth in the temple of God, that is in the church: for it cannot be underſtood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of ſuch as bear rule in the church.

York. See how you build your faith upon ſuch places of ſcriptures as are moſt obſcure, to deceive yourſelf, as though in the church, where you are not.

Brad. Well, my lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your caſe, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the ſacrament, knowing as you know, that at leaſt 800 years after Chriſt, as my lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not believe tranſubſtantiation.

Chicheſter. He is an heretic, and ſo none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine againſt the definition of the church, as a man to hold againſt tranſubſtantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them who were baptized by heretics, becauſe he held it before the church had defined it, whereas if he had held it after, then had he been an heretic.

Brad. Oh my lord, will you condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, (wherein I take the unity of Chriſt's church to conſiſt) although in ſome points he believe not the definition of that which you call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he diſſent from your definitions, yet he ſhall be ſaved.

York & Chicheſter. Yea, this is your divinity.

Brad. No, it is St. Paul's, who ſaith, that if they hold the foundation, Chriſt, though they build upon him ſtraw and ſtubble, yet they ſhall be ſaved.

York. You delight to lean to hard and dark places of the ſcriptures.

Chicheſter. I will ſhew you that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter, and ſo he read a place of Luther making for his purpoſe.

Brad. My lord, what Luther writeth, as you mind it not, no more do I in this caſe. My faith is not built on Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, in this point.

York. Well, you are out of the communion of the church.

Brad. I am not, for it conſiſteth and is in faith.

York. Lo, how you make your church inviſible; for you would have the communion of it conſiſt in faith.

Brad. For to have communion with the church needeth no viſibleneſs of it; for communion conſiſteth, as I ſaid, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by St. Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the obſervation of Eaſter, ſaying, that diſagreeing about faſting ſhould not break the agreement of faith.

Chicheſter. The ſame place hath often even wounded my conſcience, becauſe we ſeparated ourſelves from the ſee of Rome.

Bradford. Well, God forgive you, for you have done evil in bringing England thither again.

York. You think that none is of the church, but ſuch as ſuffer perſecution.

Bradford. What I think, God knoweth: I pray your grace to judge me by my words, and mark what St. Paul ſaith; "All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution."

York. Well Mr. Bradford, we loſe our labour; for you ſeek to put away all things which are told you for your good: your church no man can know.

Bradford. Yes, that you well may.

York. I pray you whereby?

Bradford. Chryſoſtom ſaith, only by the ſcriptures.

York. Chryſoſtom is an imperfect work. The church is beſt known by ſucceſſion of biſhops.

Bradford. No, my lord, Lyra upon Matthew writeth, that "The church conſiſteth not in men by reaſon either of ſecular or temporal power, but in men endued with true knowledge, and confeſſion of faith, and of verity."

Then came one of the ſervants, and told them, that lord Durham tarried for them at the archbiſhop of York's houſe; upon which they put up their written books of common places, and ſaid that they lamented his caſe; they deſired him to read over a book which did Mr. Crome good; and wiſhing him good in words, went their way, and Bradford to his priſon.

Within two days following came into the Compter two Spaniſh friars to talk with Mr Bradford, ſent (as they ſaid) by the earl of Derby; of whom one was the king's confeſſor, the other was Alphonſus, who had before written a popiſh book againſt hereſies.

Alphonſus. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? we know not.

Bradford. Sir, I have been in priſon almoſt two years: I never trangreſſed any of their laws for which I might juſtly be impriſoned, and now I am condemned, becauſe I frankly confeſſed my faith concerning the ſacrament, when I was demanded in theſe two points; one, that there is no tranſubſtantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Chriſt's body.

Alphonſus. Do you not believe that Chriſt is preſent really and corporally in the form of bread?

Bradford. No, I do believe that Chriſt is preſent to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is preſent bread and wine to the ſenſes and outward man: as for any ſuch preſence of including and placing Chriſt, I believe not, nor dare I believe.

Alphonſus. I am ſure you believe Chriſt's natural body is circumſcriptible.

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Chriſt, how that the one is every-where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding ſuch queſtions as no wiſe man would have ſpent any time about.

At laſt the diſputation became ſo high that the friar fell into a violent rage, and finally declared, that Bradford could not find in ſcripture that baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper bare any ſimilitude together. And here he triumphed before the conqueſt, ſaying, that theſe men would have nothing but ſcripture, and yet are able to prove nothing by the ſcripture.

Bradford. Be patient, and you ſhall ſee that by the ſcripture I will find baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper coupled together. St. Paul ſaith, "That as we are baptized into one body, ſo we were *Potati in uno ſpiritu*, i. e. we have drank of one ſpirit," meaning the cup in the Lord's ſupper.

Alphonſus. St. Paul hath no ſuch words.

Bradford. Give me a Teſtament, and I will ſhew you.

So a prieſt that ſat by them gave him his Teſtament, and he ſhewed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine, the friar made this ſimple ſhift, that St. Paul ſpake not of the ſacrament.

Bradford. Well, the text is plain enough, and there are many of the fathers which do ſo underſtand the place: for Chryſoſtom doth expound it ſo.

Alphonſus, which had the Teſtament in his hand, deſirous to ſuppreſs this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. xi. and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lord's body.

Bradford. Yea, but therewith he ſaith, "He that eateth of the bread:" calling it bread ſtill: and that after conſecration (as you call it) as in the tenth of the Corinthians he ſaith, "The bread which we break," &c.

Alphonſus. Oh how ignorant are you who know not that things after their converſion do retain the ſame names which they had before, as Moſes's rod: and calling for a bible, after he had found the place he began to triumph. But Bradford cooled him quickly, ſaying,

Sir, there is mention made of the converſion, as well as that the ſame appeared to the ſenſe. But here you cannot find it ſo. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then ſay, you bring ſome matter that maketh for you.

At theſe words Alphonſus was troubled, and at length he ſaid, That Bradford hanged on his own ſenſe.

Bradford. No, that do I not: for I will bring you the fathers of the church 800 years after Chriſt, to confirm what I ſpeak.

Alphonſus. This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Chriſt's aſcenſion, even for 800 years at leaſt continually.

Bradford. What will you ſo prove; Tranſubſtantiation?

Alphonſus. Yea, that the bread is turned into Chriſt's body.

Bradford. You ſpeak more than you can do.

Alphonſus. That do I not.

Bradford. Then will I give place.

Alphonſus. Will you believe?

Bradford. Belief is God's gift; therefore I cannot promiſe: but I tell you I will give place: and I hope I ſhall believe his truth always, ſo good is he to me in Chriſt my Saviour.

Here the friar found great fault with Mr. Bradford's anſwer. But this he let paſs, and repeated his queſtion, if he could prove it as he ſaid, whether he would give place?

Bradford. Yes, that I will. Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then ſaid I, Suppoſe that I prove by the teſtimony of the fathers, that continually for 800 years after Chriſt at leaſt, they did believe that the ſubſtance of bread doth remain in the ſacrament, what will you do?

Alphonſus. I will give place.

Bradford. Then write you here that you will give place if I ſo prove, and I will write that I will give place if you ſo prove; becauſe you are the elder you ſhall have the pre-eminency.

The king's confeſſor aſked Bradford what the ſecond queſtion was?

Bradford. That wicked men receive not Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, as St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of Judas, that he received the bread of the Lord, but not bread the Lord.

Alphonſus. St. Auguſtin ſaith not ſo.

Bradford. Yes, that he does. So they aroſe and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away.

After they were gone, one of the prieſts came, and deſired Bradford not to be ſo obſtinate.

Bradford. Sir, be not you ſo wavering; in all the ſcriptures you cannot find theſe words, There is not bread.

Prieſt. Yes, that I can, in five places.

Bradford. Then I will eat your book. So the book was opened, but no place found: and he went his way ſmiling, God help us!

On the 21ſt of March, Mr. Bradford being called down, as ſoon as he entered into the hall, Dr. Weſton very gently took him by the hand, and aſked how he did, with ſuch other talk. At length he deſired them to go out of the chamber: ſo they all went out ſave Dr. Weſton himſelf, Mr. Collier, the earl of Derby's ſervant, the ſub-dean of Weſtminſter, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and the parſon of the church near the Compter.

Now when he began with Mr. Bradford, to tell how that he had often intended to have come unto him, being deſired by the earl of Derby: and (ſaid he) after I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to ſpeak with me, than any other, I could not but come to do you all the good I can; for you may be ſure I will never hurt you.

Sir, replied Mr. Bradford, when I perceived by the report of my lord's ſervant, that you did bear me good will, more (as he ſaid) than any other of your ſort, I told him then, that I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you ſhould come unto me. This did I ſay: otherwiſe I deſired not your coming.

Weſton. Well, Mr. Bradford, now I am come to talk with you: but before we enter into any talk, certain principles we muſt agree upon, which ſhall be this day's work.

Firſt, ſaid he, I ſhall deſire you to put away all vain glory, and not hold any thing for the praiſe of the world.

Bradford. Sir, St. Auguſtine maketh that indeed a piece of the deſinition of an heretic: which if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a ſpice of it remain in us, as long as this fleſh liveth) yet I promiſe you by the grace of God, that I purpoſe not to yield to it. God I hope will never ſuffer it to bear rule in them that ſtrive againſt it, and deſire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us.

Weſton. I am glad to hear you ſay ſo, although indeed I think you do not ſo much eſteem it as others do.

Secondly. I would deſire you that you will put away ſingularity in your judgment and opinions.

Bradford. Sir, God forbid that I ſhould ſtick to my ſingularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not deſired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic, (underſtand catholic as good men do) according to God's word.

Weſton. Very well, this is a good day's work, I hope to do you good: and therefore now thirdly, I ſhall pray you to write me the heads of thoſe things whereupon you ſtand in the ſacrament, and to ſend them to me betwixt this and Wedneſday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be aſſured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you, therefore away with all doubts, &c.

Bradford. Sir, I will write you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it; this which you require of me ſhall be no great hindrance to me therein.

Weſton. You know that St. Auguſtine was a Manichean, yet he was converted at length; ſo that I have good hope of you.

Bradford. Sir, becauſe I will not flatter you, I would you ſhould flatly know, that I am even ſettled in that religion for which I am condemned.

Weſton. Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you ſee evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?

Bradford. God forbid, but that I ſhould always give place to the truth.

Weſton. I would have you ſo to pray.

Bradford. So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it, as he hath done and doth.

Weſton. Yea, but pray with a condition if you be in it.

Bradford. No, Sir, I cannot pray ſo, becauſe I am ſettled and aſſured of his truth.

Well, ſaid Weſton, as the learned biſhop anſwered St. Auguſtine's mother, that though he was obſtinate, yet the tears of ſuch a mother could not but win her ſon: ſo alſo I hope your prayers (for then Bradford's eyes did ſhew that he had wept in prayer) cannot but be heard by God, though not as you would, yet as beſt ſhall pleaſe him. Do you not remember the hiſtory thereof?

Bradford. Yea, ſir, I think it is of St. Ambroſe.

Weſton. No, that it is not. And here Weſton would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, ſaying to Bradford, As you are overſeen herein, ſo are you in other things.

Bradford. Well, ſir, I will not contend with you for the name. This St. Auguſtine writeth in his confeſſions.

After this talk Dr. Weſton began to tell Mr. Bradford, that the people were perſuaded by him to withſtand the queen.

The end was this, that Bradford ſhould ſend unto him the heads of the doctrine of the ſupper, and after Wedneſday he would come unto him again; and thus he departed, after he had drunk to him in beer and wine.

In the mean time, when Mr. Bradford had written his reaſons and arguments, and had ſent them to Dr. Weſton, ſoon after, about the 28th of March, there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the aforeſaid Mr. Collier, ſometime warden of Mancheſtea, and Stephen Bech. After ſalutations, Dr. Pendleton began to ſpeak to Mr. Bradford, that he was ſorry for his trouble. And further, ſaid he, after that I knew you could be content to talk with me, I made the more ſpeed, being as ready to do you good, and ſerve you what I can, as you would wiſh.

Bradford. Sir, I remember that once you were (as far as any man might judge) of the religion that I am of at preſent, and I remember that you have earneſtly ſet forth the ſame. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conſcience to alter, and gladly would I ſee what thing it is that you have ſeen ſince which you ſaw not before.

Pendleton. I do not know for what you are condemned.

Bradford. Tranſubſtantiation is the cauſe for which I am condemned, and becauſe I deny that wicked men do receive Chriſt's body: wherein I would deſire you to ſhew me what reaſons which before you knew not, did move your conſcience now to alter. For once, (as I ſaid) you were as I am in religion.

Here Mr. Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuſe himſelf, as though he had not fully denied tranſubſtantiation indeed, although I ſaid, ſays he, that the word was not in ſcripture: and ſo he made an endleſs tale of the thing that moved him to alter: but (ſaid he) I will gather you the places which moved me, and ſend you them. And here he deſired Mr. Bradford that he might have a copy of that which he had ſent to Dr. Weſton: which Mr. Bradford promiſed him.

Dr. Weſton came to Mr. Bradford the ſame day, and he deſired every man preſent to depart. And after he had thanked Mr. Bradford for his writing to him, he pulled out of his boſom the writing which Mr. Bradford had ſent him. The writing is as follows:

CERTAIN REASONS *againſt* TRANSUBSTANTIATION, *collected by* MR. JOHN BRADFORD, *and given to* DR. WESTON, *and* Others.

THAT which is former (ſaith Tertullian) is true; that which is latter falſe. But the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is a late doctrine, for it was not defined generally before the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Chriſt's coming, under pope Innocent, the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe, or not believe it, as the biſhop of Durham doth witneſs in his book of the preſence of Chriſt in his ſupper, lately publiſhed. Therefore, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is falſe.

2. That the words of Chriſt's ſupper be figurative, the circumſtances of the ſcriptures, the analogy or proportion of the ſacraments, and the opinions of all the holy fathers, which were, and wrote for the ſpace of 1000 years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, do teach; whereupon it follows, that there was no tranſubſtantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his diſciples, bread, and called it his body, the ſcriptures do witneſs. For he gave that and called it his body, which he took in his hand, whereon he gave thanks, which alſo he brake, and gave to his diſciples, that is to ſay, bread, as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, and all the reſidue which are of antiquity, do affirm; but inaſmuch as the ſubſtance of the bread and wine is another thing than the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt, it plainly appeareth that there is no tranſubſtantiation.

4. The bread is no more tranſubſtantiate than the wine: but that the wine is not tranſubſtantiate, St. Matthew and St. Mark teach us: for they witneſs that Chriſt ſaid he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood but wine: and therefore it follows, that there is no tranſubſtantiation. Chryſoſtom upon St. Matthew, and Cyprian do affirm this reaſon.

5. As the bread in the Lord's ſupper is Chriſt's natural body, ſo it is his myſtical body; for the ſame Spirit that ſpake of it, This is my body, ſaid alſo For we many are one bread, one body, &c. but now it is not the myſtical body by tranſubſtantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by tranſubſtantiation.

6. The words ſpoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not ſo mighty and effectual, as to tranſubſtantiate it: for then the cup, or that which is in it, ſhould be tranſubſtantiated into the New Teſtament: therefore the words ſpoken over the bread, are not ſo mighty as to make tranſubſtantiation.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with thoſe churches which be apoſtolical mother churches, is to be counted for truth, becauſe it holdeth that which theſe churches received of the apoſtles, the apoſtles of Chriſt, and Chriſt of God. But it is manifeſt that the doctrine taught at this preſent by the church of Rome, concerning tranſubſtantiation, doth not agree with the apoſtolical and mother churches of Greece, of Corinth, of Philippos, Coloſſia, Theſſalonica, and Epheſus, which never taught tranſubſtantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it was taught in times paſt.

After Mr. Weſton's departure, the keeper, Mr. Claydon, and Stephen Bech came to Mr. Bradford, and ſpake to him in ſuch a manner as if they had been his utter enemies, notwithſtanding the friendſhip they hitherto pretended. If God be with us, it matters not who is againſt us.

There was a certain gentlewoman's ſervant came, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miſerably handled by her father and mother for not coming to maſs; and ſhe would have been put to death, had not the providence of God delivered her from her father's houſe.

This gentlewoman's ſervant therefore coming to Mr. Bradford, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, God be thanked for you. How do you do?

Mr. Bradford anſwered, Well, I thank God. For as men in failing, which be near to the ſhore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even ſo the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be.

Servant. Sir, I have never ſeen you ſo ſtrong and healthful in body, as methinks you be now.

Why, ſaid Bradford, I have given over all care and ſtudy, and I only covet to be talking with him, whom I have always ſtudied to ſerve.

Servant. Well, God hath done much for you ſince the time that I firſt knew you, and hath wrought wonderfully in you to his glory.

Bradford. Truth it is, for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not puniſhed me according to my ſins, but hath ſuffered me to live, that I might ſeek repentance.

Servant. We hear ſay, there is a rod made ſo grievous, out of which I think no man ſhall pluck his head.

Bradford.

Brad. Well, let all that be of Chriſt's flock, arm themſelves to ſuffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to eſcape untouched, if he love him, let them ſeek what means or ways they can.

Serv. Well, ſir, there is a diſcourſe of a friar that preached before the king, who told him, that he ſhould be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been ſhed of late.

Indeed, ſaid Bradford, I had a book within theſe two days of his writing, and therein he ſaith, that it is not meet nor convenient that heretics ſhould live: and therefore I do marvel how that talk ſhould riſe: for I have heard of it alſo, and I have alſo talked with this friar (he is named Alphonſus) and with divers others, and I praiſe God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to ſay but that which is moſt vain.

Serv. Sir, Mr. Cardmaker commendeth himſelf unto you.

Brad. How doth he, how doth he?

Serv. Well, God be thanked.

Brad. I am very glad thereof: for indeed my lord chancellor did caſt him in my teeth: but as David ſaith, God hath diſappointed him.

Serv. Forſooth, God's name be praiſed, he is very ſtrong.

Brad. And I truſt, ſo are we. What elſe? our quarrel is moſt juſt: therefore let us not be afraid.

Serv. My miſtreſs commendeth herſelf unto you.

Brad. How doth ſhe?

Serv. Well, God be praiſed, but ſhe hath been ſorer afflicted by her own father and mother, than ever you were with your impriſonment; and yet God hath preſerved her, I truſt to his glory.

Brad. I pray you, tell her, I read this day a godly hiſtory, written by Baſilius Magnus, of a virtuous woman who was a widow, and was named Juleddo. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelt a cormorant, who for her virtuous and pious living, had great indignation againſt her, and of very malice he took away her lands, ſo that ſhe was conſtrained to go to law with him: and in concluſion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully with-held theſe lands from this woman? He made anſwer and ſaid, he might ſo do, for (ſaid he) this woman is diſobedient to the king's proceedings: for ſhe will in no wiſe worſhip his gods, nor offer ſacrifice unto them. Then the judge hearing that, ſaid unto her, Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to loſe thy land, but alſo thy life, unleſs that thou worſhip our gods, and do ſacrifice unto them. This good woman hearing that, ſteps forth to the judge, and ſaid, Is there no remedy but either to worſhip your falſe gods, or elſe to loſe my lands and life? Then farewel ſuit, farewel lands, farewel children, farewel friends, yea and farewel life too: and in reſpect of the true honour of the everliving God, farewel all. And with that ſaying the judge committed her to priſon, and afterwards ſhe ſuffered moſt cruel death: and being brought to the place of execution, ſhe exhorted all women to be ſtrong and conſtant. For, ſaith ſhe, you were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although you were made of the rib of the man, yet are you all of his fleſh: ſo that alſo in the caſe and trial of your faith towards God, you ought to be as ſtrong. And thus died ſhe conſtantly, not fearing death. I pray you, tell your miſtreſs of this ſtory.

Serv. That I ſhall, ſir, by God's grace: for ſhe told me that ſhe was with you and Mr. Saunders, and received your kind counſel.

Brad. We never gave her other counſel but the truth, and in witneſs thereof, we have and will ſeal it with our blood. For I thought this night I had been ſent for, becauſe at eleven o'clock there was ſuch a rapping at the door.

Then anſwered a maid, and ſaid, Why then, I perceive you were afraid.

Brad. You ſhall hear how fearful I was. For I conſidered that I had not ſlept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was aſleep, theſe men came into the next chamber, and ſang, as it was told me, and yet for all my fearfulneſs, I heard them not: therefore I could not be much afraid, if I ſlept ſo faſt.

Serv. Do you lack any thing towards your neceſſity?

Brad. Nothing but your prayers, and I truſt I have them, and you mine.

Serv. I ſaw a prieſt come to you to-day in the morning.

Brad. Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an anſwer.

Serv. Then we hinder you, therefore the living God be with you.

Brad. And with you alſo, and bleſs you.

Serv. Amen, amen; and gave him thanks and departed.

Mr. Bradford continued ſtill in priſon, until the month of July, in ſuch labours and ſufferings as he always before had ſuſtained in priſon. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was ſuddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was priſoner, in the night ſeaſon to Newgate, as is declared before, and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he conſtantly abiding in the ſame truth of God, which before he had confeſſed, earneſtly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Chriſt, and ſweetly comforting the pious young man of nineteen or twenty years of age, who ſuffered with him, chearfully ended his painful life to live with Chriſt.

The Examination *of* Mr. John Leaf.

WITH Mr. Bradford was burnt John Leaf, apprentice to Humphry Gaudy, tallow chandler, of the pariſh of Chriſt-church, in London, born at Kirkly Moreſide, in the county of York; who upon the Friday before Palm-Sunday was committed to the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, by an alderman of the ward where the ſaid John Leaf dwelt. Afterwards he coming to examination before biſhop Bonner, gave a firm and chriſtian teſtimony of his doctrine and profeſſion, anſwering to ſuch articles as were objected to him by the ſaid biſhop.

Firſt, As touching his belief and faith in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, he anſwered, that after the words of conſecration ſpoke by the prieſt over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance; and further did hold and believe, that the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, as is now called, uſed, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and alſo ſaid further, that he believed, that after the words of conſecration ſpoke by the prieſt over the material bread and wine, there is not the ſelf ſame ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before. And further ſaid, that he believed, that when the prieſt delivereth the ſaid material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the ſame in remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, and ſpiritually in faith they receive Chriſt's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and alſo affirmed, that he believed confeſſion not neceſſary to be made unto a prieſt; neither that the prieſt hath any authority given him by the ſcripture to abſolve and remit any ſin.

Upon theſe his anſwers, and teſtimony of his faith, he was at that time diſmiſſed, with orders to appear again on the next Monday, June 10, in the ſaid place, there and then to hear the ſentence of his condemnation. At which time the aforeſaid biſhop propounded the ſaid articles to him as before, endeavouring by all manner of ways to bring him to renounce his religion; but notwithſtanding all his perſuaſions, threats, and promiſes, found him the ſame man ſtill, ſo planted upon the ſure rock of truth, that no words or deeds of men could remove him.

Then the biſhop, after many words paſſing between them, at laſt aſked him, if he had been Mr. Rogers's ſcholar? To whom the aforeſaid John Leaf anſwered again, granting it ſo to be; and that he believed in the doctrine of the ſaid Rogers, and in the doctrine of biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who were lately burned for the teſtimony of Chriſt, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for. The biſhop ſtill continued perſuading him to return to the unity of the church, but he anſwered again in theſe words: My lord, (ſaid he) you call mine opinion hereſy; but it is the true light of the word of God. And again repeating the ſame, he profeſſed that he would never forſake his ſtayed and well grounded opinion, while the breath ſhould be in his body. Whereupon the biſhop being too weak, either to refute his ſentence, or to remove his conſtancy, proceeded conſequently to read the ſentence of condemnation; whereby this pious and conſtant young man being committed to the ſecular power of the ſheriffs there preſent, was then adjudged, and not long after ſuffered, the ſame day with Mr. Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had ſpoken and profeſſed in his life.

It is reported of the ſaid John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter at the ſame time, and ſaw the thing, that after his examinations before the biſhop, when two bills were ſent unto him in the Compter in Bread-ſtreet, the one containing a recantation, the other his confeſſions, to know to which of them he would put his hand; firſt hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, (becauſe he could not read nor write himſelf) that he refuſed. And when the bill of his confeſſions was read unto him, inſtead of a pen he took a pin, and ſo pricking his hand, ſprinkled the blood upon the ſaid bill, deſiring the reader thereof to ſhew the biſhop, that he had ſealed the ſame bill with his blood already.

On the Death *of* Mr. John Bradford.

Let no diſciple 'bove his maſter be,
God's ſervants are not from afflictions free,
God, whom he loves, chaſtiſes every ſon;
Strait is the way to the celeſtial throne.
Theſe words whilſt, Bradford, thou didſt ruminate,
No humane threats, no fears, no diſmal ſtate,
Could ſhock thy ſteady ſoul; no fiery dart
Of Satan's malice wound thy conſtant heart:
But thou didſt freely (arm'd with grace divine)
Thy body to the flaming pile reſign.

Mr. Bradford, during the time of his impriſonment, wrote ſeveral comfortable treatiſes, and many pious letters, of which, ſome were directed to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, to Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, and divers to his other private friends. Which letters, to the intent it may appear how well this good man occupied his time in priſon, what ſpecial zeal he bare to the ſtate of Chriſt's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earneſtly he admoniſhed all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed them whom he had taught, we thought good here to introduce: all the letters that he wrote cannot be here exhibited, being ſo many in number that they alone would make a large volume; however, for the ſatisfaction of the pious reader, we will inſert thoſe that are judged the beſt and moſt excellent among them.

It has been mentioned before how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament houſe, of certain letters written by John Bradford out of priſon, to Lancaſhire; and he was likewiſe charged by the biſhop of Wincheſter, and Mr. Allen, with ſome other letters. Now to the intent that the reader may more perfectly underſtand what ſort of letters theſe were, which he wrote to his mother, brethren, and ſiſters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will here produce the copy and contents as followeth.

LETTER I.

From Mr. Bradford *to his* Mother, *a* pious Matron, *dwelling in* Manchester, *and to his* Brethren *and* Siſters, *and other* Friends *there.*

OUR dear and ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe priſoner at this preſent (praiſed be his name) I am, preſerve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and ſiſters, my fathers John Traves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradſhaw, with their wives and families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

I am now in priſon, ſecure enough from ſtarting, to confirm what I have preached unto you, as I am ready (I thank God) to ſeal the ſame with my life and blood, if God ſhall vouchſafe to make me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a moſt ſpecial benefit from God, to ſuffer for his name's ſake and goſpel, as now I do; I heartily thank God for it, and am ſure that with him I ſhall be partaker of his glory, as St. Paul ſaith, "If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him." Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at leaſt for my ſake, who am now in the right and highway to heaven: for by many afflictions we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. Nor will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, a man cannot know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blaſt cometh, then the chaff flieth away, but the wheat remaineth, and is ſo from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleanſed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is caſt in the fire, is the more precious: ſo are God's children by the croſs of affliction. God always beginneth his judgment at his houſe. Chriſt and the apoſtles were in the moſt miſery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land ſmarted for it after: ſo now the children of God are firſt chaſtiſed in this world, that they ſhould not be damned with the world: for ſurely the great plagues of God hang over this realm.

Ye all know that there never was more knowledge of God, and leſs godly living, and true ſerving of God. It was counted a fooliſh thing to ſerve God truly; and earneſt prayer was not minded. Preaching was but a paſtime. The communion was counted too common. Faſting to ſubdue the fleſh was quite out of uſe. Alms was almoſt nothing. Malice, covetouſneſs, and uncleanneſs, was common every-where, with ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and idleneſs. God therefore now is come, and you have heard me preach, and becauſe he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to puniſh us: as me for carnal living. For, as for my doctrine, I am very certain that it is and was God's truth, and by his grace I reſolve to give my life for it; but becauſe I loved not the goſpel as ſincerely as I ought, therefore doth he thus puniſh me; nay, in puniſhing, he rather bleſſeth me. Indeed I thank him more for this priſon, than for any parlour, yea, than for any pleaſure that ever I had; for in it I always find God my ſweeteſt and greateſt good. The fleſh is now puniſhed to admoniſh us heartily to live as we profeſs; and to certify the wicked of their juſt damnation, if they repent not.

Perhaps you are weakened in that which I have preached, becauſe God doth not defend it, as you think, but ſuffereth the popiſh doctrine to come again and prevail: but you muſt know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children, whether they will unfeignedly and ſimply ſtand ſtedfaſt to him and his word. He did ſo with the Iſraelites, bringing them into a deſart, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean in the wilderneſs) was want of all things, in compariſon of that which they had in Egypt. Chriſt, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth, nor quietneſs with him, but rather war: "The world, (ſaith he) ſhall rejoice, but ye ſhall mourn and weep, but your weeping ſhall be turned into joy: and therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they ſhall be comforted." They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beaſt's mark, I mean the pope's ſhaven crown, who now with his ſhavelings rejoice; but woe unto them, for they ſhall be caſt down, they ſhall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus ſorrow, but afterwards the caſe was changed. The end of carnal joy is ſorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, ſwearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard ſir John: for the maſs will not bite them, nor make them bluſh as preaching doth. Now they may do what they will, come devils to church, and go devils home again, for no man muſt ſpeak againſt it. They are glad of all this! now they have their heart's deſire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone; but what followed? forſooth, when they cried peace, all ſhall be well, then came God's vengeance, fire and brimſtone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child; even ſo (dear mother) will it be to our papiſts.

Wherefore fear God; ſtick to his word, though all the world ſwerve from it. Die you muſt once, and when and how, you cannot tell. Die therefore with Chriſt, ſuffer for ſerving him truly, according to his word: for we may be ſure, that of all deaths it ought to be our greateſt deſire to die for the cauſe of God. This is the ſafeſt way of dying: we need not doubt but that we ſhall go to heaven, if we die for his name's ſake. And that you ſhall ſo die, the word of God will warrant you, if you ſtick to that which God by me hath taught you. You ſhall ſee that I ſpeak as I think; for by God's grace I will drink before you of this cup, if it be put to me.

I doubt not but God will give me grace and ſtrength to undergo what I purpoſe: pray for me, that I may be immoveable in the fiery trial. I am ready whenever God ſhall be pleaſed to call me. Death nor life, priſon nor pleaſure, I truſt in God, ſhall be able to ſeparate me from my Lord God, and his goſpel. In peace, when no perſecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me, then you believed me, and will you not do ſo now, ſeeing I ſpeak nothing but that which by God's grace I will verify with my blood? Good mother, I write to you before God, as before him I have preached.

I have taught the pure word of God: it is the ſame infallible truth whereof he ſaid, "Heaven and earth ſhall paſs, but my word ſhall not paſs." The maſs, and ſuch baggage as the falſe worſhippers of God, and the enemies of Chriſt's croſs (the papiſts) have brought in again, to poiſon the church of God, highly diſpleaſeth him, and is abominable in his ſight. Happy may he be who for conſcience ſake will ſuffer the loſs of life or goods, in contending againſt it. Come not near it. If God be God, follow him: if the maſs be God, let who will ſee it, hear, or be preſent at it, go to the devil with it. What is there which God ordained? His ſupper was ordained to be received by us as a memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood ſhed for the pardon of our ſins; but in the maſs there is no receiving, but the prieſt alone keepeth all to himſelf. Chriſt ſaith, Take, eat: No, ſaith the prieſt, Gape, peep. Here (in the maſs) is a ſacrificing, yea, crucifying Chriſt again as much as they can. Here is idolatry in worſhipping the outward ſign of bread and wine; here is all in Latin, you cannot tell what is ſaid. In ſhort, here is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore (my good mother) come not near it.

I preſume ſome will ſay, that it will be worſe for you, if you refuſe to go to maſs, and do as others do. But be aſſured, that God will aſſiſt and protect you, as you ſhall one day find: he hath promiſed to them who ſuffer for his cauſe, his great bleſſing in this world, and in the world to come life everlaſting.

You ſhall be counted an heretic: but they are the heretics that ſo call you, whoſe praiſe is a ſcandal.

You are not able to reaſon againſt the prieſts, but God will, that they ſhall not be able to withſtand you. I doubt not but father Traves, and others of my brothers and ſiſters will comfort and aſſiſt you by their counſel and pious examples; but if they do not, I your ſon in God, by his grace, will ſo do, and go before you: pray that I may be conſtant: rejoice in my ſufferings, for it is for your ſakes, that thereby I may confirm the truth I have taught. Beware that this letter come not abroad, but only into father Traves's hands: for if it ſhould be known that I have pen and ink in priſon, it would be much worſe for me. Therefore keep it to yourſelves, and commend me to God's mercy through Jeſus Chriſt, and pray that he would make me worthy to give my life for the ſake of his church and goſpel. From the Tower of London, October 26, 1553.

My name I write not, you know the reaſon well enough: like the letter never the worſe. Commend me to all our good brethren and ſiſters in the Lord. Howſoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers; that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good conſcience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and ſuffer whatſoever they ſhall do or ſay. By patience poſſeſs your ſouls.

After the time that Mr. Bradford was condemned, and ſent to the Compter, his adverſaries purpoſed (as ye heard before) to ſend him to Mancheſter to be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his laſt farewel of them in this letter.

LETTER II.

From Mr. BRADFORD, *to the* CITY *of* LONDON.

TO all that profeſs the goſpel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the city of London, John Bradford, a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord now not only in priſon, but alſo excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſhes mercy, grace, and peace, with increaſe of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and all ſufficient Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Chriſt, although the time I have to live is very little, (for I hourly look when I ſhall be had hence to be conveyed into Lancaſhire there to be burned, and to render my life by the providence of God, where I received it) and although there is great charge given to keep me from all things whereby I might ſignify any thing to the world of my eſtate: yet having, as I now have, pen and ink, through God's working, in ſpite of Satan and his ſoldiers, I thought good to write a ſhort confeſſion of my faith, and join thereto a little exhortation to you all to live according to your profeſſion.

Firſt, For my faith, I do confeſs and pray all the whole congregation of Chriſt to bear witneſs with me of the ſame, that I believe conſtantly, through the gift and goodneſs of God, (for faith is God's only gift) all the twelve articles of the ſymbol and creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apoſtles. This my faith I would particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the ſimple! but alas! by ſtarts and ſtealth I write in manner what I write, and therefore I ſhall deſire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not becauſe of the creed itſelf, but becauſe of the word of God, which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apoſtles, left and contained in the canonical books of the old Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things neceſſary to ſalvation, ſo that nothing (as neceſſary to ſalvation) ought to be added thereto, and therefore the church of Chriſt, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than that which hath it's foundation and ground from thence. In teſtimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſt's vicar general, and ſupreme head of his catholic and univerſal church here or elſewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and Chriſt's real, corporal, and carnal preſence in his ſupper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

To believe Chriſt our Saviour to be the head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the ſupreme powers, to whom every ſoul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the ſupper of Chriſt (which the ſacrament of the altar, as the papiſts call it and uſe it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very preſence of whole Chriſt, God and Man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the ſtander by, and looker upon, as it is a true and very preſence of bread and wine to the ſenſes of men: to believe this, I ſay, will not ſerve, and therefore as an heretic I am condemned, and ſhall be burned; whereof I heartily aſk God mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having ſo great cauſe, as to be an inſtrument wherein it may pleaſe my dear Lord God and Saviour to ſuffer.

For albeit my manifold ſins, even ſince I came into priſon, have deſerved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but alſo eternal fire in hell, much more than my former ſinful life, which the Lord pardon for Chriſt's ſake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and will never lay mine iniquities to my charge to condemnation, ſo great is his goodneſs, (praiſed therefore be his holy name) although, I ſay, my late manifold and grievous ſins have moſt juſtly deſerved all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confeſs that the Lord is juſt, his judgments be true, and I have deſerved them: yet the biſhops and prelates, inſtead of perſecuting them in me, do perſecute Chriſt himſelf, his word, his truth, and his religion. And therefore I have great cauſe to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto preſerved by the Lord; that by my death, which I deſerve for my ſins, it pleaſeth him to glorify his name, to teſtify and confirm his truth, and to overcome his adverſaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulneſs, eſpecially herein.

And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and blood do now for my laſt farewel in this preſent life, beſeech you, and every one of you, that you will conſider this work of the Lord accordingly. By me be admoniſhed to beware of hypocriſy and carnal ſecurity; profeſs not the goſpel with tongue and lips only; but in heart and in truth frame your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil ſpoken of, and the goſpel leſs regarded by your converſation. God forgive me that I have not ſo heartily profeſſed it as I ſhould have done, but have ſought myſelf, and too much conſulted my own eaſe therein. The goſpel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine, and therefore cannot be put into old bottles, without greater harm than good to thoſe bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we muſt put off our ſhoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we muſt waſh our garments and be holy; if we will be Chriſt's diſciples, we muſt deny ourſelves, take up our croſs, and follow him; we cannot ſerve two maſters. If we ſeek Chriſt's kingdom, we muſt ſeek the righteouſneſs thereof. To this petition, Thy kingdom come, we muſt join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers only, we miſerably deceive ourſelves. If we hear the goſpel, and love it not, we declare ourſelves to be but fools, and builders upon the ſand. Deceitfulneſs the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we muſt beware that we come not with a double heart; for then God will anſwer us according to our own folly; and we ſhall deceive ourſelves and others.

On this ſort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our ſins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earneſtly purpoſe to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy ſcriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkneſs. Let us fly from all idolatry. Let us abhor the antichriſtian and Romiſh rotten ſervice, deteſt the popiſh maſs, renounce the Romiſh god, prepare ourſelves to the croſs, be obedient to all that are in authority, in all things that be not againſt God and his word; for then anſwer with the apoſtles, "It is more meet to obey God than man." Howbeit never for any thing reſiſt, or riſe againſt the magiſtrates. Avenge not yourſelves, but commit your cauſe to the Lord, to whom vengeance belongeth, and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in yourſelves an hope and truſt in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be aſſured the Lord will be true to you, and you ſhall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying, God's name ſhould be diſhonoured.

In ſum, caſt your care on the Lord, knowing for moſt certain, that he is careful for you; with whom all the hairs of your head are numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his good pleaſure: much more then nothing ſhall happen to our bodies, which ſhall not be profitable, howſoever for a time it ſeem otherwiſe to our ſenſes. Depend on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but alſo when you have no means, yea, when all means be againſt you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he chiefly requireth at your hands: namely, believe that you are his children through Chriſt, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you ſhall not lie ſtill: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally deliver you, and bring you to his eternal joy. Doubt not herein, my dearly beloved, doubt not (I ſay) this God your Father will do for you, not in reſpect of yourſelves, but in reſpect of Chriſt your captain, your paſtor, your keeper, out of whoſe hands none ſhall be able to pluck you; in him be quiet, and often conſider your dignity, namely, how that you be God's children, the ſaints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghoſt, the thrones of God, members of Chriſt and lords over all.

Therefore be aſhamed to think, ſpeak, or do any thing that ſhould be unſeemly for God's children, God's ſaints, Chriſt's members, &c. Marvel not though the devil and the world hate you, though ye be perſecuted here, for the ſervant is not above his maſter. Covet not earthly riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor the things of this world; but long for the Lord Jeſus's coming, at which time your bodies ſhall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth, you ſhall be like unto him; when your life ſhall be thus revealed, then ye ſhall appear with him in glory.

In the mean time live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God. "For the juſt do live by faith; which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God as a lanthorn to her feet, and a light to her ſteps; her eyes be above where Chriſt is, ſhe beholdeth not the things preſent, but rather things to come; ſhe glorieth in affliction; ſhe knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not worthy to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taſte, then ſhall we run after the ſcent it ſendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Chriſt our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my country muſt have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this ſignification of my good will towards all of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offenſive and negligent behaviour when I was amongſt you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you, by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praiſed. Confeſs Chriſt when you be called, whatſoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen. February 11, 1555.

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's ſake,

John Bradford.

LETTER III.

From Mr. Bradford *to the* Univerſity of Cambridge.

TO all that love the Lord Jeſus and his true doctrine, being in the univerſity and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a moſt unworthy ſervant of the Lord, impriſoned and condemned for the ſame true doctrine, wiſheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increaſe of all godlineſs from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

Although I look hourly when I ſhould be had to the ſtake, (my right dearly beloved in the Lord) and although the charge over me is great and ſtrict, yet having by the providence of God ſecretly pen and ink, I could not but ſignify unto you my ſolicitude which I have for all of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. For albeit I have deſerved (through my uucleanneſs, hypocriſy, avarice, vain-glory, idleneſs, unthankfulneſs, and carnality, whereof I accuſe myſelf, to my confuſion before the world, that before God through Chriſt I might, as my aſſured hope is I ſhall, find mercy) eternal death and hell, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me: yet my dearly beloved, it is not theſe, or any of theſe things, for which the prelates do perſecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Chriſt himſelf is the only cauſe for which I am now condemned, and ſhall be burned as an heretic, becauſe I will not grant the Antichriſt of Rome to be Chriſt's vicar general and ſupreme head of his church here, and every-where upon earth, by God's ordinance, and becauſe I will not grant ſuch corporal, real, and carnal preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament, as doth tranſubſtantiate the ſubſtance of bread and wine, and is received by the wicked, yea by dogs and mice. Alſo I am excommunicated and accounted as a dead member of Chriſt's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore ſhall be caſt into the fire.

Therefore you ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchſafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would pleaſe him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's ſake, will do in me and by me. Oh, what ſuch benefit upon earth can it be, as that I who deſerved death by reaſon of my ſins, ſhould be delivered to a demonſtration, a teſtification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou mother the univerſity hath not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifeſted unto thee by reading, diſputing, and preaching publickly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuſeleſs, and as it were, almoſt to ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romiſh rout to ſuppreſs the verity, thou haſt my life and blood as a ſeal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or elſe to confound thee, and bear witneſs againſt thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the meaſure of their fathers which ſlew the prophets and apoſtles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, ſhed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would ſuffer me, (for the love and duty I bear unto thee) to admoniſh thee good mother, and my ſiſter the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and ſtudy to do the firſt works. You know, (if you will) theſe matters of the Romiſh ſupremacy, and the antichriſtian tranſubſtantiation, whereby Chriſt's ſupper is overthrown, his prieſthood evacuated, his ſacrifice fruſtrated, the miniſtry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, piety extinguiſhed, the maſs maintained, idolatry ſupported, and all impiety cheriſhed: you know I ſay (if you will) that theſe opinions are not only beſides God's word, but even directly againſt it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part againſt God, againſt whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Chriſt, in his bowels and blood I beſeech you to take Chriſt's eye-ſalve to anoint your eyes, that you may ſee what you do, and have done, in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas! authorized, and by conſent confirmed) the Romiſh rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not "The dog returned to his own vomit: the ſow that was waſhed returned to her wallowing in the mire," 2 Pet. ii. Beware leſt Satan enter in with ſeven other ſpirits, and then the laſt ſhall be worſe than the firſt. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah, woe to this world and the things therein, which hath now ſo wrought with you. Oh that ever the dirt of the devil ſhould daub up the eye of the realm. If thou be light and ſhine, all the body ſhall fare the better: but if thou the light be darkneſs, alas how great will the darkneſs be? What is man whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, that thou ſhouldſt thus be afraid of him?

Oh what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but ſhame? Why art thou afraid to carry Chriſt's croſs? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Doſt thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Doſt thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, ſo hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confeſſors of Chriſt? Doſt thou not know, that as deſtruction happened unto it, ſo ſhall it do unto this? And thinkeſt thou that God will not deliver his people now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her! Haſt thou forgotten the woe that Chriſt threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember, that it were better that a mill-ſtone were hanged about thy neck and thou thrown into the ſea, than that thou ſhouldeſt offend the little ones?

And alas, how haſt thou offended? Yea, and how doſt thou ſtill offend? Wilt thou conſider things according to the outward ſhew? Was not the ſynagogue more ſeemly and like to be the true church, than the ſimple flock of Chriſt's diſciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more coſtly array, and rich apparel, externally to ſet forth herſelf, than the homely houſewife of Chriſt? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter, the church of Chriſt? Without or within? Doth not David ſay, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Chriſt, ſo are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honeſtly, which make ſo much of the wife, and ſo little of the huſband? The church they magnify, but Chriſt they contemn.

When Chriſt and his apoſtles were upon the earth, who was moſt like to be the true church, they or the prelates, biſhops and ſynagogue? If we ought to have followed cuſtom, unity, antiquity, or the greater part, ſhould not Chriſt and his company have been caſt out doors? therefore Chriſt ſaith, ſearch the ſcriptures. Good mother, ſhall the ſervant be above his maſter? Shall we look for better entertainment at the hands of the world, than Chriſt and his dear diſciples found? In Noah's time who was taken for the church, poor Noah and his family, or all the others that were deſtroyed by the flood? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom, righteous Lot, or the others? And doth not Chriſt ſay, "As it was then, ſo ſhall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man?" What meaneth Chriſt when he ſaith, Iniquity ſhall have the upper hand? Doth he not likewiſe ſay, that charity ſhall wax cold? And we plainly ſee the greateſt ſcarcity of it in thoſe, who would now be taken for Chriſt's true catholic church.

Therefore dear mother, receive ſome admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burnt to aſhes for the teſtimony of Jeſus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confeſs Chriſt and his true doctrine; repent of what is paſt, make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the reading and preaching of God's prophet the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God againſt impenitent ſinners. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, &c. awake and ſtrengthen thee. Let the impriſonment of thy dear ſons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Conſider the martyrdom of thy intimate friends, Rogers, Saunders, and Taylor. And now caſt not away the poor admonition of me, that am now going to be burnt and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was, that it may not happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardneſs of heart. And what then? Deſtruction eternally both of body and ſoul. Ah therefore, good mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, and make haſte to turn to the Lord. For otherwiſe it ſhall be more eaſy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O ſtop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by a moſt unworthy meſſenger. O fear the Lord, for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

You know I propheſied truly before the ſweating ſickneſs came what would come, if you repented not your carnal preaching. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and univerſity, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not ſpeedily to the Lord, if you will be aſhamed of Chriſt's ttuth which you know.

O Perne repent, O Thompſon repent, O doctors, bachelors and maſters repent; O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may eſcape the approaching vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts and make haſte to come unto the Lord. Let us all ſay, We have ſinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deſerts, but be merciful unto our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon our offences. In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hoſts, for the glory of thy name's ſake. Spare us and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people ſay, Where is now their God? O for thine own ſake, for thy name's ſake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyſelf unto us, and us unto thee, and we ſhall praiſe thy name for ever.

If in this ſort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and proſtrate ourſelves before the throne of his grace, then ſurely we ſhall find mercy. Then ſhall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's ſake in Chriſt: then ſhall we hear him ſpeak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compaſſion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot laſt long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we ſhall have our ſorrow to ceaſe. For he is merciful, and hath no pleaſure in the death of a ſinner: he would rather have him turn from his wickedneſs and live.

Oh turn ye now and repent; yet once again I humbly beſeech you, and then the kingdom of heaven ſhall draw nigh. The eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, nor is the heart of man able to conceive the joys prepared for us, if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if you repent not, but be as ye were, and go forwards with the wicked, following the faſhion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you ſhall periſh in your wickedneſs, your blood will be upon your own heads, your parts ſhall be with hypocrites, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth; you ſhall be caſt from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal ſhame, ſorrow, woe, and miſery, ſhall be both in body and ſoul to you world without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace, and purſue it. Come out from Babylon, caſt off the works of darkneſs, put on Chriſt, confeſs his truth, be not aſhamed of his goſpel, prepare yourſelves for the croſs, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs, and then ſhall I with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand: and therefore prepare yourſelves thereto, I heartily beſeech you. And thus I take my farewel for ever, with you in this preſent life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and ſure meeting in his kingdom, Amen, Amen.

Out of priſon, February 11, 1555.
Your own in the Lord for ever,
JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter IV. Herein he addreſſed the people of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, exhorting them ro repentance with ſimilar entreaties. Alſo (Letter V.) the town of Walden, requeſting his dear friends not to waver in Chriſt's religion, as ſet forth in the days of king Edward.

L E T T E R VI.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to his* loving BRETHREN, B. C. &c. *their* WIVES *and whole* FAMILIES.

I Beſeech the everliving God to grant you all, my good brethren and ſiſters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual ſenſe of his mercy in Chriſt our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The world, my brethren, ſeemeth to have the upperhand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity ſeemeth to be oppreſſed, and they which take part therewith are unjuſtly treated: as they which love the truth lament to ſee and hear as they do. The cauſe of all this is God's anger and mercy; his anger, becauſe we have grievouſly ſinned againſt him; his mercy, becauſe he here puniſheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindneſs; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been ſo carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. we have not haſtened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almoſt into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; ſo that of his juſtice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger as now he hath done, in taking his word and true ſervice from us, and permitting Satan to ſerve us with antichriſtian religion; and that in ſuch ſort, that if we will not yield to it, and ſeem to allow it in deed outward fact, our bodies are to be laid in priſon, and remain there, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

We ſhould look upon this as a ſign of God's anger procured by our ſins; which, my good brethren, every one of us ſhould often call to our memories, as particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, earneſtly aſk mercy for them, and ſubmit ourſelves to bear in this life any kind of puniſhment which God will lay upon us for them. This ſhould we do in conſideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is ſeen, and ſhould be ſeen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchſafe to puniſh us in this preſent life. If he ſhould not have puniſhed us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we would have been worſe, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godlineſs. And then if death had come, ſhould not we have periſhed both ſoul and body in eternal fire and perdition? Alas, what miſery ſhould we have fallen into, if God ſhould have ſuffered us to have gone forward in our evils? There is no greater ſign of damnation, than to lie in evil and ſin unpuniſhed by God, as now the papiſts (my dearly beloved) are caſt into Jezebel's bed of ſecurity, which of all plagues is the moſt grievous that can be. They are baſtards and not ſons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

A great mercy it is therefore that God doth puniſh us: for if he loved us not, he would not puniſh us. Now doth he chaſtiſe us, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, becauſe he favoureth us. Now may we think ourſelves God's houſe and children, becauſe he beginneth his chaſtiſing with us. Now he calleth us to remember our ſins paſt. Wherefore? That we might repent and aſk mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, juſtify us, and make us his children, and ſo begin to make us like unto Chriſt here, that we might be like unto him elſewhere, even in heaven, where already we are ſet by faith with Chriſt; and at his coming in very deed we ſhall then moſt joyfully enjoy, when our ſinful and vile bodies ſhall be made like to Chriſt's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things ſubject to himſelf.

Only ſtudy to pleaſe him, and to keep your conſcience clean, aud your bodies pure from the idolatrous ſervice, which now every-where is uſed, and God will marvelloufly and mercifully defend and comfort you, for the ſake of his holy name in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

LETTER VII.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to* ERKINALDE RAWLINS, *and his Wife.*

GOD our dear and moſt merciful Father through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, my good brother and ſiſter, as with his children for ever, and in all things ſo guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him, Amen.

As you have often relieved my neceſſities, (for which I beſeech God to make me thankful, and to recompenſe you both here and hereafter) I cannot but endeavour (as I am in gratitude bound) to write ſomething for your ſpiritual comfort.

My dearly beloved, look not upon theſe days, and the afflictions which they bring, as diſmal days, and days only of God's vengeance, but rather of good days, or days of God's fatherly kindneſs towards you, and ſuch as you be, that is, towards ſuch as repent of their paſt ſins, and earneſtly purpoſe to amend their lives, walking not after the way of the world, and the greateſt part of men, for the preſervation of their pelf, which, will they nill they, they ſhall leave ſooner or later, and to whom, and how it ſhall be uſed, they know not. Indeed to ſuch as walk in their wickedneſs, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of ſorrow is but now, becauſe they contemn the phyſic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleanſing days would work for their health, if they did but conſider it: and becauſe they will not have God's bleſſing, which hath been offered to them both by proſperity and adverſity, therefore it ſhall be kept far enough from them. As when the ſick man will receive no kind of phyſic from the hands of the phyſician, he is left alone, and ſo the malady increaſeth, and at length deſtroyeth him. To ſuch men, indeed, theſe days are, and ſhould be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, becauſe their damnation draweth nigh.

But unto ſuch as be penitent, and are deſirous to live after the Lord's will, (among whom I do not only count you, but as far as a man may judge, I know you are) unto ſuch, I ſay, this time is, and ſhould be comfortable. For now our Father chaſtiſeth us for our ſins; if he had had a mind to deſtroy us, he would have left us to ourſelves, to ſeek our own ways, and work our own ruin: let us patiently embrace his fatherly viſitation, for he chaſtiſeth us in this world, leſt with the world we ſhould periſh. Therefore, dear friends, call to mind and lament your ſins: pray for mercy and forgiveneſs, and undoubtedly believe that God will hear you; he doth not puniſh twice for one thing.

So, that, I ſay, we have cauſe to rejoice for theſe days, becauſe our Father ſuffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, ſleeping in our own ſins and ſecurity, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his own children; whereby we may be certain that we are no baſtards, but ſons; for he correcteth every ſon whom he receiveth. So that they who are not partakers of his chaſtiſements, or that contemn it, declare themſelves to be baſtards and not ſons, as I know you are, who being chaſtiſed, improve it accordingly. And therefore, my dear friends be glad, knowing certainly even by theſe viſitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear and choſen children, whoſe faults your Father doth viſit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen.

You have cauſe to rejoice for theſe days, becauſe they are days of trial, wherein you yourſelves, and all the world ſhall know that you belong not to it, but are God's darlings. Before theſe days came, Lord God! how many thought themſelves in God's boſom, and ſo were taken, and would be taken by the world? But now we ſee whoſe they are. For, whom we obey, his ſervants we be. If we obey the world, (which God forbid, and hitherto you have not done it) then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's. Which thing (I mean, that you are God's) theſe days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore you have no cauſe to be ſorry, but rather to rejoice at this aſſurance of being the Lord's children, and as you are ſo accounted by all good people.

What though the world repine thereat? what though it kick? what though it ſeek to trouble and moleſt you? it doth but according to its nature: he cannot love the Lord who liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child that hateth the Father: he that careth not for the maſter will not mind the ſervant. If ye were of the world, the world would love you, you ſhould live quietly, there would be no grief, no moleſtation. If the devil dwelt in you, (which God forbid) he would not ſtir up his knights to beſiege your houſe, or ſuffer his fiends to enter into your ſwine: but becauſe Chriſt dwelleth in you, (as he doth by faith) therefore the devil ſtirreth up his firſt-begotten ſon, the world, to ſeek how to diſquiet you, to rob you, to ſpoil you, and to deſtroy you: and perchance your dear Father, to try, and to make known to you and to the world, that you are intended for a better habitation that can be found here upon earth, even an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; hath given, or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him, (for you muſt not love them above him) as by giving that you have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

Satan, it may be, telleth God, (as he did of Job) that you love God for the ſake of your goods. What then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, ſhould give him power over your goods and body, would you be diſmayed? would you deſpair? would you be faint-hearted? or would you not rather rejoice, as the apoſtles did, that they were worthy to ſuffer any thing for the Lord's ſake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, ſo ſhall it happen unto you. For God is the ſame God, and cannot long forget to ſhew mercy to them that look and long for it, as you do, and I pray you ſtill ſo to do: for the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to ſhew and pour out his mercy upon you. After he hath afflicted and tried you a little while, (ſaith St. Peter) he will viſit, comfort, and confirm you; as he did to Jacob wreſtling with the angel, when at length morning came, and the ſun aroſe; ſo, doubtleſs, it will happen unto you. However, do ye as Job and Jacob did, that is, order and diſpoſe the things that God has lent you, as well as you can while you have time: who knoweth but God hath given you power thus long, for that end?

Go, therefore, diſpoſe of your goods, prepare yourſelves to trial, that ye may either ſtand to it like God's champions, or elſe if you feel ſuch infirmity in yourſelves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may ſerve the Lord with a free and ſafe conſcience. Think not this counſel to come by chance and fortune, but from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joſeph in a dream by an angel, that he ſhould fly, ſo if you feel ſuch infirmity in yourſelves, as ſhould turn to God's diſhonour, and your own deſtruction withal, know that at this preſent I am as God's angel, to admoniſh you to take time while ye have it, and to ſee that God's name might not be diſhonoured by you. Joſeph might have objected the omiſſion of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But (dear hearts) let vocations and all things elſe give place to God's name, and the ſanctifying thereof.

This I ſpeak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to ſtand to it: but I ſpeak it in reſpect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be ſo great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability, fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourſelves and to others. For by it you ſhall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and ſo give occaſion to others leſs to love this world, and perchance to ſome to doubt of their religion. Wherein though they be earneſt, yet would they not loſe ſo much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Laſt of all, ye have cauſe to rejoice over theſe our days, becauſe they be the days of confirmation, in which and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like to Chriſt's image here, that we may be like unto him elſewhere. For if we ſuffer with him, then ſhall we riſe with him again; if we accompany with him in all troubles and afflictions, then ſhall we rejoice with him in glory; if we now ſow with him in tears, we ſhall reap with him in gladneſs; if we confeſs him before men, he will confeſs us before his Father in heaven; if we take his part, he will take our's; if we loſe aught for his name's ſake, he will give us all things for his truth's ſake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad, for it is not given to every one to ſuffer loſs of country, life, goods, houſe, &c. for the Lord's ſake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with the Son? What may Chriſt our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? What can the Holy Ghoſt do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of Hoſts?

This cognizance of the Lord ſtandeth not in forked caps, tippets, ſhaven crowns, or ſuch other baggage and antichriſtian pelf, but in ſuffering for the Lord's ſake. "The world ſhall hate you," ſaith Chriſt. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children; the world ſhall hate you. Rejoice, therefore, (my dearly beloved) rejoice, that God doth vouchſafe to begin to confirm you, and to make you like to Chriſt. By the trial of theſe days ye are occaſioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to deſire life everlaſting, more to be holy, (for holy is the end for which God doth afflict us (and ſo to come to God's company. Which thing becauſe we cannot do as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we muſt enter with Chriſt into eternal life and immortality of ſoul and body; which God of his mercy ſend ſhortly, for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. Amen.

Letter VIII. was addreſſed to Mrs. A. Warcup, conſoling and entreating her to abide in the true faith.

LETTER IX.

To Mr. LAURENCE SAUNDERS, PRISONER *in the* MARSHALSEA.

MY good brother, I beſeech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by inſtruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confuſion of his adverſaries. "Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will ſhew forth his praiſe to deſtroy the enemy," &c.

I have peruſed your letters to myſelf, and have read them to others. For anſwer whereof, if I ſhould write what Dr. Taylor and Mr. Philpot do think, then I muſt ſay, that they think the ſalt ſent unto us by your friend, is unſeaſonable. And I think they will both declare it heartily, if they ſhould come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, (my good and moſt dear brother) becauſe I am ſo ſinful and ſo defiled (the Lord knoweth that I lie not) with many grievous ſins, which I hope are waſhed away with the blood of Chriſt, I neither can nor would be conſulted withal, but ſtood as a cypher. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a ſum: I pray God in no caſe I may ſeek myſelf, and indeed I thank God for it, I purpoſe it not.

The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would to God, I were godly, &c. The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation, ſuch as truſt in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not adore the beaſt, we never ſhall be delivered, but againſt their will, think I. God our Father and gracious Lord make perfect the good he hath begun in us.

He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O that I were with you. Pray for me, my own heart root in the Lord. For ever your own,

JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter X. was likewiſe addreſſed to the ſame, being a repetition of the former.

LETTER XI.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to the* Rev. FATHERS, Dr. CRANMER, Dr. RIDLEY, *and* Dr. LATIMER.

JESUS Immanuel. My dear fathers in the Lord, I beſeech God our ſweet Father through Chriſt, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all, Amen.

I had thought that every one of your ſtaves had ſtood next the door, but now it is otherwiſe perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermoſt, hearty Hooper, ſincere Saunders, and truſty Taylor, end their courſe, and receive their crown. The next am I, which hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the deſired reſt. God forgive me mine unthankfulneſs for this exceeding great mercy, that amongſt ſo many thouſands it pleaſeth his mercy to chuſe me to be one, in whom he will ſuffer. For although it be moſt true, that I juſtly ſuffer, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous ſinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed) yet what evil hath he done? Chriſt whom the prelates perſecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deſerved death. Therefore ought I moſt heartily to rejoice of this tender kindneſs of the Lord towards me, which uſeth a remedy for my ſin as a teſtimonial of his teſtament, to his glory, to my everlaſting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of Antichriſt, and his kingdom.

Out of priſon in haſte, looking for the tormentor, February 8, 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter XII. was addreſſed by Mr. Bradford to Lord Ruſſel, who was then in trouble for the cauſe of religion, exhorting him to prefer ſuffering perſecutions for Chriſt's ſake, to all worldly poſſeſſions.

LETTER XIII.

To Mr. WARCUP *and his* WIFE, Mrs. WILKINSON, *and other* FRIENDS.

THE ſame peace our Saviour Chriſt left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

I perceive the time is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known; I mean, it will now ſhortly appear who have received God's goſpel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein; for ſuch will not wither for a little heat or ſun burning, but ſtiffly will ſtand and grow on, in ſpite of the malice of all burning ſhowers and tempeſts.

O how heavy a ſentence is this to all ſuch as know the maſs to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blaſphemy, and ſacrilege againſt God and his Chriſt, (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loſs of life and goods, yea, ſome for advantage and gain, will honour it with their preſence, diſſembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conſcience doth accuſe them.

But, alas, if theſe men would look into their own conſciences, there ſhould they ſee that they are very diſſemblers, and in ſeeking to deceive others, (for by this means the magiſtrates think them of their ſort) they deceive themſelves. They think at the time of elevation, that the eyes of all men are fixed upon them, to obſerve how they do. They think others, hearing of ſuch men going to maſs, do ſee or enquire of their behaviour there. O if there were in thoſe men that are ſo preſent at the maſs either love to God, or to their brethren, they would for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admoniſh the people of their idolatry. They fear men more than Him who hath power to caſt both ſoul and body into hell-fire: they haſten on both knees; they ſerve two maſters. God have mercy upon ſuch, and open their eyes with his eye ſalve, that they may ſee that they who take no part with God are againſt him; and that they who gather not with Chriſt, do ſcatter abroad. O that they would read what St. John ſaith will be done to the fearful. The advice given to the church of Laodicea, is good counſel for ſuch.

But to return to you again, (dearly beloved) be not aſhamed of God's goſpel: it is the power of God unto ſalvation to all thoſe that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God ſhall make you able, knowing for certain that he will never tempt you farther than he will make you able to bear: and think it no ſmall favour from God to ſuffer for his truth: for the ſpirit of God reſteth upon you, and ye are happy: as one day ye ſhall ſee. Read 2 Theſſalonians i. Hebrews xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, ſo ſhall ye be more pure by ſuffering with Chriſt, 1 Pet. 1. The flail and the wind hurteth not wheat, but cleanſeth it from the chaff. And ye (my beloved) are God's wheat; fear not the flail; fear not the fanning wind; fear not the mill-ſtone; fear not the oven: for all theſe make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it blacken, yet it ſoileth not the cloth, but rather at length maketh it more clean: ſo doth the black croſs help us to more whiteneſs, if God ſtrike with his battledore. Becauſe ye are God's ſheep, prepare yourſelves to the ſlaughter, always knowing that in the ſight of the Lord our death ſhall be precious. The ſouls under the altar look for us to fill up their number; happy are we, if God hath ſo appointed us. Howſoever it be, dearly beloved, caſt your eyes wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we, nill we, we muſt drink God's cup, if he hath appointed it for us. Drink it willingly, and at the firſt, when it is full, leſt peradventure, if we linger, we ſhall, with the wicked, drink the dregs thereof, if at the beginning we refuſe to drink with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on mount Sion, then will he viſit the nations round about.

Submit yourſelves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man ſhall touch you without his knowledge; and whenever they moleſt you, know that is for your good. God will thereby work to make you like unto Chriſt here, that ye may be like unto him hereafter. Acknowledge your unthankfulneſs and your ſin, and bleſs God that correcteth you in the world, becauſe you ſhall not be damned with the world. Call upon his name through Chriſt, for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, ſaith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world ſhall not paſs. If all things ſeem to be againſt us, let us ſay with holy Job, "If he kill me, I will truſt in him." Read the ninety-firſt pſalm, and pray for me your poor brother and fellow-ſufferer for God's goſpel's ſake; his name therefore be praiſed; and may he through his infinite mercy and goodneſs make me and you worthy to ſuffer with good conſcience for the ſame. Die once we muſt, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his ſake. Here is not our home; therefore let us accordingly conſider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jeruſalem, Heb. xii. Rev. xxi. xxii. the way thither to be by perſecution; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe footſteps let us follow, even to the gallows, if it pleaſe God, not doubting but that as he within the three days roſe again immortal, even ſo we ſhall do in our time, that is, when the trump ſhall blow, and the angel ſhall ſhout, and the Son of man ſhall appear in the clouds with innumerable ſaints and angels, in majeſty and great glory: then ſhall the dead ariſe, and we ſhall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and ſo be always with him. Comfort yourſelves with theſe words, and pray for me for God's ſake. Out of priſon, Nov. 19, 1553.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XIV.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to* Sir JAMES HALES, Knight, *then* PRISONER *in the* COMPTER.

THE God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his conſolations comfort and ſtrengthen you to the end, for his and our Chriſt's ſake.

Although right worſhipful ſir, many cauſes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God, and my God, that he would give you grace to perſevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all ſuch as fear him; as lack of learning, familiarity, yea, acquaintance, (for I think I am unknown to you both by face and name) and other ſuch like things; yet I cannot content myſelf, but preſume to ſcribble ſomething unto you; not that I think my ſcribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my ſympathy and compaſſion, love and affection I bear towards you, who are contented, yea, deſirous with us poor ſinners, to confeſs Chriſt's goſpel in theſe perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God, how good art thou, which doſt thus glean out grapes, I mean children for thyſelf and brethren for Chriſt? Look, good maſter Hales, on your vocation; not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God choſe to ſuffer for his ſake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare ſay, you think not ſo of yourſelf, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you, but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free mercy in Chriſt. Again, I dare ſay that you being a wiſe man do judge of things wiſely, that is concerning this your croſs, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is the great maſter of error, nor after the judgment of reaſon and worldly wiſdom, which is fooliſhneſs to faith, nor after the preſent ſenſe, to which it ſeemeth not to be joyous but grievous, as St. Paul writeth; but after the word of God, which teacheth your croſs to be, in reſpect of yourſelf between God and you, God's chaſtiſing, and your Father's correction, nurture, ſchool, trial, pathway to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to conſume the droſs, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain, yea even the frame-houſe to faſhion you like to the deareſt ſaints of God here, yea to Chriſt the ſon of God, that elſewhere you might be like unto him.

Now concerning your croſs in reſpect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a teſtimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his juſtice, of his wiſdom, of his anger againſt ſin, of his goodneſs, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, ſo that by it you are to the world a witneſs of God, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is juſt, wiſe, and at length will judge the world, and caſt the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's ſetch, and the effects or ends of things, and ſo you ſee an eternal weight of glory which this croſs ſhall bring unto you, while you look not on things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen. Let the worldlings weigh things, and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as many did in the ſubſcription of the king's laſt will: and therefore they did that, for which they afterwards repented. But let us look on things after another manner, as God be praiſed you did, in not doing that which you were deſired; you then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God, and ſo you do now in religion, at leaſt hitherto you have done, and that you might do ſtill, I humbly beſeech and pray you ſay with David, "Mine eyes fail for thy word, ſaying, when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be like a bottle in the ſmoke, (for I hear you want health) yet do not forget the ſtatutes of the Lord; but cry out, How many are the days of thy ſervant? When wilt thou execute judgment on them that perſecute me?" And be certain, "The Lord will ſurely come, and not ſtay; though he tarry, wait for him: for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life; weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning." Follow therefore Iſaiah's counſel, Hide thyſelf for a little while until his indignation paſs over, which is not indignation indeed, but to our ſenſe: and therefore in the ſix and twentieth chapter of Iſaiah, God ſaith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, ſo there is no anger in me, ſaith he.

The mother ſometimes beateth the child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore ſhe caſteth the rod into the fire, and calleth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it moſt motherly. And to ſay the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore, ſaith he, Can a mother forget the child of her womb? As much as to ſay, No: but if ſhe ſhould ſo do, yet will I not forget thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts. Ah comfortable ſaying! I will not forget thee, ſaith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me, &c. Forſake me not O Lord. Whereas in very truth it is not ſo, but only in their preſent ſenſe: and therefore, ſaith David, I ſaid in mine agony, I was clean caſt away from thy face. But was it ſo? No verily. Read his pſalms, and you ſhall ſee. So he writeth alſo, in other places very often, eſpecially in the perſon of Chriſt, as when he ſaith, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? He ſaith not, why doſt thou forſake me? or why wilt thou forſake me? but, why haſt thou forſaken me? whereas, indeed, God had not left him, but that it was ſo to his ſenſe, and that this pſalm telleth us full well, which I pray you ſometimes to read; it is the twenty-ſecond pſalm, and thereto join the thirtieth, and the hundred and ſixteenth, with divers others. Much the ſame we read in the fortieth chapter of Iſaiah, where he reproveth Iſrael for ſaying, God hath forgotten them, in theſe words, "Haſt thou not known; haſt thou not heard? &c. They that truſt in the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength." In his fifty-fourth chapter read the following comfortable words, "Fear not, for a little while have I forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hide my face from thee, for a little ſeaſon: but in everlaſting mercy have I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have ſworn that the waters of Noah ſhould no more go over the earth, ſo have I ſworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains ſhall move, and the hills ſhall fall down, but my mercy ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the covenant of my peace fall away, ſaith the Lord that hath compaſſion on thee."

Be certain, be certain, good maſter Hales, that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore caſt all your care upon God, who will comfort you with his eternal conſolations, and make you able to go through the fire, (if need be) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies ſhall fall, and lie for ever; from which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire, which muſt be conſtrued according to the end and profit that cometh after it; it ſhall not then much terrify us to ſuffer for Chriſt our maſter's cauſe, which the Lord grant us for his mercy's ſake. Amen.

From the King's Bench,
Your humble,
JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter XV. In this Mr. Bradford exhorts Dr. Hill, Phyſician, to abide in the true faith, to fear God, and not to fear man. In Letter XVI. he deſires Mrs. M. H. a pious gentlewoman, to make God's glory ſhine in all her words and works: and his well-beloved friend, W. P. he ſolicits to pray for him in his Letter XVII.

LETTER XVIII.

From Mr. BRADFORD, *to a faithful* WOMAN *Inwardly Afflicted.*

GOD our Father, for his mercy's ſake in Chriſt, with his eternal conſolation ſo comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted of him in my greateſt need: yea, he will comfort you, my good ſiſter, only caſt your care upon him, and he never can nor will forſake you. For his calling and gifts are ſuch, that he can never repent of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his choſen can periſh. Of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved ſiſter; God increaſe the faith thereof daily more and more in you, may he give unto you to depend wholly on him, and on his providence and protection. For whoſo dwelleth under that ſecret thing, and help of the Lord, he ſhall be happy for evermore.

You complain in your letters of the blindneſs of your mind and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which he hath given unto you; may he open your eyes to ſee what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be leſs covetous, or rather impatient, for ſo (I fear) it ſhould be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands ſight to ſee your blindneſs, and thereto a deſirous and ſeeking heart to ſee where it lieth in the mid-day, as his dear ſpouſe ſpeaketh of herſelf in the Canticles? O Joyce, my good Joyce, what is this? Many have ſome ſight, but none this ſobbing and ſighing, none this ſeeking which you have, I know, but ſuch as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiſs his feet with Mary Magdalen, but you would be kiſſed even with the kiſs of his mouth, Canticles i. You would ſee his face with Moſes, not forgetting how he biddeth us to ſeek his face, Pſal. xxvii. yea, and that for ever, Pſal. cv. In bringing us to hell, faith ſeeth him to bring us to heaven; in darkneſs it beholdeth brightneſs; in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job ſee God, (but as you would ſay) under Satan's cloak? For who caſt the fire from heaven upon his goods? Who overthrew his houſe, and ſtirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? And yet Job pierced through all theſe, and ſay God's work, ſaying, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away," &c.

In reading of the Pſalms, how often do you ſee that David in the ſhadow of death ſaw God's ſweet love? And ſo, I ſee that you in your darkneſs and dimneſs by faith do ſee clearneſs and brightneſs: faith is of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conſcience whether you deſire or not. And can you deſire any thing which you know not? and is there any other true knowledge of heavenly things than by faith?

Therefore be thankful, for (before God I write it) you have great cauſe. Ah, my Joyce, how happy is the ſtay wherein you are? Verily you are in the bleſſed ſtate of God's children; for they mourn, and do you not ſo? And that not for worldly wealth, but for ſpiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſs? And I pray you, ſaith not Chriſt who cannot lie, that happy are ſuch? How ſhould God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth you ſhed no tears? How could heaven be a place of reſt, if on earth you find it? How could you deſire to be at home, if in your journey you find no grief? How could you ſo often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy ſhould ſleep all day long? How ſhould you elſewhere be made like unto Chriſt, I mean in joy, if in ſorrow you ſobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you muſt firſt feel ſorrow and miſery. If you will go to heaven, you muſt ſail by hell; if you will embrace Chriſt in his robes, you muſt not ſcorn him in his rags. If you will ſit at Chriſt's table in his kingdom, you muſt firſt abide with him in his temptations. If you will drink of his cup of glory, forſake not his cup of ignominy.

Can the head corner ſtone be rejected, and the other more baſe ſtones in God's building be in this world ſet by? You are one of his lively ſtones, be content therefore to be hewn and perſecuted, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows who ſuffer with you Satan's ſnatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conſcience, and threats of the fleſh, whereby they are enforced to cry, O wretches that we are, who ſhall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, mill-ſtone, or oven. You are one of Chriſt's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even ſlain.

If you were a market ſheep, you ſhould go in more fat and graſſy paſture. If you were for the fair, you ſhould be ſtall-fed, and want no wealth: but becauſe you are God's own occupying, therefore you muſt paſture on the bare common, abiding the ſtorms and tempeſts that will fall. Happy, and thrice happy are you, (my dear ſiſter) that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little and be ſtill. Let Satan rage againſt you, let the world cry out, let your conſcience accuſe you, let the law load you and preſs you down, yet they ſhall not prevail, for Chriſt is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be againſt us? The Lord is with you, your Father cannot forget; your ſpouſe loveth you. If the waves and ſurges ariſe, cry with Peter, Lord, I periſh; and he will put out his hand and help you. Caſt out your anchor of hope, and it will not ceaſe for the ſtormy ſurges, till it take hold of the rock of God's truth and mercy.

Think not that he who hath given you ſo many things corporally, as inductions of ſpiritual and heavenly mercies, and that without your deſerts or deſire can deny you any ſpiritual comfort when you deſire it. For if he giveth you a deſire, he will give you the enjoyment of a deſire. The deſire to have, and the going about to aſk, ought to certify your conſcience, that they be his earneſt of the thing which (you aſking) he will give you; yea, before you aſk, and whilſt you are about to aſk, he will grant the ſame, (as Iſaiah ſaith) to his glory, and your eternal conſolation. He that ſpared not his own Son for you, will not, nor can think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

If he had not choſen you, (as moſt certainly he hath) he would not have ſo called you, he never would have juſtified you; he never would have ſo glorified you with his gracious gifts, which, praiſed be his name, I know; he never would have ſo exerciſed your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth, if he had not choſen you. If he hath choſen you, you ſhall never periſh; for if you fall, he will lift you up. Never was mother ſo careful of a child, as he is of you.

Chriſt and his mercy is the only cauſe of our election. This Chriſt, this mercy, and the infallible truth of God remaineth for ever; and if an angel from heaven ſhould tell you the contrary, let him be accurſed. Your thankfulneſs and worthineſs are fruits and effects of your election, but they are no cauſes. Theſe fruits and effects ſhall be much more fruitful and effectual, as you are more ſtedfaſt and ſincere.

Ariſe, and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a ſhepherd who never ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth: neither man nor devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgot what I read to you out of the Pſalms, "The Lord is my ſhepherd, I can want nothing!" As God ſpared Noah in the ark, even ſo hath he ſpared you. Ten thouſand ſhall fall on your right hand, and twenty thouſand on your left, and yet no evil ſhall touch you. Say boldly with the Pſalmiſt, "Many a time from my youth up have they fought againſt me, but they have not prevailed;" no, nor ever ſhall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people; and who are his people but ſuch as love him, ſerve him, and hope in him? Happy are all they that do ſo, as it is manifeſt you do by what you have written and unfeignedly confeſſed unto me. And if you once had that hope, as doubtleſs you had, though you feel it not at preſent, it is not loſt, you ſhall find it again if you ſeek it; for the anger of the Lord laſteth but for a moment, but his mercy endureth for ever. Tell me who hath weakened you! Surely not a perſuaſion from him that called you. Why ſhould you waver and be ſo heavy-hearted? Whom look you on? on yourſelf? on your own worthineſs? on your own thankfulneſs? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Do you believe, hope, and love as much as you ought? No, no, nor never can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you ſo ſoon forgotten that which ever ſhould be had in memory? namely, that when you would and ought to be certain and quiet in conſcience, your faith ſhould break through all things that are in earth and heaven, or hell, until you come to Chriſt crucified, and the eternal mercies and goodneſs of God in him. Here is the reſting place, here is the ſpouſe's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him, bewail your weakneſs, unworthineſs, diffidence, &c. and you ſhall ſee he will turn to you; nay, I ſhould rather have ſaid, you ſhall feel he will turn to you. You know that when Moſes went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud; and Elias had his face covered when God paſſed by. Both theſe dear friends of God heard him, but they ſaw him not, but you ſhall ſee him when he appeareth in power and great glory. Here is not the time of ſeeing, but as it were in a glaſs. Iſaac was deceived, becauſe he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of theſe many words, wherewith I fear I do but trouble you from better exerciſes; inaſmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all times; inaſmuch as you are given to the cuſtody of Chriſt, as one of God's moſt precious jewels; inaſmuch as Chriſt is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall never periſh, no one hair of your head ſhall not be loſt: I beſeech you, I pray you, I deſire you, I crave at your hands with all my heart, I aſk of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's ſake, my moſt intirely beloved ſiſter, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howſoever you feel yourſelf; but complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which ſhall be moſt convenient, you ſhall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive to your eternal joy, Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; may he comfort you, as I deſire to be comforted, my dearly beloved for evermore, Amen.

I break up thus abruptly, becauſe our common prayer time calleth me. The peace of Chriſt dwell in both our hearts for ever, Amen.

As for the report of W. P. if it be as you hear, you muſt prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, Do WELL AND BEAR EVIL. Be content therefore to bear whatſoever the enemy ſhall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, Amen, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Here follow Letters XIX and XX. to the good lady Vane, wherein he reſolveth certain queſtions which ſhe demanded. This lady Vane was a great ſupporter of the pious martyrs who were impriſoned in queen Mary's time; unto whom divers letters wrote by Meſſ. Philpot, Careleſs, Trahern, and others, wherein they render unto her moſt grateful thanks for her exceeding goodneſs towards them. She died anno 1568.

In letter XXI he addreſſes Mr. Royden and Mr. Eſing, with their Wives and Families, enjoining them not to waver in their faith. He deſires Mrs. Wilkinſon (Letter XXII) to be thankful to the Lord for his great mercies. In Letter XXIII. he encourages certain pious perſons to prepare themſelves to bear the croſs with patience.—

"If ye go to maſs, and do as the moſt part doth, then may you live quietly and at reſt: but if you refuſe to go thither, then ye ſhall go to priſon, loſe your goods, leave your children comfortleſs, yea, loſe your life alſo. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and conſider the ſhortneſs of this life, which is even as a ſhadow and a ſmoke. Again, conſider how intolerable the puniſhment of hell-fire is, and that endleſs. Laſt of all, look on the joys incomprehenſible, which God hath prepared for all them, world without end, who loſe either life, land, or goods for his name's ſake; and then reaſon thus: If we go to maſs, the greateſt enemy that Chriſt hath, though for a little time we ſhall live in quiet, and leave to our children ſomething to live upon hereafter, yet we ſhall diſpleaſe God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy, into eternal miſery, firſt of ſoul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

Again we ſhall want peace of conſcience, which ſurmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will viſit our idolatry on them in this life? yea, our houſe and goods, and even our life are in danger of being loſt by many caſualties: and when God is angry with us, he can when he pleaſes ſend one means or other to take all from us for our ſins, and to caſt us into greater trouble, who will not come into ſome little for his ſake.

On this ſort reaſon with yourſelves, and then doubtleſs God will work otherwiſe with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourſelves unable to abide perſecution, be moſt aſſured, that if you earneſtly purpoſe not to forſake God, that he will make you ſo able to bear his croſs, that you ſhall rejoice therein. "God is faithful, (ſaith Saint Paul) who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above that you are able; but will with the temptation alſo make a way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it." Think how great a benefit it is, if God will make you worthy of this honour, to ſuffer loſs of any thing for his ſake. He might juſtly inflict moſt grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod, whereby you ſhall be made like to his Chriſt, that ye may for ever reign with him. Suffer yourſelves therefore now to be made like to Chriſt, for elſe ye ſhall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which ye have a long time ſtedfaſtly profeſſed. O how would he triumph, if he could win his purpoſe! O how would the papiſts triumph againſt God's goſpel in you! O how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! O how would the poor children of God be diſcomforted, if you ſhould now go to maſs and other idolatrous ſervice, and do as the world doth."

In Letter XXIV. he admoniſhes certain Profeſſors of the Goſpel to beware they fall not from the truth in conſenting to the Romiſh Religion.

"My dearly beloved, be admoniſhed to remember your profeſſion, how that in baptiſm you made a ſolemn vow to forſake the devil, the world, &c. You promiſed to fight under Chriſt's ſtandard. You learned Chriſt's croſs before you began with A B C. Go forwards then, pay your vow to the Lord: fight like men, and valiant men under Chriſt's ſtandard; take up your croſs and follow your maſter, as your brethren Meſſ. Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders, have done, and as now your brethren, Dr. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c. are ready to do. The ice is broke before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no occaſion to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the paſtors. Remember that Chriſt ſaith, "He that will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it." And what ſhould it profit you to win the whole world, much leſs a little quietneſs, your goods, &c. and to loſe your own ſouls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by ſuch means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Chriſt's diſciples muſt deny themſelves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wiſdom. Have in mind, that as it is no ſmall mercy to believe in the Lord, ſo it is no ſmall kindneſs of God towards you, to ſuffer any thing, much more death for the Lord. If they be bleſſed that die in the Lord, how ſhall they be that die for the Lord? O what a bleſſing is it to have death due for our ſins, diverted into a demonſtration and teſtification of the Lord's truth? O that we had a little of Moſes's faith to look upon the end of the croſs, to look upon the reward, to ſee continually with Chriſt and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to ſee his hid manna, heavenly Jeruſalem, the congregation of his firſt-born, the melody of the ſaints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men, and ſo take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for Chriſt's ſake to ſee a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and moſt aſſuredly giveth us for his own goodneſs and truth's ſake, Amen.

LETTER XXV.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to his good* BROTHER JOHN CARELESS, *Priſoner in the* KING'S-BENCH.

THE father of mercy, and God of all comfort, viſit us with his eternal conſolation, according to his great mercies in Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, Amen.

My dear brother, I never received ſo much conſolation by any thing ſince I came into priſon, as I have by your laſt letter, God be praiſed. I muſt confeſs that for my unthankfulneſs towards you, and eſpecially to God, I have now more need of his merciful aſſiſtance than ever. Ah that Satan envieth us ſo greatly, ah that our Lord would ſhortly lay his head under our feet. Ah that I may for ever beware, and be a godly example to you and to others, to beware of unthankfulneſs. Good Brother, we had more need to take heed of a foil after lightning than before. God therefore is to be praiſed even when he hideth (for a ſeaſon) his chearful countenance from us, leſt we, by not knowing how to uſe it as we ought, do hurt ourſelves more thereby, ſo great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourſelves united unto him in Chriſt, ſo by love we may find ourſelves linked in the ſame Chriſt to one another, I to you, and you to me, we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us, Amen, Amen.

Commend me to your good brother Skelthorp, for whom I heartily praiſe God, who hath given him at length grace to ſee and profeſs his truth. I doubt not but he will be ſo wary in all his converſation, that his old acquaintance may thereby ever think themſelves aſtray. Wo, and wo again would be unto us, if we by our example ſhould make men to ſtumble at the truth. Forget not ſalutations in Chriſt, as you ſhall think good to Trew and his companions. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them alſo, although we perchance think otherwiſe. It is not one or two drops that maketh the ſtone hollow, but the perpetual dropping; ſo if with hearty prayer for them, and by our good example gently working upon them, we may at length ſee the operation of God. I beſeech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all, Amen. I deſire you all to pray for me the moſt unworthy priſoner of the Lord.

Your Brother,

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XXVI.

From MR. BRADFORD *to* MR. JOHN HALL *and his* WIFE, *Priſoners in* NEWGATE.

ALMIGHTY GOD our heavenly Father, through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you both, my dearly beloved as with his dear children for ever, and bleſs you with his Holy Spirit, that you may rejoice in his cauſe and this croſs, and gladly take it up and bear it ſo long as he ſhall think good. I have heard (my good brother and ſiſter) that God hath brought you both into his ſchool-houſe, that thereby you might ſee his love and care for you. If it be a token of a loving and careful father, to prevent the purpoſe and diſappoint the intent of his children, while they inconſiderately endeavour to keep from ſchool (which they would not do, if they did but know the advantage of the learning they might there get); how ſhould you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpoſe, but as an evident ſign of that love and fatherly carefulneſs which he beareth towards you? If he had winked at your faults, you might indeed have eſcaped beating (I mean the croſs) but then you would have loſt the advantage of learning that which your Father would have you to learn for your future good. He, I ſay, hath brought you where you be; and though your wit and reaſon may tell you, it is by chance or fortune, yet my dearly beloved, whatſoever was the means, know for certain that God your Father was the worker hereof, and for your welfare, though your old Adam doth tell you otherwiſe; yet I ſay of truth, that your duty is to think of this croſs, that as it is God's ſending, and although you deſerve otherwiſe, yet it cometh from him out of pure love and fatherly affection for your welfare and advantage.

You will be apt to object, and ſay, What advantage can ariſe from all this? We are now kept cloſe in priſon; our families and poor children have nobody to take care of them; our ſubſtance by this means is diminiſhed; our poverty approacheth, and perchance more dangers alſo, yea, and loſs of life too. Theſe are no advantages, but the greateſt miſeries and misfortunes; ſo that we may juſtly inquire, and ſhould be glad to know, what advantage can come from us from this croſs, which ſeems to be attended with nothing but the moſt miſerable inconveniences.

To theſe things I anſwer, That indeed what you ſay is true of your bodies, families, children, ſubſtance, poverty, life, &c. But then you muſt conſider theſe things in another manner, you muſt view them inwardly as well as outwardly, and then, perhaps, you may find more ſatisfaction. Dot not you know that you muſt of neceſſity part from all theſe fine things in a very ſhort time? Tell me then, have you not this advantage from the croſs, to learn to loath and leave this world, and to long for and deſire another, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profeſſion in baptiſm) forſaken the world and all earthly things, uſing the world as though you uſed it not. Your heart muſt entirely ſet upon your treaſure in heaven, or elſe you can never be Chriſt's true diſciples, nor be ſaved, and be where he is. The advantage that cometh by this croſs, if you rightly and willingly embrace it, will moſt aſſuredly bring you to the Lord in endleſs glory. How doth God now, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences, that repentance and remiſſion might enſue? How doth God now compell you to call upon him, and to be earneſt in prayer? Are all theſe no advantages? Doth not the ſcripture ſay, that "God doth correct us in this world, becauſe we ſhall not be damned with the world? That God chaſteneth every one whom he loveth?" Doth not the ſcripture ſay, that you are now going the right way to heaven? That your ſuffering is Chriſt's ſuffering? My dearly beloved, what greater advantages than theſe can a godly heart deſire?

Therefore you are commanded to rejoice and be glad when you ſuffer as you now do; for through the goodneſs of God great ſhall be your reward. Where? forſooth on earth, firſt your children; for now they are in God's immediate protection. Never was father ſo careful for his children, as God is for your's. God's bleſſing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them ſhall be pulled away, yet God is not poor, he has promiſed to provide for them moſt fatherly. "Caſt thy burthen upon me, ſaith he, and I will bear it." Do you therefore caſt them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's ſeed ſhall not go begging their bread, for he will ſhew mercy upon thouſands of the poſterity of them that fear him. Therefore, as I ſaid, God's reward, firſt, upon earth, ſhall be felt by your children even corporally, and ſo alſo upon you, if God ſee it moſt for your advantage, at leaſt inwardly you ſhall feel it by the quietneſs of your conſcience: And ſecondly, after this life you ſhall find it ſo plentifully, as the eye hath not ſeen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your ſouls. God open our eyes to ſee and feel this indeed. Then ſhall we think the croſs, which is a means hereto, to be commodious. Then ſhall we ſay with David, "Happy am I that thou haſt puniſhed me; for before I went aſtray, but now I keep thy laws."

That we may do this indeed, my dearly beloved, let us firſt know that our croſs cometh from God. Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, for our good. Thirdly, let us call to mind our ſins, and aſk pardon. Fourthly, let us look for certain help at God's hand in his good time; help, I ſay, ſuch as ſhall make moſt to God's glory, and to the comfort and advantage of our ſouls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there proceed from us hearty thankſgiving, which God requireth as a moſt gracious ſacrifice. That we may all offer this through Chriſt, let us uſe earneſt prayer to our God and dear Father, who bleſs us, keep us, and comfort us under his ſweet croſs for ever, Amen, Amen.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you ſhould be ſure thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I muſt do as I may, becauſe I cannot as I would. O that it would pleaſe our dear Father ſhortly to bring us where we ſhall never part, but enjoy continually the bleſſed fruition of his heavenly preſence. Pray, pray, that it may ſpeedily come to paſs.

To morrow I will ſend to you to know your eſtate; ſend me word what are the chiefeſt things they charge you withal.

From the Compter,
by your brother in the Lord,
JOHN BRADFORD.

He alſo addreſſes Mrs. Hall (Letter XXVII.) to the ſame purport. In Letter XXVIII. he anſwers a woman, who deſired to know if ſhe might be preſent at the Popiſh Mattins, having refrained from maſs.

"Firſt, The mattins and even-ſong is in a tongue forbidden to be uſed in the public congregation, where they underſtand it not. Read what St. Paul ſaith, that to pray in an unknown tongue is againſt God's commandments, 1 Cor. xiv. This one, I think, is ſufficient, if there were no other argument againſt it. For how can God's glory be ſought, where his word and commandment is wilfully broken? How can charity to man ſtand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is broken down?

Again, Both in mattins and even-ſong idolatry is maintained; for there is invocation and prayer made to ſaints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory which he will give to none other.

Moreover, this ſervice, and ſetters-forth of it condemn the Engliſh ſervice as hereſy, thereby falling into God's curſe, which is threatened to ſuch as call good evil, and evil good: whereof they ſhall partake who communicate with them.

Beſides, this Latin ſervice is a plain mark of Antichriſt's catholic ſynagogue; ſo that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themſelves to be members of the ſame ſynagogue, and ſo cut off from Chriſt and his church, whoſe exterior mark is the true adminiſtration of God's word and ſacraments.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of Antichriſt, (as doubtleſs you do indeed, howſoever in heart you think) occaſioneth the obſtinate to be utterly untractable, the weak papiſts to be more obſtinate, the ſtrong goſpellers to be much weakened, and the weak goſpellers to be utterly overthrown: the inconveniences that muſt neceſſarily attend it, neither tongue can utter, nor pen deſcribe. All theſe evils thoſe be guilty of that (externally only) accompany theſe in religion; from which you are admoniſhed to fly. If Chriſt be Chriſt, follow him. Gather with him, leſt you ſcatter abroad. Serve God, not only in ſpirit, but alſo in body; make not your body, which is now a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Come out from amongſt them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confeſs Chriſt and his truth, not only in heart, but alſo in tongue, yea, in very deed, which too few goſpellers do. Indeed many deny him, and therefore had need tremble, leſt that Chriſt deny them in the laſt day: which day, if it were often ſet before our eyes, the profits and pleaſures of this world would be eſteemed as mere trifles.

Therefore, good ſiſter, often have it before your eyes, daily ſet yourſelf and your doing, as it were, before the judgment ſeat of Chriſt, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will be little profit to you to win the whole world, and loſe your own ſoul. Mark well Chriſt's leſſons, "He that will ſave his life ſhall loſe it." The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Chriſt, who ſaith, follow me: this you cannot do, and follow idolatry, or idolaters. Fly from ſuch, ſaith the ſcripture."

Letter XXIX. is addreſſed to lady Vane on former ſubjects. Letter XXX. to Mr. Richard Hopkins, ſometime ſheriff of Coventry: who, during the time of his ſhrievalty, was accuſed by certain malignant adverſaries of matters pertaining to religion, and committed to the Fleet priſon, where he remained a long time in great peril of his life. Being at length delivered out of priſon, following Mr. Bradford's counſel, and minding to keep his conſcience pure from idolatry, he was forced with his wife, and eight young children to quit the realm, and went into High-Germany, where he continned in the city of Baſil till the death of queen Mary.

In Letter XXXI. he encourages Mrs. Brown to perſevere in godlineſs.—In Letter XXXII. he inſtructs a friend how to anſwer his adverſaries.

"When you ſhall come before the magiſtrates to give an anſwer of the hope that is in you, do it with all reverence and ſimplicity. And if you are afraid of the power and cruelty of the magiſtrates, ſet before you the example of good father Moſes; for he ſet the inviſible God before the eyes of his faith, and with them he looked upon God and his glorious majeſty and power, as with the eyes of his body he ſaw Pharaoh and all his frightful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give light unto you, that as you are before the magiſtrates, ſo, and much more, are you and they preſent before the face of God, who will give you ſuch wiſdom as the enemies ſhall be amazed at: and further, he will ſo order their hearts and doings, that they ſhall, whether they will or no, ſerve God's providence towards you, (which you cannot avoid, though you would) as ſhall be moſt to his glory, and your everlaſting comfort.

The chief matter they will trouble you for, and go about to deceive you withal, is the ſacrament, not of Chriſt's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby deſtroying the ſacrament which Chriſt inſtituted. I would have you note theſe two things:

Firſt, That the ſacrament of the altar which the prieſt offereth in the maſs, and eateth privately by himſelf, is not the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood inſtituted by him, as Chriſt's inſtitution plainly written, and ſet down in the ſcriptures, being compared with their uſing of it, evidently doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Chriſt's ſacrament inſtituted by him, whether it be Chriſt's body or no: anſwer them, That as to the eyes of your reaſon, to your taſte, and corporal ſenſe, it is bread and wine, and therefore the ſcripture calleth it ſo, even after conſecration; but to the eyes, taſte and ſenſe of your faith, which aſcendeth into heaven where Chriſt ſitteth, it is in very deed Chriſt's body and blood, which ſpiritually your ſoul feedeth on to everlaſting life, in faith and by faith, even as your body preſently feedeth on the ſacramental bread and ſacramental wine.

By this means, as you ſhall not allow tranſubſtantiation, nor none of their popiſh opinions; ſo ſhall you declare the ſacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reaſon, as the papiſts make it. For they deny God's omnipotence, in ſaying that Chriſt is not there if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promiſe, and doubteth not but that Chriſt is able to give us what he promiſeth ſpiritually by faith, the bread ſtill remaining in ſubſtance, as well as if the ſubſtance of bread were taken away: for Chriſt ſaith not in any place, this no bread. But in theſe things God will inſtruct you, if you rely on his promiſe, and pray for the power and wiſdom of his Spirit.

LET-

In Letter XXXIII. Mr. Bradford exhorts certain godly men, to continue patient in the croſs, and conſtant in the true doctrine, which they had profeſſed.

LETTER XXXIV.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to* Mr. GEORGE EATON.

ALMIGHTY GOD our heavenly Father, recompenſe abundantly into your boſom, here and eternally, my dearly beloved, the good which from him by you I have coutinually received ſince my coming into priſon. Other ways can I never be able to requite your loving kindneſs here, than by praying for you, and after this life by witneſſing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we ſhall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whither I thank God I am even now going, always expecting the officers to come and ſatisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, becauſe I have juſtly deſerved an hundred thouſand deaths at God's hands by reaſon of my ſins, yet I may and muſt rejoice, becauſe the prelates do not perſecute in me mine iniquities, but Chriſt Jeſus, and his verity.

And becauſe they can do him no hurt, (for he ſitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to ſcorn, as one day they ſhall feel) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor ſheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants, Matt. ii. Great cauſe have I therefore to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Chriſt will vouchſafe, among many, to chuſe me to be a veſſel of grace to ſuffer in me, (who have deſerved ſo often and juſtly to ſuffer for my ſins) that I might be moſt aſſured I ſhall be a veſſel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

As for the doctrine which I have profeſſed and preached, I do confeſs unto you in writing, as to the whole world I ſhall ſhortly by God's grace in ſuffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, of his prophets, apoſtles, and all good men: ſo that if an angel ſhould come from heaven and preach otherwiſe, the ſame were accurſed.

Therefore waver not, dear brother in the Lord, but be confirmed in this truth, and as your vocation requireth, when God ſo will, confeſs it, though it be dangerous ſo to do. The end will evidently ſhew another manner of pleaſure for ſo doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Reverently read God's word. Set the ſhortneſs of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practiſe in your life what you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and purſue good. Remember them that be in bonds, eſpecially for the Lord's cauſe, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppreſſion of Jeruſalem; and God our Father will give us his continual bleſſing through Chriſt our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my farewell of you, dear brother, for ever in this preſent life, till we ſhall meet in eternal bliſs; whither our good God and Father bring us ſhortly, Amen. God bleſs all your babes for ever, Amen.

Out of priſon the 8th of February.
Your afflicted brother for the cauſe of Chriſt,
JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XXXV.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to* Mrs. ANNE WARCUP.

ALmighty God our heavenly Father, for his Chriſt's ſake, increaſe in us faith, by which we may more and more ſee what glory and honour is repoſed and ſafely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confeſs Chriſt and his truth with the mouth, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I remember that, ſome time ago, I took my leave of you upon conjecture; but now indeed I bid you farewell, upon certain knowledge. My ſtaff ſtanding at the door, I continually look for the ſheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now I go to confirm that which I have preached. Now I am climbing up the hill, it will cauſe me to puff and blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is ſteep and high, my breath is ſhort, and my ſtrength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodneſs, come almoſt to the top, I may by his grace be ſo ſtrengthened, as not to reſt till I come where I ſhould be. O loving Lord, put out thy hand and draw me unto thee: for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my ſhort breath, and my great weakneſs. As he ſent for Elias in a fiery chariot, ſo ſendeth he for me: for by fire my droſs muſt be purified, that I may be fine gold in his ſight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulneſs. Indeed I confeſs that my ſins have deſerved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, ſo loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my ſins, the puniſhment for my tranſgreſſions, into a teſtimonial of his truth, and a teſtification of his verity, which the prelates do perſecute in me, and not my ſins: therefore they perſecute not me, but Chriſt in me, who I doubt not will take my part to the very end, Amen.

O that I had ſo open an heart, as could receive this great benefit and unſpeakable dignity as I ſhould, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved, pray for me that I never ſhrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am ſure will not leave me when I have moſt need for his truth and mercy's ſake; O Lord, help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my truſt, I care not what man can do unto me, Amen. My dearly beloved, ſay you Amen alſo, and come after if God ſo call you. Be not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt, but keep company with him ſtill. Uſe hearty prayer, reverently read and hear God's word, put it in practice: look for the croſs, lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's ſaints is precious in his ſight. Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of his heavy diſpleaſure upon our country. God keep us for ever, God bleſs us with his ſpiritual bleſſings in Chriſt. And thus I bid you farewel for ever in this preſent life. Pray for me, for God's ſake, pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me.

Out of priſon the 7th of February.
JOHN BRADFORD.

Letter XXXVI. is addreſſed to a certain gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her parents for not coming to maſs; wherein he exhorts her, to be ſtedfaſt in the true faith; and encourages her to reject the popiſh religion.

In Letter XXXVII. he returns thanks to thoſe from whom he had received comfort and relief in his impriſonment.

LETTER XXXVIII.

From MR. BRADFORD *to a faithful* FRIEND *and his* WIFE, *reſolving their* DOUBT, *why they ought not to come to* AURICULAR CONFESSION.

FOR auricular confeſſion, wherein you deſire my advice, my dear brother, I am as ready to give it, as you are to deſire it; yea more ready, for

I had half a ſuſpicion that you and your wife (eſpecially your wife) were tired of my advice, as if I had given too much; whereas indeed I ſhould lament my too little care in feeding you ſpiritually, ſince you have ſpared no pains, both in priſon and out of priſon, to feed me corporally.

Auricular confeſſion, as it was firſt uſed and inſtituted (which was by way of aſking counſel) I take to be amongſt thaſe traditions which are in themſelves indifferent, that is, it may be done, or it may be left undone, unleſs it giveth offence to the weak brethren, and then it ought to be avoided, for we learn by St. Paul that things may be lawful that are not at all times expedient. But to conſider it, as it is now uſed, (I write to you as I think, and what my own mind is; which follow no further than good men by God's word do allow) to conſider it, I ſay, as it is now uſed, methinks it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for theſe cauſes.

Firſt, Becauſe they make it a ſervice of God, and a thing which pleaſeth God of itſelf, not to ſay meritorious; my brother, the bearer, can tell you at large how great an evil this is.

Secondly, Becauſe they make it of neceſſity, ſo that he or ſhe that uſeth it not, is not taken for a good chriſtian.

Thirdly, Becauſe it requireth of itſelf an impoſſibility, that is, the numbering and telling of all our ſins, which no man can conceive, much leſs utter.

Fourthly, Becauſe it eſtabliſheth and confirmeth, at leaſt alloweth, praying to ſaints. *Precor Sanctam Mariam*, you muſt ſay, or the prieſt for you.

Fifthly, Becauſe it is very injurious to the liberty of the goſpel, which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work, and dear in the ſight of God.

Sixthly, Becauſe (as it is uſed) it is a note, yea, a very ſinew of the popiſh church; and therefore we ſhould be ſo far from allowing the ſame, that we ſhould think ourſelves happy to loſe any thing in bearing witneſs againſt it.

Seventhly, Becauſe inſtead of counſel, thereat ye ſhall receive poiſon, or if you refuſe it under Sir John's Benedicite, you ſhall no leſs there be wound in the briars.

Eighthly, Becauſe the end and purpoſe of your going thither is to avoid the croſs, that is, for our own cauſe, and not for Chriſt's cauſe or the edification of our brethren. For in that they make it ſo neceſſary a thing, and a worſhipping of God, it cannot but be againſt Chriſt and the freedom of his goſpel: and the ſame thing teacheth us, that it is diſadvantageous to our brethren, who either be weak, or ſtrong, or ignorant, or obſtinate. If they be weak, by your reſorting to it, they be made more weak: if they be ſtrong, you do what you can to decreaſe their ſtrength: if they be ignorant, thereby you help to keep them ſo: if they be obſtinate, your reſorting to it cannot but rock them to ſleep in their obſtinate error of the neceſſity of this rite and ceremony.

Letter XXXIX. is from Mr. Bradford, to Mr. Auguſtine Barneher; in which he begs him to learn what is ſaid of him; and expatiates upon the great probability, of his being ſoon burnt in Smithfield.

LETTER XL.

From Mr. BRADFORD, *deſcribing a* Compariſon *between the* OLD MAN *and the* NEW, *&c.*

A Man that is regenerate and born of God, (which that every one of us be, our baptiſm, the ſacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us ſay with the Virgin Mary, "Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word," according to the ſacrament of baptiſm, wherein thou haſt declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, ſtriving againſt it as we ſhall be made able by the Lord) a man, I ſay, that is regenerate, conſiſteth of two men, (as one may ſay) namely of the old man and of the new man. The old man is like to a mighty giant, ſuch a one as was Goliah, for his birth is now perfect. But the new man is like to a little child, ſuch a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of the general reſurrection.

Betwixt theſe two men there is a continual conflict and a deadly war. The fleſh and old man, by reaſon of his birth being perfect, doth often for a time prevail againſt the new man, (being but a child in compariſon) and that in ſuch a manner, that even the children of God themſelves think that they be nothing elſe but old, and that the ſpirit and ſeed of God is loſt and gone away; when yet notwithſtanding the truth is otherwiſe, the Spirit and the ſeed of God at length appearing again, and diſpelling the clouds which cover the ſun; ſo that ſometimes a man cannot tell by any ſenſe, that there is any ſun, the clouds and wind do ſo hide it from our ſight: even ſo our blindneſs and corrupt affections do often ſhadow the ſight of God's ſeed in his children, as though they were downright reprobates. Whereof it cometh that they praying according to their ſenſe, but not according to the truth, deſire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had loſt it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he maketh us to think ſo for a time; for he always holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not ſtill as others do which are not regenerate.

This our inheritor Chriſt Jeſus, God with God, Light of Light, co-eternal and co-ſubſtantial with the Father, and with the Holy Ghoſt, to the end that he might become our huſband, (becauſe the huſband and the wife muſt be one body and fleſh) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by it in his own perſon, to us all his children, his divine majeſty, (as St. Peter ſaith) and ſo is become fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones ſubſtantially; as we are become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones ſpiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our ſins; as all that ever he hath pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan ſhould ſummon us to anſwer for our debts or ſins, in that the wife is no ſueable perſon, but the huſband, we may well bid him enter his action againſt our huſband Chriſt, and he will make him a ſufficient anſwer.

LETTER XLI.

Mr. BRADFORD's FAREWELL *to his* MOTHER, *when he thought he ſhould have ſuffered ſhortly after.*

IF I thought that daily, yea almoſt hourly you did not cry upon God the Father through Jeſus Chriſt, that he would give me his bleſſing, even the bleſſing of his children, then would I write more about it. But foraſmuch as I am certain you are diligent herein, ſo I beſeech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write ſomething, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if thoſe things which hinder it be taken away. Among which, in that I think my impriſonment is the greateſt and chiefeſt, I will ſpend this letter about it, and that briefly, leſt it might increaſe the hindrance, as my good brother, this meſſenger can tell you. You ſhall know therefore good mother, that for my body, though it be in an houſe, out of which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have confirmed my will to God's, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, pious and learned company, books, and all other neceſſaries for mine eaſe, comfort, and convenience, I am in much better caſe than I could wiſh, and God's merciful providence here is far above my worthineſs. Worthineſs, ſaid I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But all this, for my ſoul I find to my advantage. For God is my Father, I now perceive, through Chriſt;

therefore for impriſoning me for his goſpel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jeſus Chriſt here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my truſt and hope is I ſhall be. Now he maketh me like to his friends the prophets, apoſtles, the holy martyrs, and confeſſors. Which of them did not ſuffer at the leaſt impriſonment or baniſhment for his goſpel and word?

Now, mother, how far am I unworthy to be compared to them? I (I ſay) which always have been, and am ſo vile an hypocrite and grievous ſinner. God might have cauſed me long before this time to have been caſt into priſon as a thief, a blaſphemer, an unclean liver, and an heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but dear mother, his mercy is ſo great upon you and all that love me, that I ſhould be caſt into priſon for none of theſe or for any ſuch vices, but only for Chriſt's ſake, for his goſpel's ſake, for his church's ſake, that thereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and ſins, ſo I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Chriſt, for whoſe ſake, praiſed be his name for it, I now ſuffer, and therefore ſhould be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, ſo I am, as ever I was, yea never ſo merry and glad was I, as now I ſhould be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me and to pray on this ſort: "Ah, good Father, who doſt vouchſafe that my ſon, being a grievous ſinner in thy ſight, ſhould find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son's captains and men of war no fight and ſuffer for his goſpel's ſake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Chriſt's name, that thou wouldſt forgive him his ſins and unthankfulneſs, and make perfect in him that good which thou haſt begun; yea, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to ſuffer not only impriſonment, but even death itſelf, for thy truth, religion, and goſpel's ſake. As Anna did apply and give her firſt child Samuel unto thee, ſo I, dear Father, beſeech thee, for Chriſt's ſake, to accept this my gift, and give my ſon John Bradford, grace always truly to ſerve thee and thy people, as Samuel did, Amen, Amen."

Now therefore will I make an end, deſiring you to expect no more letters: for if it were known that I had pen and ink, then ſhould I want all other conveniences I have mentioned concerning my body, and be caſt into ſome dungeon in fetters of iron: which thing I know would grieve you, and therefore for God's ſake, ſee that theſe be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger: it may be your houſe may be ſearched for ſuch things, when you little think of it; and look for no more, ſweet mother, till either God ſhall deliver me, and ſend me out, or till you and I meet together in heaven, where we ſhall never part aſunder, Amen.

LETTER XLII.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to his* MOTHER, *being his laſt Farewell, a little before he was* BURNED.

GOD's mercy and peace in Chriſt, be more and more perceived of us, Amen.

My moſt dear mother, in the bowels of Chriſt I heartily pray and beſeech you to be thankful for me unto God, who now taketh me unto himſelf: I die not as a criminal, but a witneſs of Chriſt, the truth of whoſe goſpel I have hitherto confeſſed, I thank God, both by preaching and impriſonment, and now I am willing to confirm the ſame by fire. I acknowledge that God might juſtly have taken me hence from my ſins, (which are many, great, and grievous; but the Lord for his mercy in Chriſt, I hope hath pardoned them all) but now, my dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confeſſor and witneſs, that the religion taught by Chriſt Jeſus, the prophets and the apoſtles, is God's truth. The prelates in me do perſecute Chriſt, whom they hate, and his truth which they will not abide, becauſe their works are evil. They do not care for the light, leſt men thereby ſhould diſcover their darkneſs. Therefore my dear mother, give thanks to God for me, that he hath made the fruits of thy womb to be a witneſs of his glory, and attend to the truth, which I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Mancheſter. Uſe often and continual prayer to God the Father, through Jeſus Chriſt. Hearken to the ſcriptures, and ſerve God according to them, and not according to the cuſtom: beware of the Romiſh religion in England; defile not yourſelf with it: carry the croſs of Chriſt as he ſhall lay it upon your back: forgive them that kill me: pray for them, for they know not what they do: commit my cauſe to God our Father: be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as well as you can.

I ſend all my writings to you and my brother Roger, do with them as you will, becauſe I cannot as I would, he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for Chriſt's ſake, to bleſs you, and to keep you from all evil. May he make you patient, and thankful that he will take the fruit of your womb to witneſs his truth; wherein I confeſs to the whole world, I die, and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt.

Thus my dear mother, I take my laſt farewel of you in this life, beſeeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Chriſt, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we ſhall give him continual thanks and praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

Out of priſon, June 24, 1555. Your ſon in the Lord,
JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XLIII.

Containing a SUPPLICATION *ſent by* Mr. BRADFORD *to* QUEEN MARY, *her* COUNCIL, *and the whole* PARLIAMENT.

IN moſt humble wiſe complaineth unto your majeſty and honours, a poor ſubject, perſecuted for the confeſſion of Chriſt's verity: which deſerveth your protection and encouragement, as the thing by which you reign and have your honour and authority. Although we that be profeſſors, through the grace of God, the conſtant profeſſors of the ſame, are, as it were, the out-ſweepings of the world; yet I ſay, the truth itſelf is not a thing unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to ſee, and for your hands to handle, help, and ſuccour, as the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are for the ſame purpoſe. Your highneſs and honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and ſufficient only to accuſe. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know, that in the adminiſtration of their kingdoms they are God's miniſters. It behoveth them to know, that they are not kings, but plain tyrants, who reign not to this end, that they may ſerve and ſet forth God's glory after true knowledge; and therefore it is requirad of them that they would be wiſe, and ſuffer themſelves to kiſs their Sovereign leſt they periſh; as all thoſe potentates, with their principalities and dominions, cannot long proſper, but periſh indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the ſceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoſo honoureth not, honoureth not God, and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at length take his own cauſe, which he hath chiefly committed to them to care for, into his own hands, and ſo overthrow them, and ſet up his own truth gloriouſly; the people alſo periſhing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting, much more is ſuppreſſed, as it is now in this realm of England, over which the eyes of the Lord are ſet to deſtroy it, your highneſs, and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not ſuffer yourſelves to be ſlaves and hangmen to Antichriſt and his prelates, who have already brought your highneſs and honours in the mind to let Barabbas looſe, and ſo hang up Chriſt: as by the grace and help of God I ſhall make apparent, it if firſt it would pleaſe your excellent majeſty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Phariſees, I mean the biſhops and prelates, than your conſciences, is oppreſſed; and not for our contemptible and execrable ſtate in the world to paſs the leſs of it. For this doctrine is higher, and of more honour and majeſty than all the whole world. It ſtandeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Chriſt, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the river unto the end of the world. And truly ſo he doth and will reign, that he will ſhake all the earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and ſilver brightneſs, only by the rod of his mouth, to ſhivers, in ſuch a manner as though they were pots of clay, according to what the prophets write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the ſame.

But now will our adverſaries mainly cry out againſt us, becauſe no man may be admitted once to ſpeak againſt them, that we pretend falſely the doctrine and word of God, calling us the moſt wicked contemners of it, and heretics, ſchiſmatics, traitors, &c. All which their ſayings, how malicious and falſe they are, though I might refer to that which is written by thoſe men whoſe works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publickly by proclamation; yet here will I occaſion your majeſty and honours by this my writing, to ſee that it is far otherwiſe than they report of us. God our father, for his holy name's ſake, direct my pen to be his inſtrument to put into your eyes, ears and hearts, that which moſt may make to his glory, in the ſafe-guard of your ſouls and bodies, and preſervation of the whole realm, Amen.

JOHN BRADFORD.

LETTER XLIV.

From Mr. BRADFORD *to certain of his* FRIENDS, N. S. *and* R. C.

I Wiſh to you, my good brethren, the ſame grace of God in Chriſt, which I pray the Father of mercies to give me for his holy name's ſake, Amen.

Your letter, though I have not read myſelf, becauſe I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the ſum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a chriſtian man to wade in it.

I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that bleſſed ſtate to the condemnation of himſelf, and all his poſterity. I believe that Chriſt (for man being thus fallen) did oppoſe himſelf to the juſtice of God, a mediator, paying the ranſom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole poſterity that refuſe it not finally. I believe, that all who believe in Chriſt, (I ſpeak of ſuch as be of years of diſcretion) are partakers of Chriſt and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Chriſt (I ſpeak not now of faith that men have by reaſon of miracles, John ii. 11. Acts viii. or by reaſon of earthly conveniences, Matth. xiii. cuſtom and authority of men, which is commonly ſeen, the hearts of them that ſo believe, being not right and ſimple before God; but I ſpeak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the juſtifying and regenerating faith) I believe, I ſay, that this faith and belief in Chriſt, is the work and gift of God, given to none but thoſe who are the children of God, that is, to thoſe whom God the Father before the beginning of the world hath predeſtinated in Chriſt to eternal life.

Thus do I wade in predeſtination, in ſuch a manner as he hath opened it. Though in God it be the firſt, yet to us it is the laſt opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, ſo on to juſtification, and then to election. On this manner I am ſure, that warily and wiſely a man may walk in it eaſily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, ſeeing this faith not to be given to all men, 2. Theſſ. iii. but to ſuch as are born of God, predeſtinate before the world was made, after the purpoſe and good will of God, which will we muſt not call in queſtion, but in fear and trembling ſubmit ourſelves to it, as to that which can will nothing otherwiſe than what is holy, juſt, and good, how far ſoever it may ſeem otherwiſe to our reaſon, which muſt needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory, than for man's ſalvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well ſee; for they ſeek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God, Jer. ix. John v. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but alſo judgment, which is his juſtice, and moſt juſt, although our fooliſh reaſon cannot ſee it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curioſity, grudge and murmur againſt it. Thus briefly I have ſent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you ſhall have (I think) your letter particularly anſwered by Mr. Philpot; as alſo, if I have time, and you ſo require, I will do.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Beſides theſe letters, there were others to father Traves, miniſter of Blackley, long before he came into trouble, the ſubſtance of which being fully contained in the foregoing extracts, we think proper to omit. A now we proceed with the hiſtory of the martyrs.

C H A P. XI.

An ACCOUNT *of the* LIVES, EXAMINATIONS, SUFFERINGS, *and* DEATHS *of various* PIOUS PROTESTANTS, *moſt of whom were* BURNED, *and ſome* DIED *in* PRISON, *during the* BLOODY PERSECUTION *in the* REIGN *of* QUEEN MARY I. A. D. 1555.

A ſhort ACCOUNT *of* WILLIAM MINGE, *who died in* Prison.

THE next day after Mr. Bradford and John Leaf ſuffered in Smithfield, William Minge, prieſt, died in Priſon at Maidſtone, being there in bonds for religion, and would (had he lived a little longer) alſo have ſuffered the fury of his adverſaries, whoſe nature was to ſpare and favour none that favoured Chriſt's pure goſpel. This William Minge, with as great conſtancy and boldneſs yielded up his life in priſon, as if it had pleaſed God to have called him to ſuffer by fire, as other good and godly men had done before at the ſtake, as himſelf was ready to do, had it pleaſed God to have called him thereunto.

An ACCOUNT *of* JAMES TREVISAM, *who was buried in* MOORFIELDS.

UPON Sunday the 3d of July, 1555, died one James Treviſam, in the pariſh of St. Margaret, in Lothbury, who being impotent and lame, kept his bed a long time. This Treviſam had a ſervant named John Small, who was reading in the bible, when one Berd, the promoter came to the houſe, and would needs go up ſtairs, where he found four perſons beſides him and his wife; to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. All whom the ſaid Berd apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, notwithſtanding all the friends they could make. Not only ſo, but the ſaid Berd intended to carry the poor lame bedridden man to Newgate in a cart, (and brought a cart to the door for that purpoſe) had not the neighbour, who had a little more humanity, prevented that barbarous deſign. Nevertheleſs, the poor man was obliged to have two ſureties for his forth coming, notwithſtanding he could not get out of his bed, being not only lame, but very ſick at the ſame time. In a few days time he grew ſo ill, that his life was deſpaired of; and the parſon of the pariſh, one Mr. Farthing, came to viſit him, and had communication with him, and they both agreed very well in matters of religion, and ſo the parſon departed. No ſooner was he come down into the ſtreet, but he was met by one Toller, a founder, who threatened to accuſe him, for agreeing with Treviſam; for, ſaid the founder, he denieth the ſacrament of the altar. Upon that the parſon went to him again, and then they could not agree. And ſo the parſon went to the biſhop of London, and told him. The biſhop anſwered, that he ſhould be burnt: and if he were already dead, he ſhould be buried in a ditch. And when he was dead, the parſon ſhewed as much ſpite and ill-nature to his poor ſorrowful widow as poſſibly he could, not ſuffering her to put him in a coffin, or any thing elſe, but inſiſted on carrying him on a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The ſame night the body was taken up again, and the ſheet taken from him, and he left naked above ground. The owner of the field ſeeing this, buried him again; a fortnight after, the ſumner came to his grave, and ſummonſed him to appear at St. Paul's before his ordinary, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid againſt him. But what became of this affair afterwards, I cannot certainly ſay.

The HISTORY *of* Mr. JOHN BLAND, Preacher *and* Martyr.

THE 12th day of July, John Bland, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all four burnt at Canterbury together for one cauſe. Of which number, Frankeſh and Bland were miniſters and preachers of the word of God, the one being parſon of Adeſham, and the other vicar of Rolvindon. Mr. Bland was a man ſo little born for his own advantage, that no part of his life was ſeparated from the common and public utility of all men. For his firſt doings were then employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue. Under whom were trained up ſeveral hopeful young men, which afterwards did handſomely flouriſh. In which number was Dr. Sands, a man of ſingular learning and worthineſs, as may well become a ſcholar for ſuch a ſchoolmaſter, whom I gladly here name for his ſingular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this, he coming to the miniſtry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible deſire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this, that whereas he was twice caſt into Canterbury priſon for preaching of the goſpel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the interceſſion of his friends, yet he would preach the goſpel again, as ſoon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found means to have delivered him if he would promiſe to abſtain from preaching; he ſtood in it earneſtly, that he would admit no ſuch condition, notably well expreſſing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apoſtle St. Paul; "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? Tribulation, or anguiſh, or hunger, or nakedneſs, or perſecution, or the ſword?" &c. But to expreſs the whole life and actions of this pious martyr, ſeeing we have his own teſtimony concerning the ſame, it is beſt to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father the whole diſcourſe of his troubles, from the beginning almoſt to the latter end, in order and manner as you ſhall hear.

An Account *of the whole* Proceedings *againſt* Mr. BLAND, *written by himſelf to his* Father.

DEARLY beloved father in Chriſt Jeſus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to ſatisfy your mind as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, theſe ſhall both declare unto you all my vexations that have happened unto me ſince you were with me, and alſo ſince I received your laſt letters. God keep you ever.

Your ſon,
JOHN BLAND.

FIRST, The 3d of September, being Sunday, after ſervice ended, ere I had put off my ſurplice, John Auſten came to the table, (commonly called the Lord's table) and laid both his hands upon it, ſaying, Who ſet this here again? Now they ſay they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who ſet it up again. The clerk anſwered that he knew not. Then ſaid Auſten, he is a knave, that ſet it here. I was then going down the church, wondering what he meant, and ſaid, Goodman Auſten, the queen's highneſs hath ſet forth a proclamation that you move no ſedition: and before I could ſpeak any more, he ſaid, Thou art a knave: and I ſaid, Well, goodman Auſten, what I have ſaid, I have ſaid. By God's ſoul, ſaid he, Thou art a very knave. Then my clerk ſpoke to him, but what I am not ſure. But he ſaid, You are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us too long already, and if you ſay any ſervice here again, I will turn your table upſide down; and in that rage he, with others, took the table and laid it on a cheſt in the chancel, and ſet the treſſels by it. Soon after I rode to Mr. Iſaac, and declared unto him how ſeditiouſly Auſten had behaved himſelf. Mr. Iſaac directed a warrant to the conſtable, which was immediately ſerved, ſo that he was brought before him the ſame night, and was bound by recognizance, with ſureties, to appear if he were called. But then we agreed ſo well, that it was never called for: the table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Auſten and his brother Thomas came to the aforeſaid table after the communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard ſaid unto me, Mr. Parſon, we want to ſpeak with you. And I ſaid, What is your will? And he ſaid, You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and ſuch other things: we would know what recompence you would make us: for the queen's proceedings are (as you know) that ſuch things muſt be put up again.

Said I, I know no ſuch proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.

No, ſaid Thomas Auſten, you will not know the queen's proceedings.

Yes, ſaid I, I refuſe not to know them.

Then, ſaid Richard, You are againſt the queen's proceedings; for you ſay there are abominable uſes and deviliſhneſs in the maſs.

Goodman Auſten, ſaid I, if I ſo ſaid, I will ſay it again, and God willing, ſtand to the proof of it.

Maſters all, ſaid Richard Auſten, bear record of theſe words, and went his way.

Said Thomas Auſten, Thou wilt as ſoon eat this book as ſtand to them.

No, ſaid I, not ſo ſoon.

Tell us, ſaid he, what deviliſhneſs is in the maſs?

I have often preached it unto you, ſaid I, and you have not believed it, nor borne it away, neither will you now, though I ſhould tell you.

Thou (ſaid he) haſt told us always like an heretic as thou art. Now you lie, goodman Auſten, ſaid I, by your leave. Marry, ſaid he, thou lieſt. And I ſaid, And you lie, for I have taught you Chriſt and his truth.

Said he, Thou art an heretic, and haſt taught us nothing but hereſy: for thou canſt ſay nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman Auſten, I can ſay that God is in heaven, and you will ſay (I hope) that it is true, and ſo have I taught you truly.

Said he, thou haſt taught us like an heretic, and haſt ſaid, that there is no devil in hell.

Well, ſaid I, lie on; methinks you can ſay little truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at laſt he ſaid, You pulled down the altar, will you build it again? No, ſaid I, except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, ſaid he, then will I. For I am churchwarden.

I charge you, ſaid I, that you do not, except you have authority. I will not, ſaid he, be hindered by your charge. For we will have a maſs here on Sunday, and a preacher that ſhall prove thee an heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, ſaid I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for ſure I am, that he cannot diſprove any doctrine that I have peached.

Yes, ſaid he, and that thou ſhalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.

No, Mr. Auſten, I will not run away.

Marry, ſaid he, I cannot tell; thou art as like as not; with many more words we came out of the church, and ſo departed.

When Sunday came I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning prayer I ſaid to the clerk, Why do you not ring? You forget that we ſhall have a ſermon to-day. No, ſaid he, Mr. Miles's ſervant hath been here this morning, and ſaid, his maſter hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he muſt go to London, and cannot come. That day I preached a ſermon in his ſtead. Now have they ſlandered me, that I prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie. For ſome ſaid, I had them at Adeſham, and that Richard Auſten had knowledge, and ſent for the conſtable to ſee the peace kept, which is found a lie. Others ſaid, I had them from Canterbury and Adeſham. Others ſaid, I had them in both places, that if the one miſſed, the other ſhould not. God forgive them all. Now upon theſe two matters they boaſt that they ſent two bills of complaint to the council. Wherefore by the advice of friends, I made this teſtimony, and ſent it up by Mr. Wiſeman.

The BEHAVIOUR *of* Mr. JOHN BLAND, Parſon *of* ADESHAM, *in the* COUNTY *of* KENT, *on Sunday the 3d Day of December laſt, containing the* WORDS *which he ſpake there unto the* PEOPLE.

WHEREAS upon certain communication had between the ſaid parſon and Richard Auſten, and Thomas Auſten, in the preſence of all the pariſh of Adeſham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day laſt, the ſaid Auſten then declared, That the ſaid parſon had taught there in times paſt great hereſies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher againſt the next Sunday following, if ſo be the ſaid parſon would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour, divers perſons reſorted out of the country, unto the ſaid pariſh church, at the day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the ſermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach; but it was reported to the parſon that the preacher appointed, had urgent buſineſs and could not come. So that the multitude being now come together, the ſame parſon perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, ſaid, Foraſmuch as you are willingly come to hear ſome good advertiſement of the preacher, who cannot be now preſent, I think it not convenient to let you depart without ſome exhortation for your edification. And further declaring that he had no licence to preach, ſaid, That he would not meddle with any matter in controverſy. And then he began the epiſtle for the day, deſiring the audience to mark three or four places in the ſaid epiſtle, which touched of quietneſs and love to one another: and there briefly reading the epiſtle, he noted the ſame places, and ſo making an end thereof, deſired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of diſturbance, or token of evil.

Witneſſes, the undernamed, with divers others.
EDMUND MORES, WILLIAM FORSTALL,
RICHARD RANDAL, THOMAS GOODING.
JOHN HILLS,

Another MATTER *of* TROUBLE *wrought againſt* Mr. JOHN BLAND, *as appeareth by his own* Narration.

UPON Innocents day, being the 28th of December, they had procured the prieſt of Stodmaſh to ſay maſs: he had nigh made an end of mattins ere I came; and when he had ended them, he ſaid to me, Mr. Parſon, your neighbours have deſired me to ſay mattins and maſs; I hope you will not be againſt the queen's proceedings. No (ſaid I) I will offend none of her majeſty's laws, God willing. What ſay you? quoth he, and made as though he had not heard. Then I ſpake the ſame words to him again with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the reſt in the chancel heard: I ſpoke ſo loud the third time, that all the church might hear, That I would not offend the queen's laws, and then he went to maſs; and when he was reading the epiſtle, I called the clerk unto me, with the beckoning of my finger, and ſaid unto him, I pray you deſire the prieſt, when the goſpel is done, to tarry a little, I have ſomething to ſay to the people; and the clerk did ſo.

And the prieſt came down into the ſtall where he ſat; and I ſtood up in the chancel door, and ſpake to the people of the great goodneſs of God always ſhewed unto his people, unto the time of Chriſt's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they paſt, we preſent, and our ſucceſſors have; and among other benefits I ſpake of the great and comfortable ſacrament of his body and blood. And after I had briefly declared the inſtitution, the promiſe of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I ſpake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the conſecration, as yonder maſs book, ſaying, Holy bread of eternal lite, and the cup of perpetual ſalvation. So that like as our bodily mouths eat the ſacramental bread and wine, ſo doth the mouth of our ſouls (which is our faith) eat Chriſt's fleſh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I ſpake of the miſuſe of the ſacrament in the maſs; ſo that I judged it in that uſe no ſacrament, and ſhewed how Chriſt bade us all eat and drink; and in the maſs one only eateth and drinketh, and the reſt kneel, knock, and worſhip: and after theſe things ended, as briefly as I could, I ſpake of the benefactors of the maſs, and began to declare who made the maſs, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put on the maſs; but before I had rehearſed them all, the churchwarden and the conſtable his ſon-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thruſt me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, Thou heretic; ſome, Thou traitor; ſome, Thou rebel; and when every man had ſaid his pleaſure, and the rage was ſomewhat paſt, Be quiet, good neighbours, ſaid I, and let me ſpeak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make anſwer before them that are in authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled me, one on this ſide, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Auſten ſaid, Peace maſters, no more till maſs be done, and they ceaſed. Then I ſaid to the churchwarden and conſtable, each holding me by the arm: Maſters, let me go into the church-yard till your maſs be done. No, ſaid the church-warden, thou ſhalt tarry here till maſs be done. I will not, ſaid I, but againſt my will. And they ſaid, Thou ſhalt tarry, for if thou go out thou wilt run away. Then I ſaid to the conſtable, lay me in the ſtocks, and then you will be ſure of me, and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Auſten had deviſed what to do with me, and called to the conſtable and the church-warden, and bade them put me into a ſide chapel, and ſhut the door on me, and there they made me tarry till maſs was ended. When the maſs was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and ſearched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then ſaid Thomas Auſten, church-warden, after many brablings that they made with me, Thou keepeſt a wiſe here amongſt us, againſt God's law and the queen's. You lye, goodman Auſten, ſaid I, it is not againſt God's law, nor as I ſuppoſe, againſt the queen's. Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me without pity or mercy; but anon the prieſt came out of the church, and Ramſey, that of late was clerk, ſaid unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore Thomas Auſten took him by the arm, and ſaid, Come on, ſirrah, you are of his opinion, and took his dagger from him, and ſaid, he ſhould go with him. I am content, ſaid he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk. By this time John Gray of Wingham, ſervant to John Smith, came in at the church ſtyle, and ſeeing them hold Ramſey by the arms, ſaid to him, How now Ramſey, have you offended the queen's laws? No, ſaid he. Then there is no tranſgreſſion. Therewith Thomas Auſten took him, and ſaid, You are one of their opinions, you ſhall go with them for company, and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after (I think) for very ſhame they let him go again. But they carried me and Ramſey to Canterbury, guarded by eighteen perſons. A ſheet of paper would not contain the talk that we had that night with Mr. Hardes, juſtice, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Spilman, and Mr. Tufſam.

The next day they made a bill againſt me, but it ſerved not their purpoſe, which was, that they would have had me to priſon. But James Chapman, and Bartholomew Joyes, were bound in twenty pounds each of them for my appearance at the next general ſeſſions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were ſent for before the queen's majeſty's council, or any other commiſſioners ſent by the queen's authority. And Ramſey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next ſeſſions. His ſureties were Thomas Hogeking, and Simon Barrat.

Now on the 23d or 24th of February Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Mr. Hardes, ſent for me and my ſureties to Mr. Finch's place, and took me from my ſureties, and ſent me to the caſtle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyles's order, as they ſaid, where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next ſeſſions holden at Canterbury: but after, they changed it to be at Aſhford on Thurſday in Whitſun-week, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the ſpiritual court.

The Firſt EXAMINATION *of* Mr. JOHN BLAND *in the Spiritual Court, before* Dr. HARPSFIELD, ARCHDEACON *of* CANTERBURY, *and* Mr. COLLINS, CONMISSARY.

THE 18th day of May, Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, obliged the mayor's ſerjeant to bring me before him and Mr. Collins, commiſſary, into Chriſt's-church, and they took me into a chamber in the ſuffragan of Dover's houſe.

Then the archdeacon ſaid, Art thou a prieſt? And I ſaid, I was one. And he ſaid, Art thou a graduate of any univerſity? and I ſaid, Yea. What degree, ſaid he, haſt thou taken? The degree, ſaid I, of Maſter of Arts. The more pity, replied he, that thou ſhouldſt behave thyſelf as thou haſt done. Thou haſt been a common licenſed preacher, haſt thou not? and I ſaid, I have been ſo. Mary, ſaid he, ſo I underſtand.

Harpsfield. What haſt thou preached?

Bland. God's word, to the edifying of his people.

Harpsfield. No, no, to the deſtruction both of thy ſoul and their's too, if the mercy of God be not ſpeedily extended towards you. I pray thee tell me what thou haſt preached?

Bland. I told you already what I have preached.

Harpsfield. Nay, but tell me what one matter haſt thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou ſayeſt?

Bland. I will tell you no particular matter: for I perceive you would have ſome matter againſt me.

Harpsfield. No, by my faith, I only deſire to win thee from the hereſies thou art bewrapt in, and haſt infected others withal. For thou haſt preached, as I am informed, that the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is not the real body and blood of Chriſt after the conſecration. Tell me, haſt thou not thus preached? and is not this thy opinion?

Bland. Sir, I perceive, as I ſaid before, that you ſeek ſome matter againſt me. But ſeeing that I am bound in the ſeſſions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words, and alſo both mine authority to preach, and my living taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an anſwer.

Collins. Mr. Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make anſwer to every man that aſketh you a reaſon of the faith that is in you?

Bland. I know that, and I am content ſo to anſwer as that text biddeth: but I know that Mr. Archdeacon did not aſk me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble. Then they ſaid, No, you ſhall not be troubled for any thing that you ſay here.

Bland. I am content for knowledge ſake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwiſe. And ſo they fell to reaſoning for the ſpace of an hour, of the ſacrament, both againſt me. At laſt Mr. Collins ſaid, Mr. Bland, will you come and take in hand to anſwer ſuch matters on Monday next as ſhall be laid to you?

Bland. Sir, you ſaid I ſhould not be troubled for any thing that ſhould be ſaid here for learning's ſake. And they ſaid, You ſhall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland. Sir, I am bound to appear, as ſome tell me, on Thurſday next at Aſhford, I am in doubt whether I can or no: yet have I purpoſed to be there, and ſo to go to London to Mr. Wiſeman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I ſhould receive ſome money to pay my debts withal. Then ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. Wiſeman, that you ſhall ſuſtain no loſs.

Bland. That ſhall not need: for I can ſuſtain no great loſs if I go not. But I pray you let me have a longer day. No, ſaid he.

Bland. Sir, I cannot well come on Monday.

Harpsfield. Wilt thou not come when he ſo gently ſpeaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

Bland. I do not deny to come, but I deſire a longer day.

Harpsfield. Thou ſhalt have no other day: I charge thee to come on Monday.

Bland. Sir, I perceive it ſhall be for this or like matters: will it pleaſe you, or Mr. Collins, for God's ſake, to confer ſcriptures privately with me in this manner, ſeeing you ſay you would ſo gladly win me.

Harpsfield. With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will alſo borrow my lord of Dover's library, to have what book thou wilt: and thus they departed. Now the 17th of May at Aſhford I could not be releaſed, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for that purpoſe, but was bound to appear at the ſeſſions held at Cranbroke the third of July.

Another APPEARANCE *of* Mr. BLAND, *before the* ARCHDEACON *and his* FELLOWS.

ON the 21ſt of May I appeared in the chapter-houſe, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for by me, and Mr. Archdeacon ſaid thus to me: You are come here according as you were appointed; and the cauſe is, that it hath pleaſed the queen's highneſs here to place me, to ſee God's holy word ſet forth, and to reform thoſe that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the decay of Chriſt's ſacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is ſore poiſoned with the ſame, and haſt infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching; which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad: and I for my part ſhall be right glad to ſhew you the favour that lieth in me, as I ſaid unto you when you were appointed hither, becauſe you then refuſed to ſatiſfy again the people that you had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I ſhould openly diſpute the matter with you this day; although I did neither ſo intend nor appoint, yet I am content to diſpute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without diſputation help to heal the ſouls that are brought hellward by thee. What ſayeſt thou?

Bland. I do proteſt before God and you all, that neither is my conſcience guilty of any error or hereſy, neither that I ever taught any error or hereſy willingly. And where your maſterſhip ſaith, That I have ſeigned an open diſputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus prove: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge, that ſuch an open diſputation, as you have here offered, ſhould be this day between you and me. Whereat I much marvelled, and ſaid to him, that before that preſent I never heard any ſuch word; neither would I anſwer nor diſpute: And Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Oxendon, Mr. Seth, of Overland, and Mr. Uxden can witneſs to this; and further I ſaid to them, that I never ſpake to you of any diſputation, nor you to me. Now if your maſterſhip have any thing to ſay to me by the law, I will make anſwer to it.

Harpsfield. Hear ye what he ſaith? His conſcience is clear. I pray thee, whereon groundeſt thou thy conſcience? Let me hear what thy faith is.

Bland. I know not why you ſhould aſk me a reaſon of my faith, more than any other man in this open audience.

Harpsfield. Why, thou heretic, art thou aſhamed of thy faith? If it were a chriſtian belief, thou needeſt not be aſhamed of it.

Bland. I am not aſhamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, &c. with all the other articles of the creed; and I do believe all the holy ſcriptures of God to be moſt certain and true.

Harpsfield. Wilt thou declare no more than this?

Bland. No.

Harpsfield. Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conſcience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy ſcriptures, ſacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were ſince the apoſtles time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with many more words which I do not well remember.

And when he could get no other anſwer from me, than what I had ſaid before, he called for a ſcribe to make an act againſt me. And after much communication, I ſaid, By what law and authority will you proceed againſt me? Mr. Collins ſaid, By the canon law.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in ſtrength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counſellor in the law, and I will make anſwer according to the law.

Harpsfield. Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confeſs thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee; and yet I have confeſſed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, thou haſt taught, that after the conſecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. How ſayeſt thou, haſt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the ſacrament, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, you ſaid then it was for other matters that I ſhould come hither: and further, that you would be content at my deſire, to confer ſcriptures with me, to ſee if you could win me; and you ſaid, you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I ſhould have what book I would; and now you require me thus to anſwer, contrary to your promiſe before any conference be had, and ſeek rather to bring me in trouble, than to win me.

Harpsfield. I will, as God ſhall help me, do the beſt to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I hope to diſſolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I alſo will deſire theſe two worſhipful men, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins, to hear us.

Bland. No, you ſhall pardon me of that: there ſhall be no ſuch witneſs. But when we agree, ſet to our hands. Here the people made a great noiſe againſt me, for refuſing the witneſs: and here we had many more words than I can rehearſe. But at laſt I ſaid, Sir, will you give me leave to aſk you one queſtion? And he ſaid, Yea, with all my heart. For in that thou aſkeſt any thing, there is ſome hope that thou mayeſt be won.

Bland. Sir, when it pleaſed Almighty God to ſend his angel unto the virgin Mary to ſalute her, and ſaid, "Hail, full of grace," &c. came any ſubſtance from God our Father into the virgin's womb to become man? Whereat Mr. Archdeacon, my lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins were ſilent. But my lord ſpake firſt, and ſaid, The Holy Ghoſt came to her; and ere he had brought out his ſentence, Mr. Syriac Peters ſaid, "The power of the Moſt High overſhadowed her." Truth, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God ſent by the Holy Ghoſt. They had forgot, that He was begotten of the ſubſtance of his Father; or elſe they perceived whereunto this queſtion tended: and ſo both I and they left it, by what words I cannot tell. But I ſaid, Sir, ſhall I aſk one other? And he ſaid, Yea. Is there in the ſacrament, after the conſecration, Chriſt's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?

Harpsfield. Hark, ſaid Mr. Archdeacon, hear you this heretic? He thinks it an abſurdity to grant all the qualities of Chriſt's natural body to be in the ſacrament. But it is no abſurdity: for even that natural body that was born of the virgin Mary is glorified, and that ſame body is in the ſacrament after the conſecration. But perceive you not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to anſwer him, and he will not anſwer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his queſtion; for I tell you it is a learned queſtion.

Bland. If you be ſo much diſconcerted with me, I will ſay no more; yet I would all men heard, that you ſay the glorified body of Chriſt is in the ſacrament after the conſecration.

Harpsfield. I may call thee groſs ignorant. Thou groſs ignorant, is not the ſame body glorified, that was born of the virgin Mary? Is it then any abſurdity to grant that to be in the ſacrament? And while he ſpake many other words, I ſaid to Mr. Petit, That the ſacrament was inſtituted, delivered, and received of his apoſtles, before Chriſt's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which ſaying Mr. Petit partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

Harpsfield. Thou haſt no learning. Was not Chriſt's body given to his apoſtles, as in a glorified act? And yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified; for when he was born of the virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the houſe to his apoſtles, the doors being ſhut faſt, were not theſe acts of a glorified body?

Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and ſaid, When Chriſt was in mount Tabor, he was there glorified in the ſight of his apoſtles.

Harpsfield. You ſay truth, my lord, he was glorified in the ſight of three of his apoſtles.

Bland. This methinks is new doctrine.

Harpsfield. Well, ſeeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove theſe matters againſt him. And thereupon the Archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put up againſt me at Chriſtmas, and about that we had a little talk. And then Mr. Archdeacon roſe up, and ſaid, See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it againſt him. Whereunto anſwered Thomas Auſten, I pray you let us be no more troubled with him, and then ſpake John Auſten, and Heath a one-eyed man, and began to accuſe me; but I gave them no other anſwer, but do to me what ye can by law, and I will anſwer it. Then ſaid Thomas Auſten, Bland, you were once abjured. You ſay not truly, goodman Auſten, ſaid I, I was never abjured. Either, ſaid he, you were abjured, or elſe you had the king's pardon. Neither of both, ſaid I; you ſpeak this of mere malice, with many other babbling words. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. Collins to command me to appear the next day. However, for certain other urgent buſineſs that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Mr. Commiſſary, deſiring him to reſpite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would contentedly ſubmit myſelf to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June I came to Mr. Commiſſary to let him know of my return, and offered myſelf to ſatisfy the law, if it were proceeded againſt me, before Mr. Cocks of Surry, and Marks the apparitor; but Mr. Commiſſary gently ſaid, that he had done nothing againſt me; and ſo appointed me to appear before him the Friday ſeven-night after. In the mean time a ſeſſions was held at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear; and carrying ſurety with me to be bound again, for I expected no other, did appear the third day of July.

Then ſaid Sir John Baker, Bland, we hear that you are a Scot; where was you born and brought up? I ſaid, I was born in England. And he ſaid, Where? I replied, In Sedber, and brought up by one Dr. Lupton, provoſt of Eaton college. Well, ſaid he, I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.

Then ſaid Sir Thomas Moyle, Ah Bland, thou art a ſtiff-necked fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor anſwer when thou art called. Then ſaid Sir John Baker, Mr. Sheriff take him to your ward: and the bailiff ſet me in the ſtocks, with others, and would not hear me ſpeak one word; and ſo we remained in the gaol of Maidſtone, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts: and then we were carried to Rocheſter, to the aſſize held there, where we were two days among the priſoners: and when we were called, and the judges aſked our cauſes, when my cauſe was rehearſed, Mr. Barrow, clerk of the peace, ſaid, that I was an excommunicate perſon.

Then the judges of aſſize remanded us to Maidſtone again, ordering us to be brought to the next ſeſſions that ſhould be held at the town of Malden: however the ſheriff never ſent for us; ſo we tarried at Maidſtone till the ſeſſions held at Greenwich, the 18th and 19th of February. I and others being within the bar amongſt the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailor and bailiffs, and eaſed of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and two others whom I knew not.

Another EXAMINATION *of* Mr. BLAND.

Baker. BLAND, wherefore were you caſt into priſon?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your maſterſhip caſt me in.

Baker. Yea, but for what were you in before that time?

Bland. For an unjuſt complaint againſt me.

Baker. What was the complaint?

Bland. I told him as truly and as briefly as I could.

Baker. Let me ſee thy book?—And I gave him a Latin teſtament.

Baker. Will you go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honeſt man ſhould do?

Bland. I truſt in God to do no otherwiſe but as an honeſt man ought to do.

Baker. Will you do as I ſaid?

Bland. Will it pleaſe your maſterſhip to give me leave to aſk you a queſtion?

Baker. Yes.

Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his conſcience is not ſatiſfied in to be good?

Baker. Away, away; and threw down the book, and ſaid, it is no teſtament. And I ſaid, Yes.

Baker. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? by St. Mary, and hold thee there, I will give ſix faggots to burn thee, ere thou ſhould be unburned: hence, knave, hence. And ſo were we returned into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge ordered the jailor to deliver us to the ordinary. And if, ſaid the judge, they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they ſhall have judgment and execution. And one of our company ſaid, My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Chriſt's ſake, we ſhall live with him for ever.

Another APPEARANCE *of* Mr. BLAND *in the* SPIRITUAL COURT.

THEN we came to the caſtle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the ſecond day of March, on which day we were brought into the chapter-houſe of Cree-church, where were ſitting the ſuffragan of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, Mr. Milles, with others, and then went to them Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Hardes, juſtices. And when I was called, Mr. Webb ſaid, Here we preſent this man unto you, as one vehemently ſuſpected of hereſy.

Bland. Mr. Webb, you have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy. I have been a priſoner this whole year, and no matter proved againſt me. I pray you, what is the reaſon that I have been kept ſo long in priſon?

Webb. Leave your arrogant aſking of queſtions, and anſwer to that that is laid to your charge.

Bland. I do ſo; for I ſay you have no cauſe to ſuſpect me of hereſy.

Webb. Yes; you denied to Sir John Baker, to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.

Then ſtood up Mr. Petit, and ſaid, You were caſt into priſon, becauſe you fled away from your ordinary.

Bland. Then have I had wrong: for I never fled nor diſobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. If I did, let them now ſpeak; but they ſaid nothing. And when I ſaw they held their peace, I ſaid, Mr. Commiſſary, have you been the cauſe of this my impriſonment? No, ſays he; you know that when you went from me, you were appointed to appear the Friday after the ſeſſions. Here I was ſuffered to ſpeak no more, but ſhut up in a corner till my companions were preſented, and then we were ſent to Weſtgate into priſon, and were put into ſeveral cloſe holds, ſo that we could not ſpeak to one another, neither was any man permitted to come to us. We appeared four times in this manner: but one they diſpatched, by what means I cannot tell, whoſe name was Cornwall, a tanner.

The ANSWER *of* Mr. BLAND *at his* Appearance *before the* COMMISSARY, *and* others *in the* Spiritual Court.

MR. Collins ſaid: Mr. Bland, you know that you are preſented unto us as one ſuſpected of hereſy. How ſay you, be you contented to reform yourſelf to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?

Bland. I deny that I am juſtly ſuſpected of hereſy.

Collins. You were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of hereſy laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and ſaid a whole year ago, for I have been in priſon this year and more. If you have any thing againſt me by law, I deſire that you let me know the law and matter, and I will anſwer according to the law.

Then ſaid my lord ſuffragan; But that I am one of the judges I would riſe, and ſtand by thee, and accuſe thee to be a ſacramentary, and bring witneſs to prove it; yea, and further, that thou haſt called the maſs an abominable idol.

Bland. You, my lord, never heard me ſay ſo: but I heard you once ſay, That in your conſcience you had abhorred the maſs three years.

Collins. Thou lieſt: this is but a drift. You had better anſwer now, elſe you ſhall go to priſon again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if you anſwer not then directly, you ſhall be condemned as an heretic, and that will be worſe for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to anſwer any thing that you can lay to my charge by law: wherefore I truſt you will let me have the benefit of the law.

Collins. Well, on Monday at nine of the clock you ſhall ſee the law, and have articles laid unto you.

Then they eſpied Mr. Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and ſaid, Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by law to anſwer: and he ſaid as they had ſaid.

After ſome converſation, my lord of Dover cried, No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away, and bring in another.

The Monday after we were brought to the ſame place again; but as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to ſee the law, which they ſaid before I ſhould ſee.

Then they brought forth a decretal, a book of the biſhop of Rome's law, to bind me to anſwer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that thoſe whom they ſo examined muſt needs anſwer. But I ſaid that it meaned ſuch as were juſtly ſuſpected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjuſt impriſonment, which they could not avoid.

Collins. Are you willing to confer with ſome? It will be better for you; now we offer it, becauſe you would not deſire it.

Bland. As I did not refuſe before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-aſking, to confer the ſcriptures: and therefore I expected Dr. Faucet would have come to me without deſiring, if any profit to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

Collins. Will you come to his chamber in the afternoon?

Bland. Sir, I am a priſoner, it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and ſo departed. At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the Tueſday ſeven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier.

Here followeth a certain CONFUTATION *of* Mr. BLAND, *againſt falſe and manifeſt* Abſurdities *granted by* Mr. MILLES, Prieſt *of* Chriſt-church *in* Canterbury.

MILLES. We ſay that Chriſt is in or under the ſacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained inviſibly, and the qualities which we do ſee, as whiteneſs and roundneſs, be there without ſubſtance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there alſo by inviſible meaſure.

Bland. This is your own divinity, to make accidents the ſacrament, and Chriſt's real body inviſibly contained in them, and ſo to deſtroy the ſacrament. And yet the doctors ſay, the matter of the ſacrament is bread and wine. And God by his power worketh no miracles with "This my body," ſo as to change the ſubſtance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their ſubſtance by inviſible meaſure.

Milles. We eat Chriſt's fleſh and blood ſpiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity. And we alſo do eat it corporally in the ſacrament; and the body that we ſo receive hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the body of Chriſt, yet it is not viſible after a groſs ſort, and the fleſh of Chriſt that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Chriſt: for it is contrary to the nature of Chriſt's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without ſubſtance of blood.

Bland. I am glad that you are ſo much againſt all men, to ſay that Chriſt's body is alive in the ſacrament; it may chance to bring you to the truth in time to come. And you ſay truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Chriſt's blood that maketh a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which you deny not.

And a greater truth you confeſs than you did think, when you ſaid, If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the ſubſtance of blood; for indeed blood hath no ſuch qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood.

If a man be drunken with wine conſecrated, it muſt be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the ſaid accidents ſhould be without their natural ſubſtance, and work all the operations of both ſubſtance and accidents: and ſo it followeth that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that you receive, you ſay, is alive, becauſe it is annexed to the Godhead; and the fleſh that you receive is lievely, becauſe it hath the Spirit of God joined to it.

This diviſion is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the fleſh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one ſacrament: you imagine a body without fleſh, and fleſh without a body; as you do qualities and quantities without ſubſtance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.

Milles. If caſe ſo require, and there be a godly intent in the miniſter to conſecrate, after the conſecration, there is preſent the body and blood of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance, but accidents without ſubſtance to a true believer.

Bland. You grant three abſurdities, that in a tun of wine conſecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increaſe it withal, you have brought in two inconveniencies; firſt, that it is not the word of God that doth conſecrate, but the intent of the prieſt muſt help it; and if that fail, you ſeem to grant no conſecration, though the prieſt ſpeak the word; and yet your doctors ſay, that the wickedneſs of the prieſt diminiſheth not the ſacrament.

Milles. The ſubſtance of Chriſt's body doth not fill the mouſe's belly. For although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouſe doth not eat the body of Chriſt, to ſpeak properly; for it doth not feed him ſpiritually or corporally; as it doth man, becauſe he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the fleſh.

Bland. You make not your doctrine plain to be underſtood: we muſt know how a mouſe can receive the ſubſtance inwardly and outwardly. You ſay he doth not receive the ſubſtance inwardly, but without violation: Therefore, with violation he receiveth the ſubſtance inwardly. You ſay that the mouſe cannot violate Chriſt's body; but he violateth the ſubſtance that he eateth. And this your proper ſpeech doth import as much, as that the mouſe ſhould eat the ſacrament to as great effect, and the ſame thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cauſe that ſhe properly eateth not the body of Chriſt, becauſe ſhe doth not feed upon it ſpiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as you ſay; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouſe receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the mouſe will live with conſecrated bread, and then you muſt grant this abſurdity, that a ſubſtance is nouriſhed and fed only with accidents.

Milles. Men's bodies be fed with Chriſt's body, as with immortal meat, by reaſon of the Godhead annexed, to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and we deny that by the ſacramental eating any groſs humour turned into blood is made miraculouſly in the body.

Bland. Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nouriſhed in his natural body with the ſacramental bread and wine conſecrated; you cannot avoid that: but then you turn to the ſpiritual nouriſhing of man's body, by Chriſt's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the abſurdity, that either a man's natural body ſhould be fed naturally with accidents, or elſe to have them changed into groſs humours. But you ſay, men's bodies be corporally nouriſhed with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and then muſt you needs grant, that qualities and quantities muſt be made ſubſtance in man. For by them our bodies are nouriſhed, or elſe is all that is the nutriment in man accidents, and no ſubſtance.

Milles. If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms ingendered, it is no derogation to the body of Chriſt, becauſe the preſence of his body ceaſeth to be there, and no ſubſtance cometh again.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a ſubſtance may be made of accidents, as aſhes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a greater abſurdity than the other, that Chriſt's body ſhould ceaſe to be there, and no ſubſtance to come again; for no word in all the whole bible ſeems to ſerve you for the ceaſing of his preſence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your heart, if it be his will and pleaſure, to ſee the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would anſwer you to all the reſt, in theſe and all other my doings.

The Laſt APPEARANCE *and* EXAMINATION *of* Mr. BLAND.

MR. Bland was brought before the biſhop of Dover, the commiſſary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, Monday the 13th day of June. The name of this biſhop was Richard Thornton. The commiſſary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal by his letters patent had ſubſtituted his agent, before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under theſe a great many were cruelly treated and barbarouſly ſlain at Canterbury, amongſt whom Mr. Bland was the firſt; who, being brought before the firſt biſhop, and colleagues, viz. John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, and William Cocker, were examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commiſſary, Whether he believed, that Chriſt is really in the ſacrament, or not, &c. To this he anſwered and ſaid, that he believed, that Chriſt is in the ſacrament, as he is in all other good bodies; ſo that he judged not Chriſt to be really in the ſacrament.

He was bid to appear again on Wedneſday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the twentieth of June, in the ſame chapter-houſe, then to hear further what ſhould be done, in caſe he would not relent to their mind. Which day and place he appearing as before, was required to ſpeak his mind plainly and fully to the aforeſaid articles, being again repeated to him.

His anſwers and confeſſion taken, reſpite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himſelf. And on the 25th day of the ſaid month of June he appeared again in the chapter-houſe, and there boldly and firmly withſtood the authority of the pope; whereupon he was condemned and committed to the ſecular power.

The HISTORY *of* JOHN FRANKESH, HUMPHREY MIDDLETON, *and* NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.

HAVING now paſſed over the examination of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to the reſt of his fellow priſoners, being joined the ſame time with him in the like cauſe and like affliction. The names of whom were, John Frankeſh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The reſt conſtantly ſtanding to the truth, were altogether condemned by the ſuffragan of Canterbury, the 25th day of June, the year above expreſſed. Whoſe examinations I need not long dwell upon, foraſmuch as the articles miniſtered againſt them were all one, ſo in their anſwers they little or nothing diſagreed. Sheterden's firſt examination was with Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield, and Mr. Collins, the commiſſary. The commiſſary, after many impious declarations, was at length compelled to grant, that Chriſt's teſtament was broken, and his inſtitution was changed from that he left it: but he ſaid, they had power ſo to do.

My Firſt ANSWERING *after their* LAW *was* eſtabliſhed.

HAVING been called before the ſuffragan, and ſeven or eight of the chief prieſts, and examined of certain articles, I required to ſee their commiſſion. They ſhewed it to me, and ſaid, there it is, and the king and queen's letters alſo. Then I deſired to have it read: and ſo in reading I perceived, that on ſome notable ſuſpicion he might examine upon two articles; Whether Chriſt's real preſence were in the ſacrament, and whether the church of England be Chriſt's catholic church?

To that I anſwered, that I had been a priſoner three quarters of a year, and, as I thought, wrongfully; reaſon would therefore that I ſhould anſwer to thoſe things for which I was impriſoned.

The ſuffragan ſaid, his commiſſion was, that I muſt anſwer directly, yes or no.

This commiſſion, ſaid I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on juſt ſuſpicion.

He ſaid, I was ſuſpected, and preſented to him.

Sheterden. Prove your ſuſpicion, or ſhew what cauſe you have to ſuſpect.

Suffragan. Thou wert caſt into priſon for that cauſe.

Sheterden. Becauſe I had ſuffered impriſonment contrary to God's law and realm, I muſt now for amends be examined of ſuſpicion without cauſe, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was caſt into priſon, there was no law that hindered me from ſpeaking as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more ſuſpected than you, who preached the ſame yourſelf not long before.

Suffragan. That was no matter to thee what I preached.

Sheterden. Well, yet in the king and queen's name I muſt anſwer directly: and therefore I require as a ſubject, that you do not extend beyond your commiſſion, but prove me ſuſpected, more than yourſelf.

Suffragan. Well, I myſelf did ſuſpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Sheterden. But your commiſſion doth not ſerve you ſo to do without cauſe of ſuſpicion. It is not meet for you to be my accuſer and my judge alſo, for that is too much for one man.

Mills. If you were a chriſtian man, you would not be aſhamed of your faith being required.

Sheterden. I am not aſhamed indeed, I thank God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but foraſmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it beſt not to anſwer you.

Mills. If you will not, then will we certify the king's council.

Sheterden. I am therewith content that you ſhould certify that I had ſuffered three quarters of a year wrongfully in priſon, and therefore I deſire to be juſtified or condemned, firſt for that I ſuffered ſuch impriſonment; and then I will not refuſe to anſwer your articles, though they were a buſhel of them. But to ſay that I would anſwer, whereby you ſhould heal all your wrong done to me againſt the law of God and the realm, I will not.

They then ſaid, it was obſtinacy in him that he would not anſwer, and a token that his faith was naught, ſeeing he was aſhamed to utter it: and that he ſhould anſwer to the articles, or elſe be condemned upon ſuſpicion.

Sheterden. I am content with that, yet all men ſhall know, that as you ſuſpect and can prove no cauſe, ſo ſhall you condemn me without a matter, and then ſhall all men know you ſeek my blood, and no juſtice.

Suffragan. No, we ſeek not thy blood, but thy converſion.

Sheterden. That we ſhall ſee. For then ſhall you prove my perverſion firſt, before you condemn me on your ſuſpicion without proof of the ſame: and by that I ſhall know whether you ſeek blood or no.

At laſt ſtept up one Lovels, a lawyer, who would prove his impriſonment not to be wrong, but right, by old ſtatutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry, &c. but at laſt he was compelled to forſake thoſe ſtatutes from Michaelmas to Chriſtmas, and then he ſaid it was no wrong.

To this Mr. Sheterden ſaid, if he could prove that men might wrongfully impriſon before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then under that hide the firſt wrong, then he ſaid true, or elſe not.

His EXAMINATION *before the* Bishop *of* WINCHESTER, *then* LORD CHANCELLOR.

I WAS called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the ſuffragan, and others. He ſtood by the table, and becauſe I ſaw the cardinal was not there, I bowed and drew near.

Then ſaid he, I have ſent for you becauſe I hear you are indicted of hereſy; and being called before the commiſſioners, you will not anſwer nor ſubmit yourſelf.

I ſaid, I did not refuſe to anſwer; but I did plainly anſwer that I had been in priſon a long time, and reaſon it was that I ſhould be charged or diſcharged of that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong impriſonment, neither did I know any indictment againſt me. If there were any, it could not be juſt, for I have not been abroad ſince the law was made.

Then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter, Well, yet if ſuch a ſuſpicion be of you, if you be a chriſtian, you will declare that it is not true, and ſo clear yourſelf.

Sheterden. I thought it ſufficient to anſwer to mine offences, &c. truſting that they would lay no ſuch burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Wincheſter. If thou wilt declare thyſelf to the church to be a chriſtian, thou ſhalt go, and then have a writ of wrong impriſonment, &c.

Sheterden. I have no mind to ſue now, but require right juſtice: but to make a promiſe, I will not; and if I offend the law, then puniſh me accordingly. For it might be that my conſcience was not perſuaded, nor would be, in priſon: ſeeing theſe things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by the authority of the realm. And he ſaid, it was never received, that I might ſpeak againſt the ſacrament; I ſaid that againſt ſome opinion of the ſacrament it was openly taught.

Wincheſter. By no law, and that was not able to conſider, that all that while God preſerved that, ſo that no law could paſs againſt it.

Sheterden. I ſaid their law did not only perſuade me, but this moſt; when they preached unto us, they took pains to ſet out the word of God in our tongue, ſo that we may read and judge whether they ſay true or no, but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, becauſe they ſay ſo, which is to me a great perſuaſion.

Wincheſter. It was not a few that could be your guides in underſtanding, but the doctors and the whole church; now whom wouldſt thou believe? either the few or the many?

Sheterden. I did not believe for the few or for the many, but only for him that bringeth the word, and ſhewed it to me to be ſo, according to the proceſs thereof.

Wincheſter. Well, then, if an Arian come to thee with ſcripture, thou wilt believe him, if he ſhew this next, "My Father is greater than I."

Sheterden. No, my lord, he muſt bring me alſo the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he ſaith, "My Father and I are one."

Wincheſter. Yea, that is by charity, as we are one with him.

Sheterden. That gloſs will not ſtand with the reſt of the ſcripture, where he ſaid, "I am the very ſame that I ſay to you;" he ſaid the truth, and the truth was God, with more ſuch like. And here he made many words, but very gently, of the ſacrament. Likewiſe Chriſt ſaid, ſaid he, it was his body; yea, that is to ſay, a figure of his body; and how men did not conſider that the Word was God, and God the Word, and ſo provoked me with ſuch temptation; but I let him alone, and ſaid nothing. So after many words, he came to the church's faith, and comely order of ceremonies and images. And then I joiued to him again with the commandments.

Wincheſter. That was done that no falſe things ſhould be made, as the heathen would worſhip a cat becauſe ſhe killed mice.

Sheterden. It is plain that the law forbids not only ſuch, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeneſs.

Wincheſter. Where find you that?

Sheterden. Forſooth, in the law where God gave them the commandments: for he ſaid, "Ye ſaw no ſhape, but heard a voice only:" and added a reaſon why; "leſt they ſhould after make images and marr themſelves;" ſo that God would not ſhew his ſhape, becauſe they ſhould have no image of him who was the true God, &c.

Wincheſter. You have made a goodly interpretation.

Sheterden. No, it is the text. A Latin bible was then brought.

Wincheſter. Why, can you read no Latin?

Sheterden. No. Then was the Engliſh bible brought. He bade me find it; and ſo I read it aloud: and then he ſaid, Lo here thou mayeſt ſee; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beaſt, fowl, or fiſh, (the place was Deut. iv.) I ſaid it did plainly forbid to make any of theſe as an image of God, becauſe no man might know what ſhape he was of. Therefore might no man ſay of any image, this is an image of God.

Wincheſter. Well, yet by your leave, ſo much as was ſeen we may, that is, of Chriſt, of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Father appeared to Daniel like an old man.

Sheterden. That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment; for though the Holy Ghoſt appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in ſhape, but in certain qualities; and therefore when I ſaw the dove, which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be ſimple and loving, &c. and with that he was ſomewhat moved, and ſaid, I had learned my leſſon, and aſked who taught me, with many words; and he ſaid he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c. At laſt I ſaid, My lord, although I were able to make ever ſo good a gloſs upon the commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents, and much ado we had. At laſt he ſaid, he ſaw what it was, and that he had ſent for me for charity ſake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and ſaid, my wrong impriſonment could not excuſe me, but I muſt clear myſelf. I ſaid that was eaſy for me to do, for I had not offended.

Wincheſter. He ſaid I could not eſcape ſo, there I was deceived.

Sheterden. Well, then, I am under the law, &c.

The archdeacon was then called in, and he ſaid, that I behaved myſelf before him with ſuch arrogancy and ſtoutneſs, as never was heard: whereas he was minded with ſuch mercy towards me, &c. and many other lies he laid to me, that I was ſent home till another time, and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with ſuch an outcry as was notable.

Sheterden. I declare that herein he falſly reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation, that none of her ſubjects ſhould be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearſed the ſame in the court for me, and I did uſe him then, ſaid I, as I uſe your grace now, and no otherwiſe.

Wincheſter. He ſaid that I did not uſe myſelf very well now.

Sheterden. I ſaid I had ſo offered myſelf to be bailed, and to confer with them when and where they would.

Wincheſter. He ſaid I ſhould not confer, but be obedient. I ſaid, let me go, and I will not deſire to confer neither: and when offended, let them puniſh me, and ſo departed.

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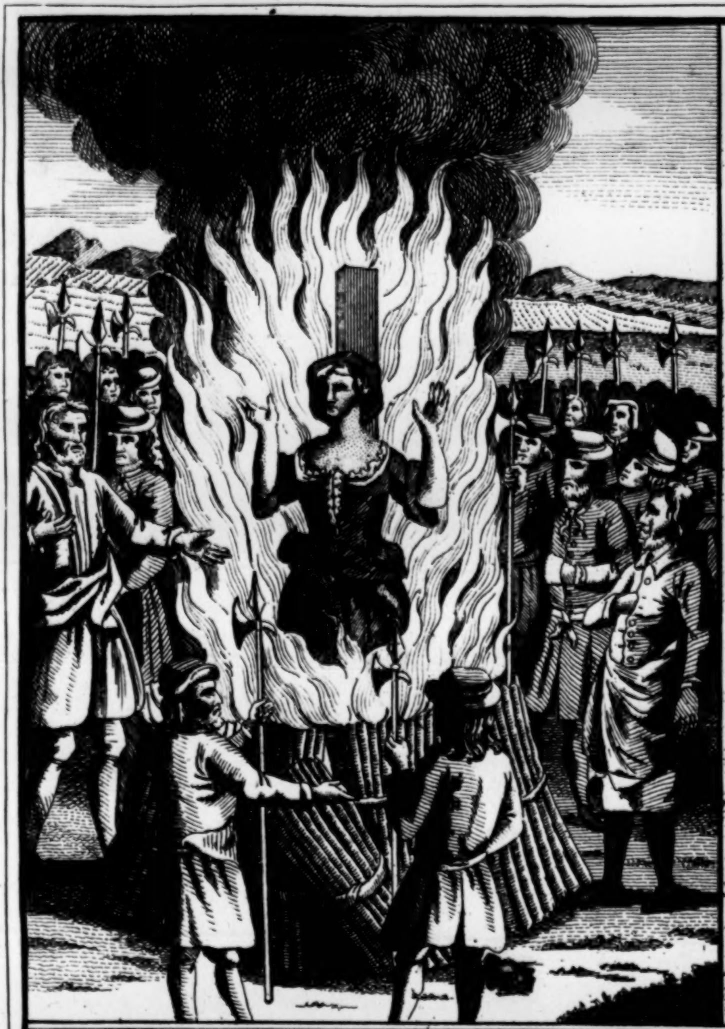
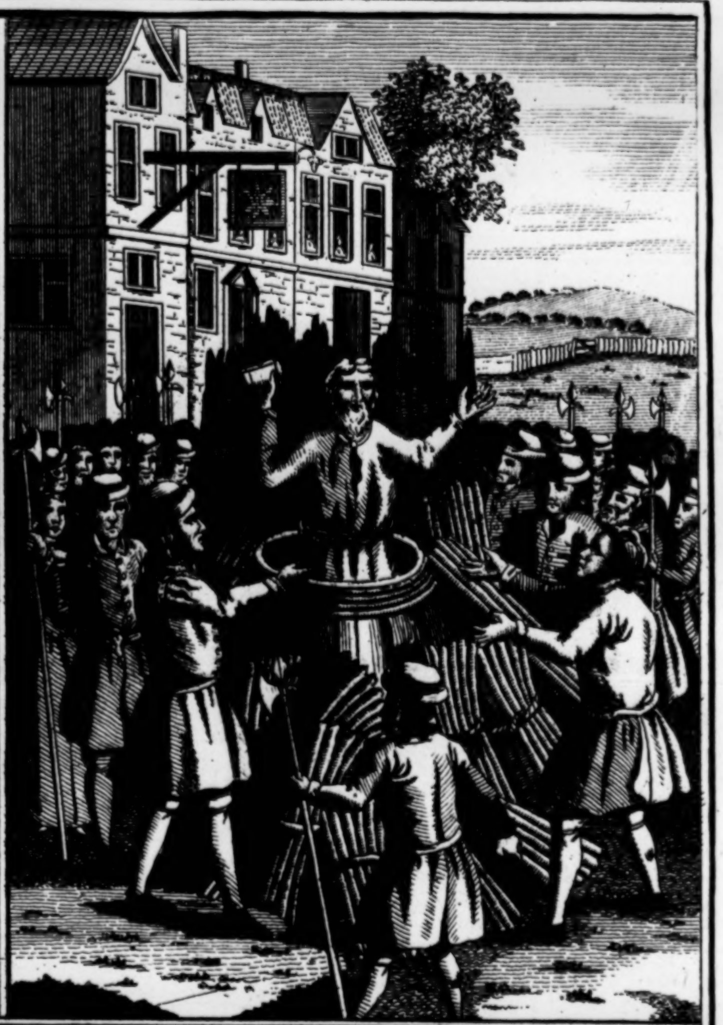
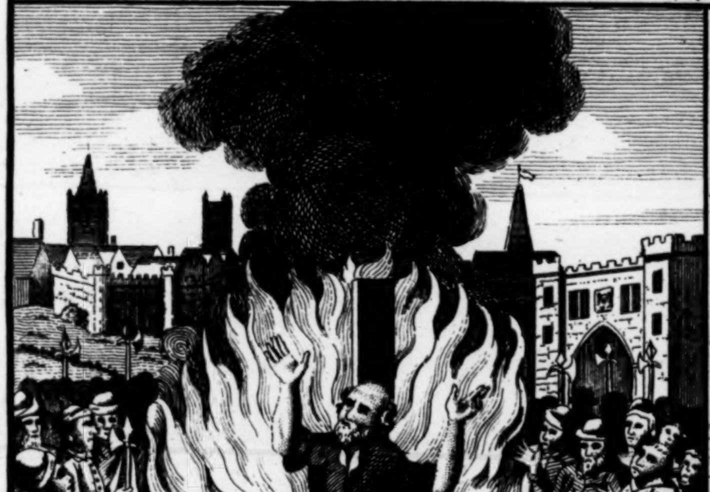


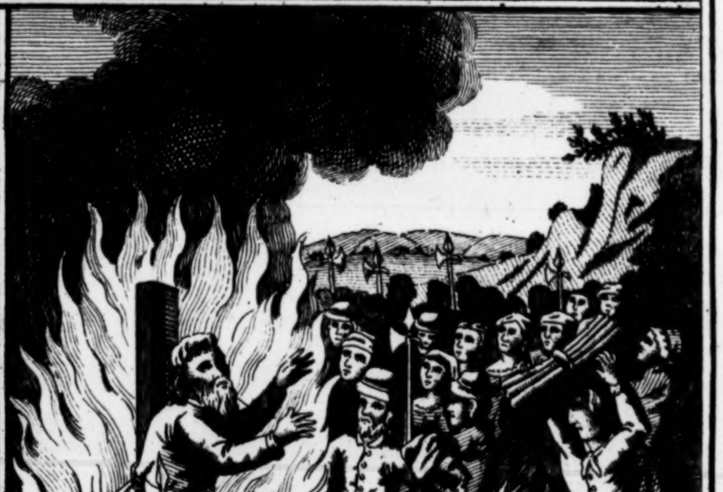
The Burning *of* M^rs MARGERY POLLEY, *at* Tunbridge, *in* Kent.



The Martyrdom *of* M^r DIRICK CARVER, *at* Lewes, *in* Sussex.



The Burning *of* M^r THOMAS IVESON. *at* Chichester, *in* Sussex.



The Burning *of* M^r JOHN DENLEY, *at* Uxbridge, *in* Middlesex.

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The laſt EXAMINATION, *with the* CONDEMNATION *of* Mr. JOHN BLAND, J. FRANKESH, N. SHETERDEN, *and* H. MIDDLETON.

AND thus much touching the particular and ſeveral examinations of Mr. Sheterden and Mr. Bland. Now to touch ſomething alſo of the other martyrs, who were examined the ſame time, and ſuffered together with them, to wit, Humphry Middleton, of Aſhford, and John Frankeſh, vicar of Rolvynden, in the dioceſe of Kent, above-mentioned; here firſt ſhould be declared the articles, which publicly in their laſt examinations were jointly and ſeverally miniſtered unto them by the aforeſaid Thornton, biſhop of Dover; but foraſmuch as theſe articles being ordinary and of courſe, are already expreſſed in the ſtory of Mr. Bland, it is not therefore needful to make any new rehearſals thereof.

The ſeven articles being propounded to the perſons above-named, to wit, John Frankeſh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphry Middleton, and one Thacker; John Frankeſh firſt anſwered ſomewhat doubtfully, deſiring further reſpite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himſelf, which was granted. Mr. Bland anſwered flatly and roundly, as you heard before. Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton anſwered to the firſt and ſecond articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the catholic church after a ſort they granted. To the fourth, fifth, and ſixth, concerning the real preſence, and the ſacrament to be adminiſtered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they utterly refuſed to anſwer. Sheterden ſaid, he would not anſwer thereto, before the cauſe were determined why he was impriſoned, and ſo ſtill remained priſoner, before the laws of parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confeſſed, that he believed in his own God, ſaying, My living God, and no dead god, &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforeſaid four upon theſe anſwers were condemned by the biſhop of Dover the 25th day of June, 1555.

And being delivered to the ſecular power, they were all four burnt together at Canterbury the 12th of July, at two ſeveral ſtakes, but in one fire, where they in ſight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, gave a conſtant teſtimony to the truth of his holy goſpel.

Mr. SHETERDEN's PRAYER *before his* DEATH.

O LORD my God and Saviour, who art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things viſible and inviſible, I am the creature and work of thy hands; Lord God, look upon me and other thy people, who at this time are oppreſſed by the worldly-minded for thy law's ſake; yea, Lord, thy law itſelf is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cauſe do I, and many thy creatures, refuſe the glory, praiſe, and conveniences of this life, and do chuſe to ſuffer adverſity, and to be baniſhed, yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's ſake, that is in ſtore. O Father, I do not preſume to come unto thee truſting in mine own righteouſneſs, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour: and when the time of reſurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again theſe members glorified, which now be ſpoiled and conſumed by fire. O Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit into thy hands. Amen.

Sheterden, ſome few days before he ſuffered, wrote an affectionate letter to his wife, two to his mother, wiſhing her increaſe of grace, and godly wiſdom, and two to his brother, Walter Sheterden, expatiating on the true faith and doctrine of Chriſt. In the prayer which he offered up to the throne of grace before his death, he evinced conſummate meekneſs, exemplary reſignation, and a lively hope in God's mercy!

The next day after the condemnation of theſe aforeſaid, which was the 26th day of July, W. Coker, W. Hopper, of Crambrooke, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright, of Aſhford, and W. Stere, of Aſhford, were likewiſe condemned for the ſame articles. But becauſe the execution of theſe martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more ſhall be ſaid of them when we come to the following month of Auguſt.

A brief Account of NICHOLAS HALL *and* CHRISTOPHER WAID.

THE ſame month of July, Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Chriſtopher Waid, of Dartford, ſuffered death, who were condemned by Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter about the laſt day of June. The ſix articles adminiſtered to them were of the ſame ordinary courſe and effect with the other articles above ſpecified, the brief ſum whereof were theſe.

1. Firſt, That they were chriſtian men and profeſſed the catholic determinations of our holy mother church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwiſe than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

3. That they hold and maintain, that in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Chriſt. And that the ſaid very body of Chriſt is verily in heaven only, and not in the ſacrament.

4. That they have and do hold and maintain, that the maſs, as it is now uſed in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

5. That they have been, and be amongſt the people of that juriſdiction vehemently ſuſpected upon the premiſes, and thereupon indicted, &c.

To theſe articles they anſwered as follows: Firſt, Granting themſelves chriſtian men, and acknowledging the determination of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Chriſt; ſave that Hall denied to call the catholic and apoſtolic church his mother, becauſe he found not this word Mother in the ſcriptures.

To the ſecond they granted. To the third article as touching the very body and blood of Chriſt to be under the forms of bread and wine in ſubſtance, they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and the ſacrament to be a token or remembrance of Chriſt's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and ſaying, That whereas before he held the ſacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Chriſt's death, now he ſaid, that there is neither token nor remembrance, becauſe it is now miſuſed and clean turned from Chriſt's inſtitution, &c. And concerning the maſs in the fourth article, to be abominable, Chriſtopher Waid, with the other, anſwered, that as they had confeſſed before, ſo they wouid not now go from what they had ſaid. To the fifth arricle, for the people's ſuſpicion, they made no great account nor ſticking to granting the ſame.

And thus much concerning the articles and anſwers of theſe good men. Which being received, immediately ſentence of condemnation was pronounced by the ſaid Maurice the biſhop againſt them, the copy of which ſentence as it runneth much after the common courſe in condemning all the other ſervants of Chriſt, ſo the ſame being exemplified before, needeth not here to be repeated. Nicholas Hall was burnt at Rocheſter about the 19th day of July.

Furthermore, with the aforeſaid Hall and Waid, in the ſame month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, biſhop of Rocheſter, whoſe names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol, of Rocheſter, and Margery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation here followeth an account.

The CONDEMNATION *of* MARGERY POLLEY, Widow *and* Martyr.

MArgery Polley, widow, ſometime wife of Richard Polley of Pepingbery, was accuſed and brought before the ſaid Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter, about the beginning of the month of June. Which biſhop, according to the pontifical ſolemnity of that church, riſing up out of the chair of his majeſty, in the high ſwelling ſtile after his ordinary manner to daſh the ſilly poor woman, began in theſe words:

"We Maurice, by the ſufferance of God, biſhop of Rocheſter, proceeding of our mere office in a cauſe of hereſy, againſt thee Margery Polley, of the pariſh of Pepingbery, of our dioceſe and juriſdiction of Rocheſter, do lay and object againſt thee all and ſingular theſe articles enſuing. To which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain anſwer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," &c.

Thus the oath being firſt adminiſtered, and the articles commenced againſt her, which articles were the ſame that were miniſtered to Nicholas Hall and Waid before, ſhe ſo framed her anſwers again, eſpecially anſwering to the third and fourth article, that ſhe neither allowed the deity of their ſacrament, nor the abſurdity of their maſs. For which ſentence was read againſt her about the beginning of June, and ſhe condemned for the ſame. But becauſe her death followed not upon the ſame, we will therefore defer the tranſaction thereof to the due place and time, firſt ſetting down in order of hiſtory the execution of Chriſtopher Waid before mentioned.

The MARTYRDOM *of* CHRISTOPHER WAID, Linen Weaver, *of* DARTFORD.

CHriſtopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned, by Maurice biſhop of Rocheſter, and appointed to be burnt at Dartford aforeſaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was carried out of town betimes in the morning in a cart, a ſtake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of town, called the Brimth, into a gravel pit thereby, the common place for the execution of felons. Thither alſo was brought a load of broom faggots, with other faggots and tall wood. Unto which place the people of the country reſorted in great numbers, and there waited his coming; inſomuch that divers fruiterers came thither with horſe-loads of cherries, and ſold them. About ten o'clock the ſheriff came riding with a great many other gentlemen and retinue, appointed to aſſiſt him therein, and with them Chriſtopher Waid, Margery Polley, of Tunbridge, riding pinioned by him, both ſinging of a pſalm; which Margery, as ſoon as ſhe eſpied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where they ſhould ſuffer, waiting their coming, ſhe ſaid unto Waid very loud and chearfully, You may rejoice, to ſee ſuch a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

And ſo paſſing by the place, which joined to the highway, they were ſtraightway carried down to the town, where ſhe was kept till the ſheriff returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being made ready, and ſtripped off his cloaths in an inn, a fair long white ſhirt was brought unto him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforeſaid place. When he was come to the ſtake, he took it in his arms, and kiſſed it, ſetting his back unto it, and ſtanding in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beacon, being hard by; then a ſmith brought a hoop of iron, and with two ſtaples made him faſt to the ſtake under his arms.

As ſoon as he was thus ſettled, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he ſpake with a chearful and loud voice the laſt verſe of the 86th Pſalm; "Shew ſome good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may ſee it, and be aſhamed: becauſe thou, Lord, haſt helped me, and comforted me." Near to the ſtake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were ſet up four ſtays, quadrangle-wiſe, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into which place as Waid was thus praying at the ſtake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid eſpied, he cried earneſtly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the goſpel preached in King Edward's days. While he was thus ſpeaking to the people, the ſheriff interrupted him, ſaying, Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently. I am quiet, ſaid he, I thank God, Mr. Sheriff, and ſo truſt to die. All this while the friar ſtood ſtill looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered ſomewhat: but Waid mightily admoniſhed the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he was amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew out of the place immediately, without ſpeaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being ſet about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole againſt his face, that his voice might be heard, which his tormentors perceiving, they caſt faggots at the ſame hole; but notwithſtanding he ſtill, as he could, put them off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot caſt thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul; without any token or ſign of impatience in the fire, till at length after the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to ſpeak, ſtill holding up his hands together over his head towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roaſted, as though they had been ſtayed up with a prop ſtanding under them.

This ſign did God ſhew upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, ſhewed ſuch a token upon him, even to their ſhame and confuſion. And thus was the order of this godly martyr's execution, this was his end. Whereby God ſeemed to confound and ſtrike with the ſpirit of dumbneſs the friar, that locuſt which was riſen up to have ſpoken againſt him; and alſo no leſs wonderfully ſuſtained thoſe hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

The APPREHENSION, EXAMINATION, CONDEMNATION, *and* BURNING *of* DIRICK CARVER, Beer-Brewer *of* BRIGHTHELMSTONE, *and* JOHN LAUNDER, Huſbandman *of* GODSTONE, SURRY, *who ſuffered* MARTYRDOM *for the Teſtimony of the* Goſpel.

THE 22d day of July, Dirick Carver, late of the pariſh of Brighthelmſtone in the county of Suſſex, was burnt at Lewes in the ſaid county. And the day following John Launder, late of Godſtone in the county of Surry, was burnt at Stening. Theſe two men were, with others, about the latter end of the month of October, in the year 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayers in the dwelling-houſe of the ſaid Dirick, and by him were ſent up to the queen's council, who, after examination, ſent them as priſoners to Newgate, there to attend the leiſure of Bonner biſhop of London. From whence (upon the biſhop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Wincheſter, now lord treaſurer) they were brought by the keeper of the priſon on the 8th of June next after into the biſhop's chamber at his houſe in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their ſeveral confeſſions, ſubſcribing and ſigning with their own hands; which being read, the biſhop objected unto them certain other articles, cauſing them to ſwear truly and directly their anſwers thereunto; which articles they confeſſed to be true, referring themſelves chiefly to their former confeſſion.

This done, after long perſuaſions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would ſtand to their anſwers. To whom Launder ſaid, I will never go from theſe anſwers as long as I live. The other alſo confirmed the ſame, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the biſhop in the conſiſtory at St. Paul's the tenth day of the ſame month. Which articles and confeſſion, with the forementioned letter, do here enſue.

A LETTER

From the Marquis *of* WINCHESTER, Lord Treaſurer, *to* BONNER, Biſhop *of* LONDON, *touching the* Examination *of the ſaid* Priſoners.

AFTER my commendations to your good lordſhip, I ſhall not forget your livery of black againſt this time; no more I ſhall Mr. Dean, to whom I wrote to make the ſermon, who muſt now aſſuredly do it: for my lord of Chicheſter cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now ſent: and your lordſhip muſt command the ſextons of your church to be in readineſs for ringing in the time of ſervice. And if you be not furniſhed with black apparel for the altar, and for the prieſt, deacon, and ſubdeacon, I muſt have knowledge thereof, that it may be taken of the queen's ſtuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertiſed.

And you have ſent Bradford to Newgate, as a man convicted of hereſy before you: but as I perceive you have not ſent me a Significavit, and therefore you muſt ſend me one, that I may proceed with him, and that ſhall I do, as ſoon as I am anſwered by you.

There be divers like priſoners that came from Suſſex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, who muſt be examined by you, ſince they be come to London, and ſo I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow, which I ſhall do, thanking your lordſhip heartily for my conies, truſting to recompenſe your lordſhip again ſhortly with twice as many. From my houſe this ſeventh of June, 1555.

Your loving friend,
WINCHESTER.

The CONFESSION *of* DIRICK CARVER.

DIRICK CARVER, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmſtone, in the county of Suſſex, where he hath dwelt about eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilſon by Stockom, in the land of Luke, about forty years of age, and now priſoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, ſince Alhallows-day laſt paſt, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaith, that he hath and doth believe, that the very ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt is not in the ſaid ſacrament, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in the ſaid ſacrament after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, but only the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

Item, Being examined concerning the maſs in Latin now uſed in the church of England, he believeth, that there is no ſacrifice in the maſs, and that there is in it no ſalvation for a chriſtian man, except it ſhould be ſaid in the mother tongue, that he might underſtand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he ſaith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a chriſtian man.

Item, Being examinined concerning auricular confeſſion, he anſwereth, That he hath believed, and doth believe, that it is neceſſary to go to a good prieſt for good counſel: but the abſolution of the prieſt, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now uſed, is nothing profitabie to a chriſtian man's ſalvation. And further he ſaith, that he hath not been confeſſed, nor received the ſacrament of the altar, ſince the coronation of the queen that now is.

Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, ſet forth and believed in the church of England, he anſwereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, ſet forth, and uſed in the ſaid church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he ſaith, that biſhop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were lately burnt, were good chriſtian men, and preached the true doctrine of Chriſt, as he believeth; and ſaith, that they ſhed their blood in the ſame doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he ſaith and believeth.

And further being examined, he ſaith, That ſince the queen's coronation, he hath had the bible and pſalter read in his houſe at Brighthelmſtone divers times, and likewiſe ſince his coming to Newgate: but the keeper hearing thereof, took them away; and alſo ſaid, that about a twelvemonth ago, he had the Engliſh proceſſion ſaid in his houſe, with other Engliſh prayers. And further ſaid, That Thomas Iveſon, John Launder, and William Veſie, being priſoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his houſe at Brighthelmſtone, as they were hearing the goſpel then read in Engliſh, a little before Alhallows-day laſt, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to priſon in Newgate.

The CONFESSION *of* JOHN LAUNDER.

JOHN LAUNDER, of the pariſh of Godſtone, in the county of Surry, huſbandman, aged 25 years, born at Godſtone aforeſaid, being examined, doth confeſs and ſay, That about two days before laſt Alhallow-tide, this examinate and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveſon, William Veſie, with divers other perſons, to the number of twelve, (being altogether at their prayers, ſaying the ſervice in Engliſh, ſet forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in the houſe of the ſaid Dirick Carver, ſituated at Brighthelmſtone in Suſſex) were apprehended by one Mr. Gage, and by him ſent up to London to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he and his ſaid fellows have ever ſince remained.

And further being examined, he doth confeſs and ſay, that the occaſion of his coming to the ſaid Brighthelmſtone, was upon ſome buſineſs there to be done for his father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid Dirick was a man that did much favour the goſpel, this examinate did reſort to his houſe and company, whom before that time he did never ſee or know, and by reaſon of that his reſort he was apprehended as before. And further doth confeſs and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and univerſal catholic church, whereof the members be diſperſed through the world; and doth believe alſo, that the ſame church doth ſet forth and teach only two ſacraments, namely, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the ſupper of our Lord. And whoſoever doth teach or uſe any more ſacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further ſay and believe, that all the ſervice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, now uſed in this realm of England (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which have been uſed after the ſame manner) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſt's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a member.

Alſo he doth confeſs and believe, that in the ſacrament, now called the ſacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, to wit, That when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the ſame in a remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion; and ſo receiving it, he doth eat and drink Chriſt's body and blood by faith, and none otherways as he believeth.

And moreover he doth confeſs, ſay, and believe, that the maſs now uſed in the realm of England, or elſewhere in all Chriſtendom, is naught and abominable, and directly againſt God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing ſaid or uſed in it good and profitable. For he ſaith, that albeit the *Gloria in excelſis*, the creed, *Sanctus Pater-noſter*, *Agnus*, and other parts of the maſs, be of themſelves good and profitable, yet the ſame being uſed among other things that be naught and ſuperfluous in the maſs, the ſame good things do become naught alſo, as he believeth.

Alſo he doth believe and confeſs, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any prieſt, or to any other creature, but every perſon ought to confeſs his ſins only to God, and alſo that no man hath any authority to abſolve any one from his ſins; and alſo believeth, that the right and true way (according to the ſcripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to ſin, to ariſe to Chriſt again, is to be ſorry for his offences, and to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confeſſion of them to the prieſt, or to take abſolution of them at the prieſt's hands.

On Monday, June 10, theſe two perſons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the biſhop's conſiſtory, at one o'clock in the afternoon, where the biſhop firſt beginning with the ſaid Dirick Carver, cauſed his confeſſion to be openly read unto him, aſking him whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſaid Dirick anſwered, that he would: for your doctrine, ſaid he, is poiſon and ſorcery.

The biſhop ſeeing his conſtancy, and that neither his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his uſual and general bleſſing on Dirick Carver and John Launder, ſeverally; therefore they were both delivered to the ſheriffs, who were there preſent, and afterwards conveyed to the places abovenamed, where they moſt joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire.

An Account *of* THOMAS IVESON, JOHN ALEWORTH, JAMES ABBES, JOHN DENLEY, JOHN NEWMAN, *and* PATRICK PACKINGHAM.

THOMAS IVESON, of Godſtone in the county of Surry, carpenter, was burnt about the ſame month at Chicheſter; whoſe apprehenſion, examination, conſtancy, and condemnation, was at the ſame time, and in the ſame form with Dirick Carver's and John Launder's.

In the latter end of the month of July, John Aleworth died in priſon at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the teſtimony of the goſpel. Whom although the catholic prelates (according to their uſual ſolemnity) excluded him from catholic burial, yet we ſee no cauſe to exclude him from the number of Chriſt's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

Among many that endeavoured in theſe troubleſome days to keep a good conſcience, there was one James Abbes, a young man who was forced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehenſion. At length he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before Dr. Hopkins, biſhop of Norwich: who examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith both with threats and fair ſpeeches, at laſt James Abbes did yield to their perſuaſions.

When he was diſmiſſed, the biſhop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, which when James had received, and was gone from the biſhop, his conſcience began to throb, and he went immediately to the biſhop again, threw him his money; and ſaid, he repented that he ever gave his conſent to their wicked perſuaſions. Hereupon the biſhop with his chaplains laboured afreſh to win him again, but in vain; for he would not yield to their perſuaſions, but ſtood manfully in his maſter's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire in the conſuming of his body to aſhes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the ſecond of Auguſt, 1555.

In the midſt of this tempeſtuous rage of malignant adverſaries, among the cruel murderers of God's ſaints, there was one Edmund Tyrel, Eſq; at that time a juſtice of the peace within the county of Eſſex, who as he came from the burning of ſome pious martyrs, met with John Denley, gentleman, and John Newman, (both of Maidſtone in Kent) travelling upon the way, and going to viſit ſome of their friends in the ſaid county of Eſſex. And upon the ſight of them, as he bragged, apprehended them upon ſuſpicion, and ſearched them, and finding the confeſſion of their faith about them in writing, ſent them up with a letter unto the queen's commiſſioners. Theſe commiſſioners diſpatched them to biſhop Bonner, who June 28 cauſed Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, there examining them upon their confeſſions, to which they all anſwered in effect one thing: thereupon they were commanded to appear in the biſhop's conſiſtory the fifth day of July then next coming.

ARTICLES *objected by* EDMUND BONNER, Biſhop *of* London, *againſt* JOHN DENLEY, JOHN NEWMAN, *and* PATRICK PACKINGHAM, *jointly and ſeverally, the 28th of* June, 1555.

FIRST, That the ſaid Denley now is of the dioceſe of London, and the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.

Secondly, That the ſaid Denley hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Chriſt here in earth.

Thirdly, That the ſaid Denley hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the ſaid catholic church.

Fourthly, That the ſaid Denley hath believed and doth believe, that the maſs now uſed in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain againſt God's word, and therefore he, the ſaid Denley, hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Fifthly, That the ſaid Denley hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that auricular confeſſion now uſed in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Sixthly, That the ſaid Denley hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that abſolution given by the prieſt hearing confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the ſame.

Seventhly, That the ſaid Denley hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that chriſtening of children, as it is now uſed in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but againſt it: likewiſe confirming of children, giving of orders, ſaying of mattins and even-ſong, anointing of ſick perſons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the reſt of the church.

Eighthly, That the ſaid Denley hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that there are but two ſacraments in Chriſt's catholic church, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the altar.

Ninthly, That the ſaid Denley hath believed, and doth ſo believe, that foraſmuch as Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament of the altar.

Tenthly, That thou Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at leaſt, being within the houſe of the biſhop of London at St. Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear maſs there, the ſaid 23d day of June, in the year of our Lord 1555, didſt unreverently ſtand in the ſaid chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the time of maſs; and didſt alſo refuſe to receive holy water and holy bread at the hands of the prieſt, there contemning and deſpiſing both the maſs, and the ſaid holy water and holy bread.

ANSWERS *to the foregoing* ARTICLES.

TO the firſt article I anſwer, It is very true.

To the ſecond article, I anſwer, That it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the head; which holy church is the congregation of faithful people diſperſed through the whole world, which church doth truly preach God's holy word; and doth alſo adminiſter the two ſacraments, that is to ſay, baptiſm and the ſupper of the Lord, according to the bleſſed word.

To the third article I anſwer, That I do believe that this church of England, uſing the faith and religion which is now uſed, is no part or member of the aforeſaid catholic church, but is the church of Antichriſt, the biſhop of Rome being the head thereof: for it is plain, that they have altered the teſtament of God, and ſet up a teſtament of their own deviſing, full of blaſphemy and lies: for Chriſt's teſtament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, Matth. vi. and alſo it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. for he ſaith, that "He that propheſieth, ſpeaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that ſpeaketh with the tongue, profiteth himſelf; he that propheſieth, edifieth the congregation."

Alſo he ſaith, "Even ſo likewiſe when you ſpeak with tongues, except you ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for you ſhall but ſpeak in the air, that is as much as to ſay, in vain.

To the fourth article I anſwer, and I do believe (as I ſaid before), That the maſs now uſed in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blaſphemy againſt God's holy word; for Chriſt in his holy ſupper inſtituted the ſacrament of bread and wine to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worſhipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worſhipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praiſe for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he ſaith in the ſecond commandment, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, nor the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them."

To the fifth article I anſwer, That I do believe that auricular confeſſion is not good as it is now uſed. Touching my ſins wherein I have offended God, I muſt ſeek to him for remiſſion thereof; for our Saviour ſaith, in the 11th of St. Matt. "Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, I will eaſe you," &c. The prodigal ſon, Luke xv. ſaith, "I will ariſe and go to my Father, and I will ſay unto him, Father I have ſinned againſt heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy ſon," &c. Pſal. xxxi.

To the ſixth article, I the ſaid John Denley have anſwered in the fifth.

To the ſeventh article I anſwer, that as touching the ſacrament of baptiſm, which is the chriſtening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John uſed nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear when Chriſt required to be baptized of him, and others alſo who came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matth. iii. Mark i. Luke iii. and Acts viii. the chamberlain ſaid, See here is the water, what hindereth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he ſaid, Here is water. We do not read, that he aſked for any cream, oil, or ſpittle, or conjured water, or conjured wax, or croyſom, or ſalt, for it ſeemeth that Philip had preached no ſuch things to him: for he would as well have aſked for them as for water: and the water was not conjured, but even as it was before.

To the eighth article I anſwer ſhortly, That there be no more ſacraments than two; baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt; except you will make the rainbow a ſacrament: for there is no ſacrament but what hath a promiſe annexed to it.

To the ninth article I anſwer you, That you have my mind written already; for it was found about me when I was taken: and you alſo know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expreſſed, concerning the bodily preſence: for Chriſt's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in ſo ſmall a piece of bread. And as the words which Chriſt ſpake are true indeed, ſo muſt they alſo be underſtood by other places of ſcripture which Chriſt ſpake himſelf, and alſo the apoſtles after him. And thus I make an end.

By me, JOHN DENLEY.

The firſt day of the month of July, the ſaid three priſoners were brought into the conſiſtory in St. Paul's, where Bonner proceeded againſt them after the uſual form and manner of law, reading firſt their confeſſions, articles, and anſwers, and then tempting them ſometimes with fair promiſes, at other times with threatenings, which indeed were generally his chief arguments and reaſons. In the end, ſeeing their unmoveable conſtancy, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and delivered them to the ſheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them till they were commanded by writ to ſend them to their ſeveral places of ſuffering; and accordingly Mr. Denley was ſent to Uxbridge, where he was burned on the 8th day of Auguſt; and being ſet in the fire, with the burning flames about him, he ſung a pſalm.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of Auguſt, Mr. Patrick Packingham alſo ſuffered at the ſame town, about the 28th of the ſaid month. This Packingham was charged by Bonner, (as you heard before in the tenth article) for his behaviour in the biſhop's chapel, who at the maſs time there ſtanding, would not pull off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. Packingham being much perſuaded by Bonner to recant, proteſted in theſe words to the biſhop, That the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore as concerning the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, at Maidſtone in Kent, he was burnt the laſt day of Auguſt, at Saffron-walden, in the county of Eſſex, whoſe examination and confeſſion of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly perſecuted and burnt, here followeth.

The EXAMINATION *of* Mr. JOHN NEWMAN.

JOHN NEWMAN, when apprehended, was firſt examined by Dr. Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, at Tenterden. From thence he was carried to Bonner, and there condemned with Denley and Packingham. But becauſe his examinations and anſwers came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to beſtow them, rather than they ſhould be utterly ſuppreſſed.

Firſt one of the doctors began, whoſe name John Newman doth not expreſs, aſking in this wiſe.

Doctor. How ſay you to this? "This is my body which is given for you?"

Newman. It is a figurative ſpeech, one thing ſpoken, and another meant; as Chriſt ſaith, "I am a vine, I am a door, I am a ſtone, &c." Is he therefore a material ſtone, a vine, or a door?

Doctor. This is no figurative ſpeech. For he ſaith, "This is my body which is given for you," and he ſaith not ſo of the ſtone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative ſpeech.

Newman. Chriſt ſaith, "This cup is the New Teſtament in my blood." If you will have it ſo meant, then let them take and eat the cup.

Doctor. Nay, that is not ſo meant: for it is a common phraſe of ſpeech among ourſelves: we ſay to our friend, drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he ſhould drink the drink in the cup.

Newman. Why, if you will have the one ſo underſtood, you muſt ſo underſtand the other.

Doctor. Well, we will not ſtand hereabout. How ſay you of the real preſence? Is not Chriſt's natural body there that was born of the virgin Mary?

Newman. No, I do not ſo believe; neither can I ſo believe; for the ſoul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth.

Doctor. Why, how then doth it feed?

Newman. I think the ſoul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whoſe feeding is only the pleaſure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and ſo the ſoul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Chriſt.

Collins. Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the ſoul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body muſt needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

Newman. I grant it to be true: but yet the ſoul doth live otherwiſe than the body which doth periſh: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you, what did Judas receive at the ſupper?

Collins. Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Chriſt, but it was to his damnation.

Newman. Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had the devil and Chriſt in him at one time.

Collins. Nay, the devil did enter into him afterwards.

Newman. Yea, and before too: what, do you think he had but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end.

Collins. We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Chriſt may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Chriſt is, except it pleaſe Chriſt.

Newman. Chriſt will not be in an unclean perſon that hath the devil.

Thornton. Why, will you not believe that Chriſt was in hell? and you will grant that the devil is there; and ſo might he be in Judas, if it pleaſed him.

Newman. Chriſt would not ſuffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, who ſought him at his grave, and did love him intirely; much leſs will he ſuffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

Thornton. Yes, ſeeing God may do all things, he may do what he liſt, and be where he will. And doth not the Pſalm ſay, He is in hell, and in all places? Why ſhould we then doubt of his being there?

Newman. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not ſufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places.

Thornton. No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?

Newman. I do believe that God is almighty.

Thornton. Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impoſſible for him to do.

Newman. I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himſelf, nor can he reſtore virginity once violated and defiled.

Thornton. What is that to your purpoſe? God doth not defile virginity; we ſpeak but of things that God doth.

Newman. Why, will you have the humanity of Chriſt in all places as the Deity is?

Thornton. Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it pleaſe him.

Newman. I promiſe you, that ſeemeth to me a very great hereſy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet you ſay, that whereſoever the Deity is, there is alſo the humanity; and ſo you will make him nobody, but a fantaſtical body, and not a body indeed.

Thornton. Nay, we do not ſay he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it pleaſe him he may be in all places with the Deity.

Newman. I promiſe you, that ſeemeth to me as great an hereſy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, leſt I ſhould deny Chriſt to be a very man, and that were againſt all the ſcriptures.

Thornton. Do you believe that Chriſt roſe from death, and came through the ſtone?

Newman. I do believe that Chriſt roſe from death; but I do not believe he came through the ſtone.

Thornton. Well, let us not ſtand any longer about this. Back again to the real preſence. How ſay you, is the body of Chriſt really in the ſacrament, or no?

Newman. I have anſwered you already.

Thornton. Well, do you not believe that it is there really?

Newman. No, I believe it not.

Thornton. Well, will you ſtand to it?

Newman. I muſt needs ſtand to it, till I be perſuaded by a further truth.

Thornton. Nay, you will not be perſuaded, but ſtand to your own opinion.

Newman. Nay, I ſtand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witneſs, but only to the ſcriptures of God, and that can all thoſe that ſtand here witneſs with me, and nothing but the ſcriptures.

Thornton had many other queſtions which I did not bear away: but as I do underſtand, theſe are chief: as for taunts fooliſh and unlearned, he lacked none. Praiſe God for his gift, and God increaſe in us ſtrength.

John Newman and Richard Hook ſuffered martyrdom about the ſame time at Chicheſter.

The EXAMINATIONS, ANSWERS, *and* CONDEMNATION *of* WILLIAM COKER, WILLIAM HOPPER, HENRY LAURENCE, RICHARD COLLIAR, RICHARD WRIGHT, *and* WILLIAM STERE, *before the* BISHOP *of* DOVER, *and* Dr. HARPSFIELD, ARCHDEACON *of* CANTERBURY.

MENTION was made a little before in the ſtory of Mr. Bland, and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentiſh-men, who being the ſame time with them called forth and examined by Thornton, biſhop of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins: yet notwithſtanding becauſe the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of Auguſt; coming therefore now to the time of ſuffering, we will briefly touch ſome part of their examinations and anſwers as we find them in the regiſters. The names of theſe were W. Coker, W. Hopper, H. Laurence, R. Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to Mr. Bland and them were, you heard before. To which articles they ſeverally anſwered for themſelves in effect as followeth.

Firſt, William Coker ſaid, he would anſwer no otherwiſe than he had already anſwered; and being offered to have a longer reſpite of ſix days more, he refuſed to take it; and ſo upon the ſame, ſentence of condemnation was read againſt him, the 11th of July.

William Hopper ſeemed firſt to grant to the faith and determination of the Roman church, but calling himſelf better to mind, conſtantly ſtuck to the truth, and was condemned the next week after, the 16th of July.

Henry Laurence, examined the ſaid 16th of July, and partly deferred to the 2d of Auguſt, anſwered to the articles objected againſt him; firſt denying auricular confeſſion, and that he neither had, nor would receive the ſacrament, becauſe, ſaith he, the order of the holy ſcripture is changed in the order of the ſacrament.

Moreover, this ſaid Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the ſuffragan made mention of the ſacrament, and did no reverence to the ſame: the ſaid Laurence anſwered in theſe words, What? you ſhall not need to put off your cap: for it is not ſo holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Further, being oppoſed concerning the verity of the ſacrament given to Chriſt's diſciples, he affirmed that even as Chriſt gave his very body to the diſciples, and confeſſed it to be the ſame; ſo likewiſe Chriſt himſelf ſaid, he was a door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had ſaid before, ſo he ſaith ſtill, that the ſacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion, and contrary he knoweth not. At laſt being required to ſubſcribe his anſwers, he wrote theſe words under the bill of their examinations, "You are all of Antichriſt, and him you fol—and here his hand was hindered from writing any further: belike he would have written out [follow], &c. And ſo upon the ſame, ſentence was given againſt him the 2d of Auguſt.

Richard Colliar, of Aſhford above-mentioned, having the 16th of Auguſt to appear, examined of the ſacrament of the popiſh altar, anſwered and ſaid, that he did not believe, that after the conſecration there is the real and ſubſtantial body of Chriſt, but only bread and wine, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to believe otherwiſe, &c. Upon this, ſentence was read againſt him, and he condemned the 16th of Auguſt. After his condemnation he ſung a pſalm. Wherefore the prieſts and their officers railed at him, ſaying he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright, the ſame place and day above-mentioned, appearing, and being required of the judge what he believed of the real preſence in the ſacrament, anſwered again, that as touching the ſacrament of the altar and the maſs, he was aſhamed to ſpeak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was uſed in the church. Againſt whom the ſentence was alſo read the day and place aforeſaid.

William Stere, of the aforeſaid pariſh of Aſhford, likewiſe detected and accuſed, was brought to appear the ſaid 16th day of Auguſt, where he in the chapter-houſe of Canterbury, being required to anſwer to the poſitions laid unto him by the judge, made anſwer again, That he ſhould command his dog, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to ſit againſt him in judgment; and aſked, where was his authority? who then ſhewed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he ſaid. William Stere denying that to be of ſufficient force, the ſaid Dick alſo ſaid, he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alledging that the archbiſhop of Canterbury (who was then in priſon) was his dioceſan, urged him to ſhew his authority from the archbiſhop, or elſe he denied his authority to be ſufficient. And as touching the ſacrament of the altar, he found it not, he ſaid, in the ſcripture, and therefore he would not anſwer thereunto.

And moreover, the judge ſpeaking of the ſacrament of the altar with reverence, and putting off his cap, William Stere told him, that he needed not to reverence that matter ſo highly. And thus (ſaying to the judge, that he was a bloody man, &c.) the ſentence was pronounced againſt him; and after the ſentence was read, he ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was the moſt blaſphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus theſe ſix heavenly martyrs and witneſſes to the truth, being condemned by the bloody ſuffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Faucet, were burnt all together in the ſame town of Canterbury, at three ſtakes in one fire, about the latter end of Auguſt.

The HISTORY *of* ELIZABETH WARNE, Widow, Burnt *at* Stratford-Bow.

ELIZABETH WARNE, widow, was burnt in the month of Auguſt, at Stratford-Bow, near London: ſhe was late wife of John Warne, upholſterer, and martyr, who was alſo burnt the latter end of the May before, as in his ſtory is recorded.

This Elizabeth Warne had been apprehended amongſt others, the firſt day of January, in a houſe in Bow-church-yard, in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that preſent was carried to the Compter, where ſhe remained till the 11th day of June: at which time ſhe was brought to Newgate, and was confined there till the 2d day of July. Then was ſhe ſent by the king and queen's commiſſioners unto Bonner, biſhop of London, who on the 6th day of the ſaid month cauſed her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon ſundry articles. She was condemned as an heretic, the 12th day of the ſame month of July, and ſo delivered to the ſecular power, to be by them put to death, which was done in the ſame month.

An Account *of* GEORGE TANKERFIELD, Martyr.

GEORGE TANKERFIELD, of London, cook, born in York, about the age of twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years, was in the days of king Edward a papiſt, till the time queen Mary came in, and then perceiving the great cruelty which the papiſts uſed, was brought into a miſdoubt of their doings, and began in his heart to abhor them. His tenets being diſcovered, he was brought to Newgate about the laſt day of February, 1555, by Mr. Beard, yeoman of the guards, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, conſtable of St. Dunſtan's in the weſt, ſent in by Roger Chomley, knight, and Dr. Martin.

At length he was examined (with the others before mentioned) by biſhop Bonner, who having endeavoured in vain, to diſſuade him him from his profeſſed opinion of the idolatry and abominations of the maſs; pronounced condemnation, and gave him over to the ſecular power.

This good man was accordingly taken, Auguſt 26, to St. Alban's to be burnt: while the faggots were ſet about him, there came a prieſt, and perſuaded him to belive on the ſacrament of the altar, and he would be ſaved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and ſaid, I defy the whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol: good people, do not believe him. And then the mayor of the town commanded to ſet fire to the heretic, and ſaid, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. Then fire was ſet unto him, and he deſired the ſheriff and all the people to pray for him; the moſt part did ſo. And ſo embracing the fire, he bathed himſelf in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jeſus, he was quickly out of pain.

The HISTORY *and* EXAMINATION *of* ROBERT SMITH, Martyr.

ROBERT SMITH was brought to Newgate the 5th of November, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard of the queen's ſide, by the command of the council. Robert Smith firſt gave himſelf to ſervice in the houſe of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provoſt of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windſor, having there in the college a clerkſhip of ten pounds a year. Of ſtature he was tall and ſlender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which many times rather for his mind's ſake, than for any gain, he did practiſe and exerciſe. In religion he was fervent, after he had once taſted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preaching of Mr. Turner, of Windſor, and others. Whereupon at the coming in of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkſhip by her viſitors; and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner.

The Firſt EXAMINATION *of* ROBERT SMITH *before* Bishop BONNER. *Written by* himself.

Bonner. HOW long is it ſince you were confeſſed to any prieſt?

Smith. Never ſince I had years of diſcretion. For I never ſaw it needful, neither commanded by God to come to ſhew my faults to any of that ſinful number whom you call prieſts.

Bonner. Thou ſheweſt thyſelf even at thy firſt ſpeech to be a rank heretic. How long is it ſince you received the ſacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the ſame?

Smith. I never received the ſame ſince I had years of diſcretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do eſteem the ſame in any point, becauſe it hath not God's ordinance.

Bonner. What ſay you to the catholic church? Do you not confeſs there is one in earth?

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apoſtle ſaith, is built upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt Jeſus being the head corner ſtone: which church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the ſame for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am aſſured I am by grace made a member.

Bonner. You ſhall underſtand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your church be the ſame, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the ſame?

Smith. It is written in the Acts of the apoſtles, that when the tyranny of the biſhops was ſo great againſt the church in Jewry, they were fain to aſſemble in houſes and ſecret places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheleſs the church of God: and ſeeing they had their matters redreſſed being ſhut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?

Bonner. Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man puniſhed and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known church; but your's is not known.

Smith. Then could you not perſecute it as you do: but as you ſay the church of God at Corinth was manifeſt both to God and St. Paul; even ſo is this church of God in England, which you perſecute, both known to God, and alſo even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth nor converſation.

Bonner. Well, thou ſayeſt that the church of God was only at Corinth, when St. Paul writ unto them, and ſo will I put in writing, ſhall I?

Smith. I do greatly marvel, my lord, that you are not aſhamed to lay ſnares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third ſnare you have laid for me. Firſt, to make me confeſs that the church of England is not the church of Chriſt. Secondly, to ſay it is not known. Thirdly, to ſay the church of God is not univerſal, but particular. And this is not the office of a biſhop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your beſt, I ſee, to have entangled him.

Well, friend, ſaid Dr. Harpsfield, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Well, ſaid Bonner, laughing, tell me, how ſayeſt thou of the church?

Smith. I told you whereon the true church is built, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and alſo in *omnem terram*; as it is written, "Their ſound is gone forth into all lands," and this is the afflicted and perſecuted church, which ye ceaſe not to impriſon, ſlay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of thoſe holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were preſent at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thouſands more which alſo communicate in that Holy Spirit.

Bonner. What call you catholic, and what call you church?

Smith. Catholic is univerſal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like talk, it was laid to my charge that my fellow and I ſpake one thing. For which I praiſed God, and was ſent again to the garden. Where, after a while, as I and brother Harwood had been together, came one of my lord's chaplains, that much deſired to commune with me, demanding firſt if I were a priſoner.

Smith. I am in this fleſh a priſoner, and ſubject to my maſter and your's; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Chriſt Jeſus.

Doctor. I do much deſire to talk to you lovingly, becauſe you are a man that I much lament.

To which I anſwered, *Sub melle latet venenum.* And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to ſay, that it muſt needs enter into the belly, and ſo fall into the draught.

Doctor. What derogation was it to Chriſt, when the Jews ſpit in his face?

Smith. If the Jews, being his enemies, did ſpit in his face, and we being his friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deſerved the greateſt damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Chriſt, ſhall have a moſt plenteous ſalvation.

Then the doctor ſtarted away, and would have his humanity incomprehenſible, making a compariſon between the ſoul of man and the body of Chriſt, bringing in to ſerve his turn, which way Chriſt came in among his diſciples, the doors being ſhut?

Smith. Although it be ſaid, that when he came the doors were ſhut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming as you have to prove he came through the door. For that almighty God who brought the diſciples out of priſon, which yet when ſearch was made was found ſhut, was able to let Chriſt in at the door, although it were ſhut: and yet it maketh not for your purpoſe.

At which anſwer when he had made many ſcoffings, he went from me, and we were carried into my lord's hall, where we were baited by my lord's band of ſervants almoſt all the day, until our keeper ſeeing their rudeneſs, ſhut us all up in a handſome chamber, while my lord went into his ſynagogue to condemn Mr. Denley and John Newman.

Then they brought my lord mayor up into the chamber where my lord intended to ſup, to hear the matter; and I was the firſt that was called; where my lord mayor being ſet with the biſhop and one of the ſheriffs, wine was flowing on every ſide, whilſt I ſtood before them like a mute; which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was ſorry for Joſeph's hurt. But after my lord had well drank, my articles were ſent for and read, and he demanded whether I did ſay as was written?

Smith. That I have ſaid, I have ſaid, and what I have ſaid I do mean.

Bonner. Well, my lord mayor, your lordſhip hath heard in ſome meaſure, what a ſtout heretic this is, and that his articles have deſerved death: yet nevertheleſs foraſmuch as they report me to ſeek blood, and call me bloody Bonner, whereas God knoweth, I never ſought any man's blood in all my life, I have kept him from the conſiſtory this day, whither I could have brought him juſtly; I deſire him to turn, and I will with all ſpeed diſpatch him out of his trouble; and this I profeſs before your lordſhip and all this audience.

Smith. Why, my lord, do you put on this fair vizor before my lord mayor, to make him believe that you ſeek not my blood, to cloak your murders, through my ſtoutneſs, as you call it? Have you not had my brother Tomkins before you, whoſe hand when you burned moſt cruelly, you burned alſo his body, and not only him, but a great many of the members of Chriſt, men that feared God, and lived virtuouſly, and alſo the queen's majeſty's moſt true ſubjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifeſt? And ſeeing in theſe ſaints you have ſhewed ſo little mercy, ſhall it ſeem to my lord and this audience that you ſhew me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if you mean as you ſay, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to anſwer you?

Bonner. Well, what ſayeſt thou by the ſacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the virgin?

Smith. I have anſwered that it is none of God's order nor a ſacrament, but man's own vain invention, and ſhewed him the Lord's inſtitution. But when he was ſo earneſt before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc eſt corpus meum* to lay in my diſh; I proved before the audience that it was a dead god, declaring the diſtinction appointed between two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life. At which Harpsfield found himſelf much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, ſaying,

Harpsfield. I will prove by the ſcriptures, that you blaſpheme God in ſo ſaying: for it is given in two parts, becauſe there are two things ſhewed, that is to ſay, his body and his paſſion, as ſaith St. Paul: and therefore the bread is his body, and the wine the repreſentation of his death and blood-ſhedding.

Smith. You falſify the word, and rack it to ſerve your purpoſe. For the wine was not only the ſhewing of his paſſion, but the bread alſo. For our Saviour ſaith, "So often as you do this, do it in remembrance of me." And St. Paul ſaith, "So oft as you eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you ſhall ſhew the Lord's death till he come." And here is as much reverence given to the one as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup muſt be his blood, and as well you make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread.

Then my lord roſe up, and went to the table, where the lord mayor deſired me to ſave my ſoul. To whom I anſwered, I hope it was ſaved through Chriſt Jeſus; deſiring him to have pity on his own ſoul, and remember whoſe ſword he carried.

On which I was carried into the garden, and there abode till the reſt of my friends were examined, and then were we ſent away to Newgate with many ſoul farewels, my lord biſhop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

Second EXAMINATION *of* ROBERT SMITH, *before* Bishop BONNER.

UPON Saturday, at eight o'clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined by him as followeth.

Bonner. Thou Robert Smith, &c. ſayeſt that there is no catholic church here on earth.

Smith. You have heard me both ſpeak the contrary, and you have writing as a witneſs of the ſame.

Bonner. Yes, but I muſt aſk this queſtion: how ſayeſt thou?

Smith. Muſt you of neceſſity begin with a lie? It maketh manifeſt that you determine to the end with the ſame. But there ſhall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheleſs, if you will be anſwered, aſk mine articles that were written yeſterday, and they ſhall tell you that I have confeſſed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Chriſt Jeſus.

Bonner. Well, what ſayeſt thou to auricular confeſſion? Is it not neceſſary to be uſed in Chriſt's church? and wilt thou not be confeſſed by the prieſt?

Smith. It is not needful to be uſed in Chriſt's church, as I anſwered yeſterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's pockets; and ſuch pickpocket matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all that you maintain is but money-matters.

Bonner. Why, how art thou able to prove that confeſſion is a pick-pocket matter? Art thou not aſhamed to ſay ſo?

Smith. I ſpeak by experience: for I have both heard and ſeen the fruits of the ſame. For firſt it hath been, we ſee, a betrayer of king's ſecrets, and the ſecrets of other men's conſciences; who being delivered, and glad to be diſcharged from their ſins, have given great ſums of money to prieſts to abſolve them, and ſing maſſes for their ſouls' health.

And for example, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was when a child, waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, which being bound in conſcience, through the perſuaſion of the prieſt, gave away a great quantity of his goods, and forgave unto one Mr. Greſham a large ſum of money, and to another as much. The prieſt for his part had a good ſhare, and the houſe had an annuity to keep him: which thing when his brother heard, he came to London, and after a declaration made to the council, how by the ſubtilty of the prieſt he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Mr. Greſham and his other friend; but what he gave to the houſe could not be recovered. This ſtory I began to tell; but when my lord ſaw it favoured not to his purpoſe, he began to revile me, and ſaid, By the maſs, if the queen's majeſty were of my mind, thou ſhouldſt not come to talk before any man, but ſhouldſt be put in a ſack, with a dog in the ſame, and be thrown into a river.

Smith. I know you ſpeak by practice, as much as by ſpeculation, for both you and your predeceſſors have ſought all poſſible means to kill Chriſt ſecretly; witneſs Mr. Hunne, whom your predeceſſor cauſed to be thruſt in at the noſe with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and gave it out that the ſaid Hunne hanged himſelf: and alſo a good brother of your's, a biſhop of your profeſſion, having in his priſon an innocent man, whom, becauſe he could not overcome by ſcripture, he cauſed to be privately ſtrangled, and his fleſh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers; and bringing him before the people, ſaid, the rats had eaten him. Thus according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

Bonner. Ah, you are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I have ſaid that Jeſus Chriſt is dead for my ſins, and riſen for my juſtification, and this is no lie.

Then Bonner made his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in ſuch ſums as he imagined. At the end of this ſir John Mordaunt came in, and ſat down to hear my examination. Then ſaid my lord, How ſayeſt thou, Smith, to the ſeven ſacraments? Believeſt thou not that they be of God's order, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of, &c.

Smith. I believe that in God's church are but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of regeneration, and the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper: and as for the ſacrament of the altar, and all your ſacraments, they may well ſerve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to anſwer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Bonner. Why, is God's order changed in baptiſm? In what point do we diſſent from the word of God?

Smith. Firſt, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the ſame; in baptizing children with anointing and ſpitting in their mouths, mingled with ſalt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

Bonner. By the maſs, this is the moſt unſhame-faced heretic that ever I heard ſpeak.

Smith. Well ſworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

By my troth, my lord, ſaid ſir John Mordaunt, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his anſwer for baptiſm. He diſalloweth therein holy ointment, ſalt, and ſuch other laudable ceremonies, which no chriſtian man will deny.

Smith. That is a ſhameful blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, ſo to uſe any mingle mangle in baptizing young infants.

Bonner. I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned.

Smith. You ſhall never be ſaved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, ſhew me, are we ſaved by water, or by Chriſt?

Bonner. By both.

Smith. Then the water died for our ſins: and ſo muſt you ſay, that the water hath life, and it being our ſervant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

Bonner. Why, how underſtandeſt thou the ſcriptures? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

And again, "Suffer (ſaith our Saviour) theſe children to come unto me:" and if thou wilt not ſuffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou hindereſt them to come unto Chriſt.

Smith. Where you alledge St. John, "Except a man be born," &c. and will thereby prove the water to ſave, and ſo the deed or work to ſave and put away ſins, I will ſend you to St. Paul, who aſketh of the Galatians, "Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith? and there concludeth that the Holy Ghoſt accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now if baptiſm preacheth to me the waſhing in Chriſt's blood, ſo doth the Holy Ghoſt accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher and not a Saviour. And where you ſay, I hinder the children to come unto Chriſt, it is manifeſt by our Saviour's words that you hinder them to come, that will not ſuffer them to come unto him without the neceſſity of water. For he ſaith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto the water; and therefore if you condemn them, you condemn both the merits and words of Chriſt. For our Saviour ſaith, "Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And ſo i brought out many other examples, to make manifeſt that Chriſt hath cleanſed original ſin, bringing in examples out of the ſcriptures for the ſame.

Bonner. Then thou makeſt the water of none effect, then put away water.

Smith. "It is not (ſaith St. Peter) the waſhing away of the filth of the fleſh, but in that a good conſcience conſenteth unto God." And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghoſt, it is written in Acts viii. that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghoſt for money. Alſo that the Holy Ghoſt hath come before baptiſm. Yea, and although your generation have ſet at nought the word of God, and like ſwine turned his words upſide down, yet muſt his church keep the ſame in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

Mordaunt. By our lady, ſir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

Bonner. Yea, and ſo do I, and all catholic men, good Mr. Mordaunt.

Smith. Well, my lord, ſuch catholic, ſuch ſalvation!

Bonner. Well, ſir, what ſay you to the ſacrament of orders?

Smith. You may call it the ſacrament of miſ-orders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your ſhaving, anointing, greaſing, poling, and rounding, there are no ſuch things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not ſo disfigure yourſelf as you do.

Bonner. Sayeſt thou ſo? Now, by my troth, I will go ſhave myſelf to anger thee withal; and ſo he ſent for his barber, who immediately came: and before my face at the door of the next chamber, he ſhaved himſelf, deſiring me before he went, to anſwer to theſe articles.

Bonner. What ſay you to holy bread and holy water, to the ſacrament of anointing, and to all the reſt of ſuch ceremonies of the church?

Smith. I ſay they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exerciſe themſelves in, and therefore they may go among the refuſe. Then Mr. Mordaunt went away, and my lord went to be ſhaved, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do, by whom I was baited for half an hour; of whom I alſo aſked this queſtion, Where were you all the days of king Edward, that you ſpake not that which you ſpeak now?

Doctors. We were in England.

Smith. Yea, but then you had the faces of men, but now you put on lions' faces again, as ſaith St. John, "Ye ſhew yourſelves as full of malice, as ye may be." For you have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another king Edward ſhould ariſe, you would then ſay, Down with the pope, for he is Antichriſt, and ſo are all his angels.

Then I was reviled and ſent away, and brought in again before theſe men; and one of them that baited me before, aſked me if I diſallowed confeſſion?

Smith. Look in mine articles, and they ſhall ſhew you what I allow.

Doctor. Your articles confeſs that you allow not auricular confeſſion.

Smith. I allow it not, becauſe the word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

Doctor. Why, it is written, thou ſhalt not hide thy ſins and offences.

Smith. No more do I when I confeſs them to Almighty God.

Doctor. Why you cannot ſay that you can hide them from God, and therefore you muſt underſtand the words are ſpoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

Smith. You have made a good anſwer, then the prieſt muſt confeſs himſelf to me, as well as I to him; for I know his faults and ſecrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if you confeſs to the prieſt and not unto God, you ſhall have the reward that Judas had: for he confeſſed himſelf to the prieſt, and preſently went and hanged himſelf; and ſo many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are ſaid to hide them.

Doctor. What did they that came to John to be baptized?

Smith. They came and confeſſed their ſins to Almighty God.

Doctor. And not unto John?

Smith. If it were unto John, as you are not able to prove, yet it was to God, before John and the whole congregation.

Doctor. Why, John was alone in the wilderneſs.

Smith. Why, and yet the ſcriptures ſay he had many diſciples, and that many phariſees and ſadducees came to his baptiſm. Here the ſcriptures and you agree not. And if they confeſſed themſelves to John, as you ſay, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epiſtle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apoſtle, becauſe he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confeſſion, you never heard it allowed by the word. For the prophet David made his confeſſion unto God, and ſaith, "I will confeſs my ſins unto the Lord." Daniel maketh his confeſſion unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manaſſeh, with all the forefathers, did even ſo. For the Lord hath ſaid, "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee." Knock, aſk, ſeek, with ſuch like; and this is the word of God: now bring ſomewhat of the word to help yourſelf withal. Then they raged, and called me dog, and ſaid I was damned.

Smith. Nay, you are dogs, that becauſe holy things are offered, will ſlay your friends. For I may ſay with St. Paul, "I have fought with beaſts in the likeneſs of men." For here I have been baited theſe two days, of my lord, and his great bulls of Baſan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the reſt of his band. With this came my lord from ſhaving, and aſked me how I liked him.

Smith. Forſooth, you are even ſo wiſe as you were before you were ſhaven.

Bonner. How ſtandeth it, Mr. Doctors, have you done any good?

Doctor. No, by my troth, my lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, "How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

Bonner. Nay, naughty fellow, I ſet theſe gentlemen to bring thee home to Chriſt.

Smith. Such gentlemen, ſuch Chriſts! and as truly as they have that name from Chriſt, ſo truly do they teach Chriſt.

Bonner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.

Bonner. Well, thou ſhalt be burnt at a ſtake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And you ſhall burn in hell, if you repent not: but, my lord, to put you out of doubt, becauſe I am weary, I will ſtrain courteſy with you: I perceive you will not with your doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face againſt you as hard as braſs. Then after many railing ſentences I was ſent away.

And thus have I left the truth of mine anſwers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it: that you may ſee how the Lord hath according to his promiſe given me a mouth and wiſdom to anſwer

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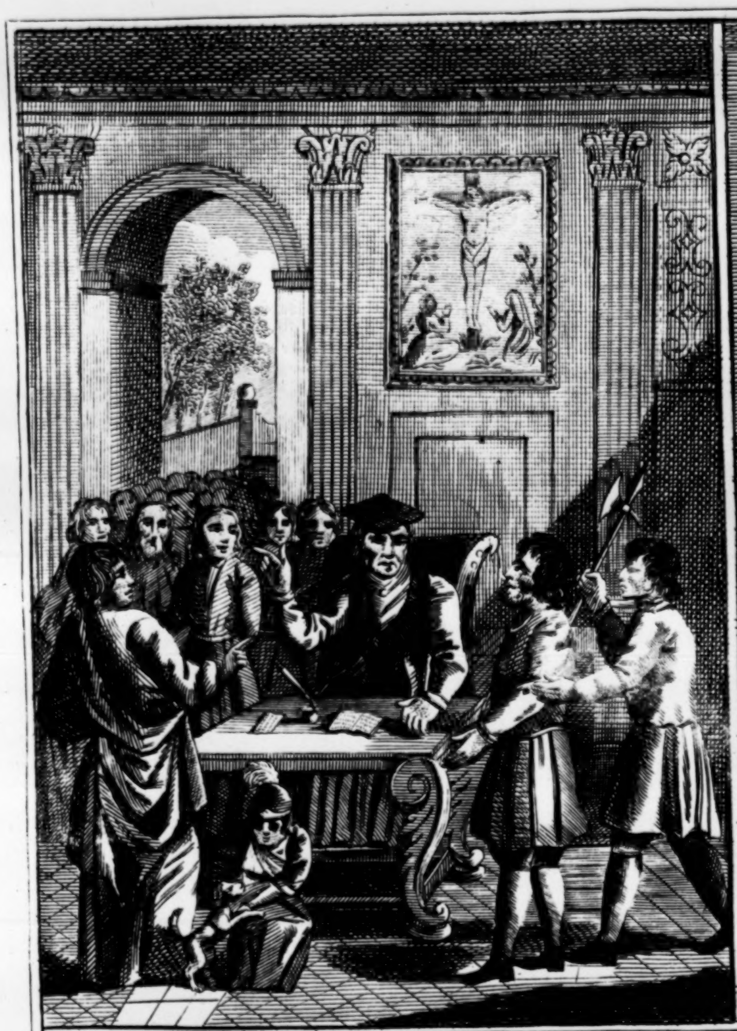
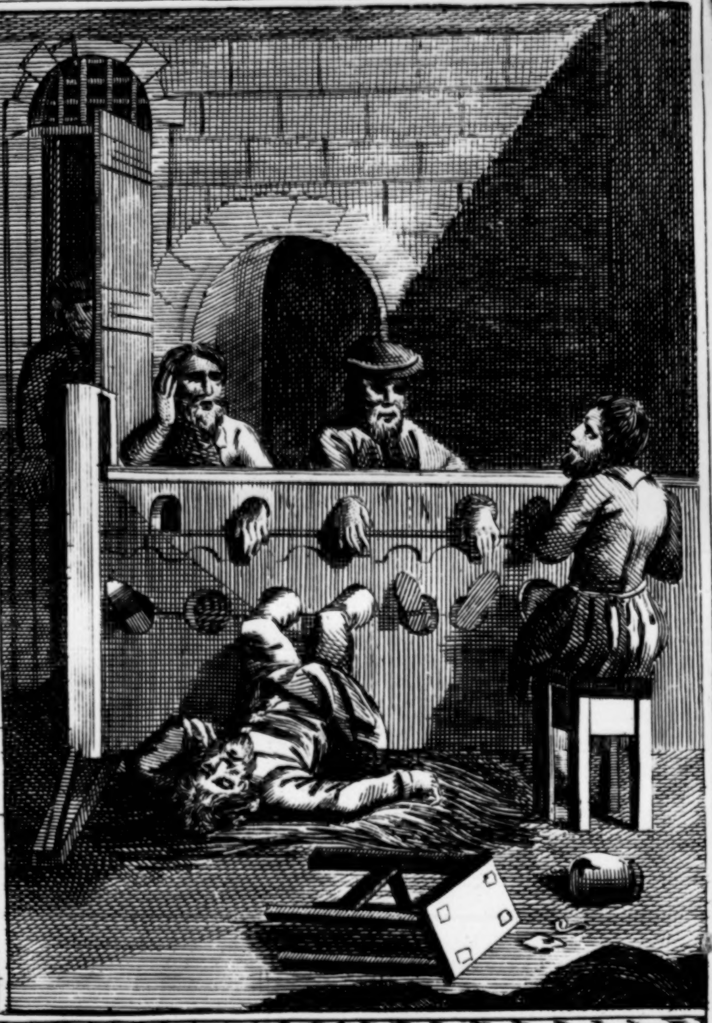
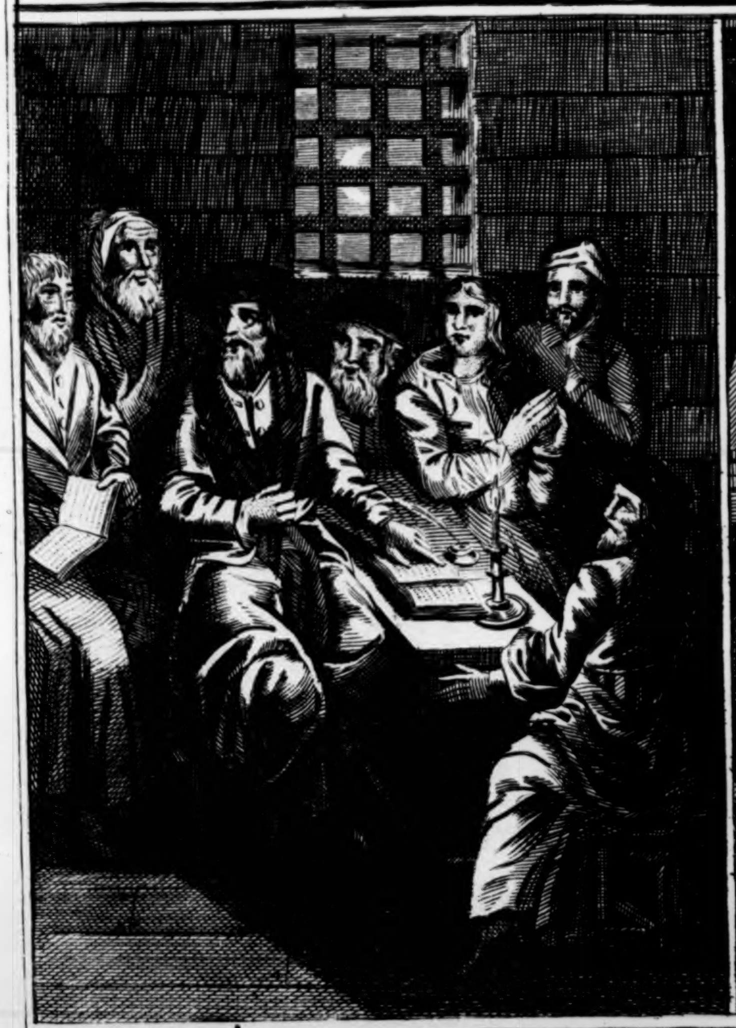


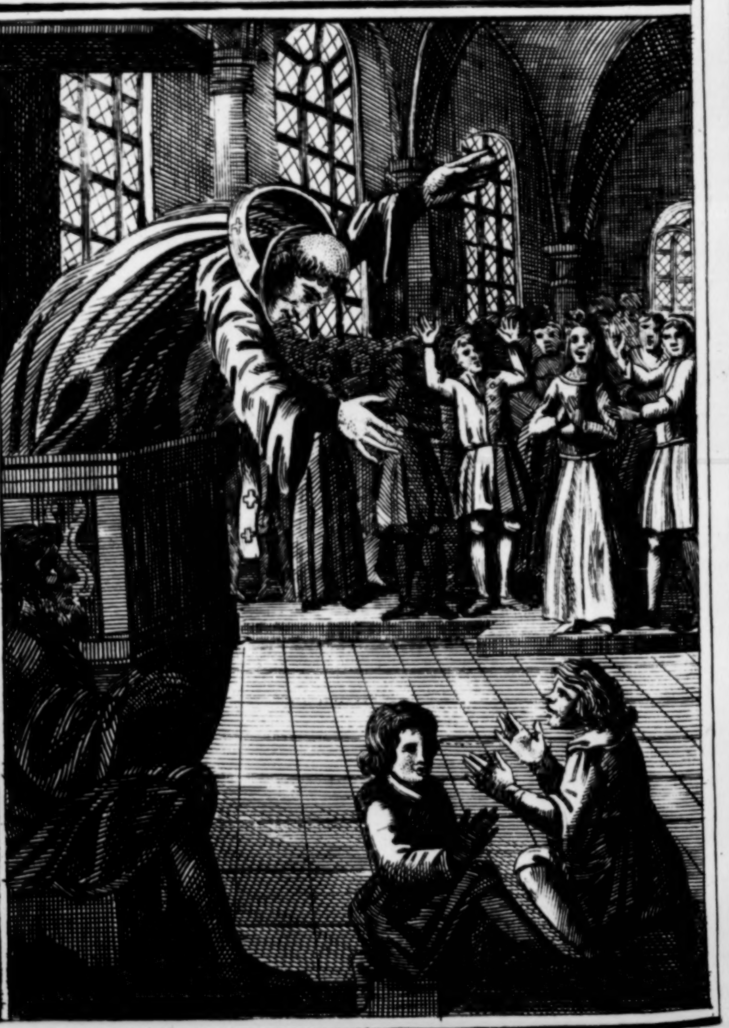
The Examination *of* Mr. William Hale. *before* Biſhop Bonner.



G. King, I. Wade, T. Leyes, *and* W. Andrews. *in the* Stocks, *at* Lollards Tower.



R. Smith, G. Tankerfield, *& their* fellow Priſoners. *conversing together — in* Newgate.



A Popiſh Prieſt *having taken away the* Glory *&* Office *of* Chriſt, fell down *ſuddenly &* Died.

in his cauſe, for which I am condemned, and my cauſe not heard.

The Laſt EXAMINATION *of* Mr. SMITH.

THE 12th of July I was with my brethren brought into the conſiſtory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and ſheriffs, with all the aſſiſtants; to which I anſwered, as followeth.

Bonner. By my faith, my lord mayor, I have ſhewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is loſt, both in him and all his company.

At this word, which was coupled with an oath, Mr. Smith came in, and ſaid to the biſhop, My lord, it is written, "You muſt not ſwear."

Bonner. Ah, Mr. Controller, are you come? Lo, my lord mayor, this is Mr. Speaker, pointing to my brother Tankerfield; and this is Mr. Controller, pointing to me. And then beginning to read my articles, he perſevered till he came to my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he had heard of the ſame before. To which he anſwered, No. To whom I ſaid:

Smith. My lord mayor, will it pleaſe you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and told it, and then you ſhall hear the truth? For this tale that my lord hath told is untrue.

Bonner. How ſay you, good Mr. Mordaunt, ſpake he not this here as it is written? Were you not by?

Mordaunt. Yes, my lord, that it is: I heard him ſay it.

Smith. How heard you me ſay it, and were not preſent when I ſpake it? It is manifeſtly proved what the prophet ſaith: "Even as the king ſaith, ſo ſaith the judge, that he may do him a pleaſure again." And then my jailor was brought out for proof thereof, who there openly profeſſed that neither Mr. Mordaunt, nor the doctors before-mentioned, were preſent when I ſpake it.

At which Mr. Mordaunt, with bluſhing cheeks, ſaid, he heard them read, and heard me affirm the ſame; which alſo was not true. Then my lord proceeded with the reſt of my articles, demanding of me if I ſaid not as was written. To which I anſwered, No. And turning to my lord mayor, I ſaid, I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your ſword and juſtice, that I may here before your preſence anſwer to theſe objections that are laid againſt me, and have probation of the ſame; and if any thing that I have ſaid, or will ſay, be proved (as my lord ſaith) hereſy, I ſhall not only with all my heart forſake the ſame, and cleave to the truth, but alſo recant wherever you ſhall aſſign me, and all this audience ſhall be witneſs to the ſame.

Lord Mayor. Why, Smith, thou canſt not deny but this thou ſaidſt.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, becauſe he hath both added to, and diminiſhed from the ſame: but what I have ſpoken I will never deny.

Lord Mayor. Why thou ſpeakeſt againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Smith. I denied it to be any ſacrament, and I do ſtand here to make probation of the ſame; and if my lord or any of his doctors be able to prove either the name or uſage of the ſame, I will recant mine error. Then ſpake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of things which they call hereſy. To which the biſhop anſwered, By my troth, Mr. Speaker, you ſhall preach at a ſtake.

Smith. Well ſworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, I am no ſaint.

Smith. No, my lord, nor yet a good biſhop. For a biſhop, ſaith St. Paul, ſhould be faultleſs, and a veſſel dedicated unto God; and are you not aſhamed to ſit in judgment and be a blaſphemer, condemning innocents?

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you are faultleſs.

Smith. My lord mayor, I require you in God's name, that I may have juſtice. We be here to-day a great many innocents wrongfully accuſed of hereſy. And I require you, if you will not ſeem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apoſtle had at the hands of Feſtus and Agrippa, who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave not only to ſpeak for himſelf, but alſo heard the probation of his cauſe. This require I at your hands, who being a chriſtian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have ſuffered: if you do, then ſhall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, ſpeak ſhame of your fact. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light. Then the lord mayor hanging down his head, ſaid nothing, but the biſhop told me, I ſhould preach at the ſtake, and ſo the ſheriff cried with the biſhop, away with me.

Then I came in before them four times, deſiring juſtice, but could have none: and at length my friends required the ſame with one voice, and could not have it; ſo we had ſentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it ſeparately. But before the biſhop gave me ſentence, he told me, in deriſion of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I anſwered, My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantaſies and fooliſh tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true biſhop, you would leave theſe railing ſentences, and ſpeak the words of God.

Bonner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor ſhould here inſtruct him, but he hath with great diſdain refuſed it. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou have him inſtruct thee, and lead thee into the right way?

Smith. My lord, if your chancellor will do me any good, and take any pains, as you ſay, let him take mine articles in his hands, that you have objected againſt me, and either prove one of them hereſy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able ſo to do, I ſtand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praiſe God, of his ſermon: for I come to anſwer for my life, and not to hear a ſermon.

Then began the ſentence, "In the name of God," &c. To which I anſwered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in ſcripture to give ſentence of death againſt any man for his conſcience ſake. To which he made no anſwer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned to the mayor, and ſaid, Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and you that are the ſheriffs, that you have left the ſtraight way of the Lord, but you muſt condemn Chriſt cauſeleſs?

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, now you cannot ſay, but I have offered you fair, to have inſtruction. And now, I pray thee, call me Bloody Biſhop, and ſay I ſeek thy blood.

Smith. Well, my lord, if neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet ſhall theſe ſtones cry it out, rather than it ſhall be hidden.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

Woodroſe. Away with him, take him away.

Smith. Well, good friends, you have ſeen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witneſſes that we have deſired the probation of our cauſe by God's book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cauſe not heard. Nevertheleſs, my lord mayor, foraſmuch as you have here exerciſed God's ſword cauſeleſs, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cauſe to Almighty God, who will judge all men according to right, before whom we ſhall both ſtand without authority; and there will I ſtand in the right, and have judgment, to your great confuſion, except you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then I was with the reſt of my brethren carried away to Newgate.

While he was in priſon, he wrote ſeveral letters to his friends, ſome in verſe, and others in proſe. A ſpecimen of which follows.

LETTER I.

THE God that giveth life and light,
And leadeth into reſt:
That breaketh bonds, and bringeth out
The poor that are oppreſt:
And keepeth mercy for the meek,
His treaſure and his ſtore:
Increaſe thy life in perfect love,
Both now and evermore.
That as thou haſt begun to ground
In faith and fervent love,
Thou may'ſt be made a mighty mount,
That never may remove.
That thine enſample may be ſhew'd,
Among all thine increaſe;
That they may live and learn the like,
And paſs their time in peace.
Thy ſalutations that were ſent,
I heartily retain;
And ſend thee ſeventy times as much,
To thee and thine again.
And now becauſe I know the gaol
That thou doſt moſt deſire;
I ſend thee here a paper full,
As fined in the fire.
In hope thou wilt accept it well,
Although it be but ſmall;
Becauſe I have no other good,
To make amends withal.
For all thy free and friendly facts,
Which thy good will hath wrought,
I ſend thee ſurely for a ſhiſt
The thing that coſt me nought.
Abſtain from all ungodlineſs,
In dread direct your days:
Poſſeſs not ſin in any wiſe;
Beware of wicked ways.
Hold faſt your faith unfeignedly;
Build as you have begun:
And arm yourſelf in perfect faith,
To do as ye have done:
Leſt that the wicked make a mock
At what ye take in hand,
In leaving of the perfect rock,
To build upon the ſand.
Beware of filthy phariſees,
Their building is in blood:
Eat not with them in any wiſe,
Their leaven is not good.
Their ſalt is all unſavory:
And under good intents
They maintain all their knavery,
And murder innocents.
They ſeek to ſit in Chriſt his ſeat,
And put him out of place:
And make all means that may be made,
His doings to deface.
They keep him down with bills and bats,
That made the blind to ſee:
They make a god for mice and rats,
And ſay the ſame is he.
They look like ſheep, and act like wolves,
Their baits be all for blood:
They kill and ſlay the ſimple ſouls,
And rob them of their good.
The dark illuſions of the devil
Have dimmed ſo their eyes,
That they cannot abide the truth
To ſtir in any wiſe.
And if ye keep the perfect path,
(As I have hope you do)
Ye ſhall be ſure to have ſuch ſhame
As they may put you to.
For all that lead a godly life,
Shall ſurely ſuffer loſs:
Likewiſe the world will ſeek their ſhame,
And make them kiſs the croſs.
Ye ſhall be killed all, ſaith Chriſt:
Your ſorrows ſhall not ceaſe:
And yet in your afflictions
I am your perfect peace.
For in the world ye ſhall have woe,
Becauſe ye are unknown:
Alſo becauſe ye hate the world,
The world will love his own.
Be fervent therefore to the death,
Againſt all their decrees:
And God ſhall ſurely fight for thee,
Againſt thine enemies.
Commit your cauſe unto the Lord,
Revenge not any ill;
And thou ſhalt ſee the wicked want,
When thou ſhalt have thy will.
For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can ſay or do:
They are not ſure of all the wealth,
That we attain unto.
For I have ſeen the ſinners ſpread
Their branches like a bay;
And yet ere one could turn his head,
Were wither'd clean away.
Beware that money make you not
In riches to ariſe!
Againſt the goodneſs of the Lord,
Among the worldly wiſe.
For many miſchiefs it hath made,
That may not be expreſs'd:
And many ills it hath begun,
Which may not be redreſs'd.
For money maketh many a one
In riches to rebel,
And he that maketh gold a god,
He hath a ſoul to ſell.
It maketh kings to kill and ſlay,
And waſte their wits in war;
In leaving of the wolf at home,
To hunt the fox afar.
And where they ſhould ſee juſtice done,
And ſet their realm in reſt;
By money they be made a means
To ſee the poor oppreſt.
It maketh lords obey the laws,
That they do ill and naught;
It maketh biſhops ſuck the blood,
That God hath dearly bought.
And where they ſhould be faithful friends,
And fathers to their flock,
By money they do turn about,
Ev'n like a weather-cock.
The prieſt doth make a money mean,
To have again his whores,
To put away his wedded wife,
And children out of doors.
It holdeth back the huſbandman,
Which may not be forborn;
And will not ſuffer him to ſow,
And caſt abroad his corn.
In like caſe it doth let again,
When that the ſeed they ſow;
It choaketh up the corn again,
So that it cannot grow.
The huſband he would have a wife,
With nobles new and old:
The wife would have the huſband hang'd,
That ſhe might have his gold.
It maketh murd'rers many a one,
And beareth much with blood:
The child would ſee the parents ſlain,
To ſeize upon their good.
And though it be a bleſſed thing
Created in the kind;
It is a neceſſary ill
Annexed to the mind.
For whoſo playeth with the pitch,
His fingers are defil'd;

And he that maketh gold a god,
  Shall ſurely be beguil'd.
Be friendly to the fatherleſs,
  And all that are oppreſt:
Aſſiſt them always out of hand,
  And ſee them ſet at reſt.
In all your doings and your deeds,
  Let mercy ſtill remain;
For with the meaſure that you mete,
  Shall ye be met again.
Be always lowly in your life;
  Let love enjoy her own:
The higheſt trees are ſeldom ſure,
  And ſooneſt overthrown.
The lions lack and ſuffer ſore,
  In hunger and in thirſt:
And they that do oppreſs the poor
  Continue ſtill accurſt.
The bee is but a little beaſt
  In body or in ſight,
And yet ſhe bringeth more increaſe
  Then either crow or kite.
Therefore beware in any wiſe
  Keep well your watch alway:
Be ſure of oil within your lamp;
  Let not your light decay.
For death deſpiſeth them that lack,
  And hateth them that have;
And treadeth down the rich and poor
  Together in the grave.
Exhort your children to be chaſte,
  Rebuke them for their ill,
And let them not in any wiſe
  Be wedded to their will.
Laugh not with them, but keep them low
  Shew them no merry chear,
Leſt thou do weep with them alſo;
  But bring them up in fear.
And let your light and living ſhine,
  That ye be not ſuſpected
To have the ſame within yourſelf,
  For which they are corrected.
Be meek and modeſt, in a mean
  Let all your deeds be done,
That they which are without the law
  May ſee how right ye run.
Keep well the member in your mouth,
  Your tongue ſee that ye tame;
For out of little ſparks of fire
  Proceedeth forth a flame.
And as the poiſon doth expreſs
  The nature of the toad;
Ev'n ſo the tongue do manifeſt
  The heart that feareth God.
For therewith bleſs we God above,
  And therewith curſe we men;
And thereby murders do ariſe,
  Through women now and then.
And ſeeing God hath given a tongue,
  And put it under power,
The ſureſt way it is, to ſet
  A hatch before the door.
For God hath ſet you in a ſeat
  Of double low degree;
Firſt unto God, and then to man,
  A ſubject for to be.
I write not that I ſee in you
  Theſe things to be ſuſpected,
But only ſet before your face,
  How ſin ſhould be corrected.
For fleſh and blood I know ye are,
  As other women be;
And if ye dwell in fleſh and blood,
  There is infirmity.
Receive a warning willingly,
  That to thy teeth is told:
Account the gift of greater price
  Than if he gave thee gold.
A wiſe man will, ſaith Solomon,
  A warning ſoon embrace:
A fool will ſooner (as he ſaith),
  Be ſmitten on the face.
And as your members muſt be dead
  From all things that are vain;
Ev'n ſo by baptiſm ye are born
  To live with Chriſt again.
Thus farewell free and faithful friend;
  The Lord that is above
Increaſe in thee a perfect faith,
  And lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love,
  And pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large
  Abroad among the briers;
Ev'n ſo I pray thee to prefer
  My perſon and my bands,
Unto the everlaſting God
  That hath me in his hands.
That I may paſs out of this pond,
  Wherein I am oppreſt,
Incloſed in a clod of clay,
  That here can have no reſt.
That as he hath begun in me
  His mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake
  My brethren that are gone.
That when the death ſhall do his worſt,
  Where he ſhall point a place,
I may be able like a man
  To look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloak,
  My body unto duſt:
Yet am I ſure to have a ſoul,
  When death hath done his worſt.
And though I leave a little duſt
  Diſſolved without blood;
I ſhall receive it ſafe again,
  When God ſhall ſee it good.
For my Redeemer I am ſure
  Doth live for evermore,
And ſitteth high upon the heavens,
  For whom I hunger ſore.
Ev'n as the dear with deadly wounds
  Eſcaped from the ſpoil,
Doth haſte by all the means he may
  To ſeek unto the ſoil.
Of whom I hope to have a crown,
  That always ſhall remain;
And to enjoy a perfect peace,
  For all my woe and pain.
The God that giveth all increaſe,
  And ſeeketh ſtill to ſave,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
  Which I do hope to have.
And I beſeech the living God
  To hold thee in his hands,
And wiſh thee ev'n with all my heart,
  The bleſſing of my bands;
Which I eſteem of higher price
  Than pearl or precious ſtone;
And ſhall endure for evermore,
  When earthly things are gone.

Letter II. is a poetical exhortation to his children: and Letter III. another to his brother, reſpecting the education of his daughter.

LETTER IV.

To all who love GOD *unfeignedly, and intend to lead a* GODLY LIFE *according to his* GOSPEL.

GRACE and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

Be not afraid, moſt dearly beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, at theſe moſt perilous days, wherein by the ſufferance of God, the prince of darkneſs is broken looſe, and rageth in his members againſt the elect of God with all cruelty, to ſet up the kingdom of antichriſt: againſt whom ſee that you be ſtrong in faith, to reſiſt his moſt deviliſh doctrine with the pure goſpel of God, arming yourſelves with patience to abide whatſoever ſhall be laid to your charge for the truth's ſake, knowing that thereunto you be called, not only to believe in him, but alſo to ſuffer for him. O how happy are you that in the ſight of God are counted worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt! Quiet therefore yourſelves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom you ſuffer: for unto you do remain the unſpeakable joys, which neither the eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wiſe. Be not afraid of bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that in the ſight of the lord precious is the death of his ſaints. Watch therefore and pray, that you be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the ſtormy winds blow. Now ſhall it appear whether you have built upon the fleeting ſand, or upon the immoveable rock Chriſt, which is the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets: whereon every houſe that is built, groweth into an holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that you ſhew yourſelves the valient ſoldiers of Chriſt Jeſus, with the armour of God, that you may ſtand faſt againſt the crafty aſſaults of the devil. Chriſt is your captain, and you be his ſoldiers, whoſe cognizance is the croſs, to which he willingly humbled himſelf even unto death, and thereby ſpoiled his enemies, and now he triumpheth over them in the glory of his Father, making interceſſion for them that here do remain to ſuffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his myſtical body.

It behoveth, therefore, every one that would be counted his ſcholar, to take up his own croſs and follow him, as you have him for example: and I aſſure you that he being on your ſide, nothing ſhall be able to prevail againſt you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, you have his promiſe in Matth. xxviii. He will go forth with his hoſt as a conqueror to make a conqueſt. He is the man that ſitteth on the white horſe, crowned with immortality, and you brethren are his fellowſhip, whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he ſhall direct the ſame according to the riches of his glory, into all ſpiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not ſuffer you to be further aſſaulted, than he will give you ſtrength to overcome, and in the moſt danger he will make a way that you may be able to bear it.

Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when you ſhall be called to anſwer for the hope that is in you: for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth, which was ſent from the heavens to teach us: he ſhall ſpeak in us, he ſhall ſtrengthen us: what is he then that ſhall be able to confound us? Nay, what tyrant is he that now boaſteth himſelf of his ſtrength to do miſchief, whom the Lord ſhall not with the ſame Spirit, by the mouth of his ſervants, ſtrike down to hell-fire? Yea, ſuddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philiſtines, by the hands of his ſervant David. Their ſtrength is in the ſpear and ſhield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, and a ſtrong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He ſhall bring the counſels of the ungodly to nought. He ſhall take them in their own net. He ſhall deſtroy them in their own inventions.

Acquit yourſelves like men againſt the enemies of God in all humility of mind; be ſtrong in ſpirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, one only, everlaſting and ſufficient ſacrifice for the remiſſion of ſins, even the precious body of the Lord Jeſus once offered for all and for ever. Who now ſitteth at the right hand of God, and from thence ſhall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the laſt day; and until that time occupieth the bleſſed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be encloſed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious Majeſty of God, perſonally abiding there in the fleſh, not coming down from thence till the laſt hour. And as he never ceaſeth to be man, ſo doth he never loſe the ſimilitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not, ſo hath that body there his highneſs, and ſhrinketh not, and his bodily ſhape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions, except ſin.

And what he took of his bleſſed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghoſt, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the ſame for any other. He took the ſhape of man with the ſubſtance of his manhood, in one ſacred womb. There were they two coupled together by the Holy Ghoſt, never to be divided aſunder. He retaineth the one with the other inſeparably. As he will not alter the ſubſtance of his fleſh into the ſubſtance of bread, no more will he alter the ſhape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater abſurdity againſt the truth, than to think that he would leave the ſhape that he took in the virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the ſame a wafer cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven very man, but only mediator between God and man, even the man Chriſt Jeſus, he it is that is the propitiation for our ſins. Be bold therefore, to confeſs this moſt pure and apoſtolical doctrine; and alſo that all favour, mercy, and forgiveneſs cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption. All theſe are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Chriſt Jeſus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I ſay, freely given unto us of favour, without our deſert, by believing and not by deſerving. To this do the law and prophets witneſs.

This doctrine have all the bleſſed martyrs of Chriſt's church witneſſed with their blood to be true. To this truth have all the conſciences of all true believers ſubſcribed ever ſince the aſcenſion of Chriſt. This witneſs is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel then can ye have to give your lives for, than the truth itſelf? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readieſt way of life. He that hath the pope's curſe for the truth, is ſure of Chriſt's bleſſing. Well then, my brethren, what ſhall now hinder you from going forward as ye have begun? Nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way, look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and ſo run, that ye may get hold of it. Caſt away all your worldly pelf, and worldly reſpects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, ſenſual affection, reſpect of perſons, honour, praiſe, ſhame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, poſſeſſions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your ownſelves; and in reſpect of that heavenly treaſure ye look for, let all theſe be denied, and utterly refuſed of you, ſo that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this caſe make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile in compariſon of everlaſting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly ſeed of the goſpel, where they be ſuffered to grow. They are burdens of the fleſh, which encumber the ſoul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain, that findeth heavenly and immortal treaſure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loſeth that man any thing, who is forſaken of his carnal father and mother, when he is received of God the Father, to be his child and heir in Chriſt? Heavenly for earthly, immortal for mortal, permanent for tranſitory, is infinite gain for a chriſtian conſcience.

Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren; miſtruſt not God; be of good comfort; rejoice in the Lord; hold faſt your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your croſs, and follow him who is your leader, and is gone before. If you ſuffer with him, you ſhall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by ſuffering death for his Son's ſake? What a ſpectacle ſhall it be to the world to behold ſo godly a fellowſhip as you ſervants of God, in ſo juſt a quarrel as the goſpel of Chriſt is, with ſo pure a conſcience, ſo ſtrong a faith, and ſo lively a hope, to offer yourſelves to ſuffer moſt cruel torments at the hands of God's enemies, and ſo to end your days in peace, to receive in the reſurrection of the righteous, life everlaſting!

Be ſtrong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your ſide, and his truth is your cauſe; and againſt you be none but the enemies of the croſs of Chriſt, as the ſerpent and his ſeed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beaſt, the offſpring of the phariſees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, ſuch are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages reſiſted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that ſearcheth the hearts of men, hath found out them to be crafty, ſubtle, full of poiſon, proud, diſdainful, ſtiffnecked, devourers, raveners, and barkers againſt the truth, filthy and ſhameleſs: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apoſtles, call them by the names of foxes, ſerpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, ſwine, beaſts, teaching us thereby to underſtand, that their natural inclination is, to deceive, poiſon, and deſtroy (as much as in them lieth) the faithful and elect of God; but the Lord with his right arm ſhall defend his little flock againſt the whole rabblement of theſe worldlings, who have conſpired againſt him: he hath numbered all the hairs of his children's head, ſo that one of them ſhall not periſh without his fatherly will. He keepeth the ſparrows, much more will he preſerve them whom he hath purchaſed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God ſhall be glorified in his ſaints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaſpheme, let them curſe, betray, whip, ſcourge, hang and burn: for by theſe means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by theſe fruits ſhall they alſo bring themſelves to be known what they be, for all their ſheepſkins. For as he that in ſuffering patiently for the goſpel of God, is thereby known to be of Chriſt; even ſo is the perſecutor of him known to be a member of Antichriſt. Beſides this, their extreme cruelty ſhall be a means the ſooner to provoke God to take pity upon his ſervants, and to deſtroy them that ſo tyrannically treat his people; as we may learn by the hiſtories, as well in the bondage of Iſrael under Pharaoh in Egypt, as alſo in the miſerable captivity of Judah in Babylon: where, when the people of God were in moſt extreme thraldom, then did the Lord ſtretch forth his mighty power to deliver his ſervants. Though God for a time ſuffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet ſhall they not eſcape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the ſtumps, he will caſt them into the fire; this ſhall be their final reward. In the mean while our duty is, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the beſt.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly alſo for our ſins, which we moſt grievouſly have committed to the great ſlander of his goſpel, whereby the name of God was evil ſpoken of among his enemies; for which he now puniſheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we ſhould not be damned with the world. By this means he ſeeketh his ſheep that were loſt, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way ſeeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, in all holineſs and righteouſneſs before him. Finally, this way he uſeth his godly wiſdom, to make us thereby know him, and ourſelves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praiſed be his name therefore. And as for thoſe Balaamites who now moleſt us, commit them to the hands of God, give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let thoſe belly-gods prate. For he is in heaven, and ſleepeth not, that keepeth Iſrael. He is in heaven that made the ſeas calm, when the diſciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we ſhall find him turned unto us. If we repent of our wickedneſs done againſt him, then ſhall he take away the plague that he hath deviſed againſt us.

Let us therefore earneſtly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us ſtudy to be his, then ſhall we not need to fear what theſe hypocrites do againſt us, who with their pretended holineſs deceive the hearts of the ſimple, and abuſe the authority of God in his princes, cauſing them (by their procurement) to teſtify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romiſh maſs. God, in whoſe hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's highneſs, to eſpy them out what they be, and ſo to weed them out, that they be no longer ſuffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poiſon the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, deliver the queen's highneſs, and this her church and her realm from the proud prelates, who are as profitable in the church of Chriſt as a polecat in the midſt of a warren of conies.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word, which is able to eſtabliſh you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work always that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whoſe ye are both body and ſoul. Whom ſee that ye love, ſerve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conſcience before God. Diſſemble not with his word; God will not be mocked, nay, they that diſſemble with him deceive themſelves. Such ſhall the Lord deny, and caſt out at the laſt day: ſuch, I ſay, as bear two faces in one hood; ſuch as deny the known truth; ſuch as obſtinately rebel againſt him. All ſuch, with their partakers, ſhall the Lord deſtroy. God defend you from all ſuch, and make you perfect unto the end. Your ſorrow ſhall be turned into joy.

ROBERT SMITH.

LETTER V.

From Mr. ROBERT SMITH *to his* WIFE.

THE God and Father eternal, who brought again from death our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, Amen; thy parents, and all thy friends. I praiſe God for his mercy, I am in the ſame ſtate that you left me in, rather better than worſe, looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full ſore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I truſt thou art willing to be partaker. I give God moſt hearty thanks therefore, deſiring thee of all things to ſtand in that faith which thou haſt received; and let no man take away the ſeed that Almighty God hath ſown in thee, but lay hands on everlaſting life which ſhall ever abide, when both the earth and all earthly friends ſhall periſh, deſiring them alſo to receive thankfully our trouble which is momentary and light, and as St. Paul ſaith, not worthy to be compared with thoſe things which God hath prepared for us; that we patiently carrying our croſs, may attain to the place where our Saviour Chriſt is gone before, to which I beſeech God of his mercy bring us ſpeedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the perſuaſions of worldlings, and have found a friend, who will (I truſt) find a means for you, if you be not already provided, deſiring you in any caſe to abide ſuch order, as thoſe my friends ſhall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I ſpake at our parting, that as God hath found us, and alſo elected us as worthy to ſuffer for him, we may endeavour ourſelves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, deſiring you to preſent my hearty commendations to all our friends, and eſpecially to your parents, keeping your ſentiments cloſe in any wiſe. Give moſt hearty thanks to my friend, who is come to Windſor only for our cauſe. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultleſs in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep yourſelf clean from ſin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have ſent you a piece of gold for a token, and moſt intirely deſire you to ſend me word if you lack any thing. The Lord Jeſus preſerve you and your's, Amen. From Newgate, April 15.

By your huſband here and in heaven,

ROBERT SMITH.

The ſaid Robert Smith, the valiant and conſtant martyr of Chriſt, being thus repleniſhed, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner their biſhop on the 12th day of July; and ſuffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of Auguſt; who as he had been before a comfortable inſtrument of God to all them that were in priſon with him; ſo now alſo being at the ſtake, he did no leſs comfort the people, there ſtanding about him, willing them to think well of his cauſe, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, ſhould riſe again to life. And, ſaid he, I doubt not but God will ſhew you ſome token thereof. At length he being well nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, cluſtered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, ſuddenly roſe upright before the people, lifting up the ſtumps of his arms, and clapping the ſame together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and ſo bending down again, and hanging over the fire, ſlept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

LETTER VI.

From Mr. SMITH *to his* WIFE.

SEEK firſt to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then ſhall it be eaſy to love your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and eſpecially to your own ſoul.

Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but eſpecially to your own fleſh.

In hearing of good things, join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietneſs with all men, but eſpecially with your conſcience; for it will not be eaſily intreated.

Love all people, but eſpecially your enemies.

Hate the ſins that are paſt, but eſpecially thoſe to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that you may be a child of God.

Defile not that which Chriſt hath cleanſed, leſt his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might ſpeak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look at your brother's eye, but eſpecially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of what he himſelf is guilty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himſelf.

Beware of riches and worldly honour; for without underſtanding, prayer, and faſting, it is a ſnare; and alſo poverty, all which are like to a conſuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will conſume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his boſom, and not be burnt.

Shew mercy to the ſaints for Chriſt's ſake, and Chriſt ſhall reward you for the ſaints' ſake. Among all other priſoners viſit your own ſoul, for it is incloſed in a perilous priſon.

If you will love God, hate evil, and you ſhall obtain the reward of well-doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beſeech you, have me in your prayer whilſt I am living, and I am aſſured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and your's in the fear of God, and then I ſhall not fail to receive you together, in the everlaſting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your huſband,

ROBERT SMITH.

If you will meet with me again,
Forſake not Chriſt for any pain.

LETTER VII.

From the SAME *to the* SAME.

THE grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, ſtrengthen, and eſtabliſh you in all things, that what his bleſſed will is, you may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own ſalvation, and the good example to our poſterity.

I have received your letter, and I praiſe God, without any danger: nevertheleſs, if God's marvellous goodneſs had not brought it to my hands by Peter, the keeper, there might have riſen great trouble upon the ſame. For you well know, George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the council would ſurely have ſeen it. But Peter, like an honeſt man, never opened it. Wherefore I deſire you from henceforth, let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane end, to my ſiſter Tankerfield, and ſhe may deliver them ſafe into my hand. We are very ſtraitly kept, I praiſe God for his mercy. Nevertheleſs, Almighty God is always with us. I have ſent you what you wrote for. The two nutmegs that ſhould have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I ſend now, and deſire them to accept as a poor priſoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveſon ſendeth you a penny, I pray you give him thanks for the ſame, and Dirick alſo. I have ſent you of that little that I have, two pieces of Spaniſh money. The Lord Jeſus have you in his cuſtody, and ſend you good ſpeed. In any caſe keep yourſelf cloſe, I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and deſire them with you, to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his ſword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer ſhall bring up the epiſtle and exhortation. I have written all this fortnight for my lady, yea, and almoſt done nothing elſe. I would have ſent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the priſon. The Holy Ghoſt keep you. I wiſh you could make a means for your money, to ſend a cheeſe to Peter, for I find much kindneſs at his hands. You ſhall always hear of me at Tankerfield's houſe. All the congregation ſalute you. Farewel moſt heartily.

I have not yet, tell my brother, ſpoke with the perſon. There is come a ſtrict commandment, that no man muſt come to us, becauſe Tooley curſed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counſel.

Your's, and ever your's,

ROBERT SMITH.

LETTER VIII.

From the SAME *to the* SAME.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, Amen, and prevent your ways through his holy Spirit, that you may eſchew evil, to his honour, and your ſalvation; that they which ſee your converſation may in all things learn to do the like, even to the utter ſhame and confuſion of the wicked and ungodly, Amen.

I ſent you by Mr. Alexander a purſe with money. I have certain tokens for you, ſent by my fellow-priſoners to you, that is, from Mr. Haukes, 12d. from Mr. Simpſon, 12d. from his wife 4d. from Mr. Watts, five new groats; from Mr. Ardeley, 12d. from Mr. Bradford, 12d. which men are all gone to death, except Mr. Bradford, who ſtill remaineth. There is alſo gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Oſmond, and William Bamford. There is alſo condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveſon, John Launder, and William Vaſſay is reprieved. Pray God to have mercy on his people; and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him bide at home. Commend me heartily to your parents. I have ſent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and deſire them for God's ſake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katharine in mind. Commend me to all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be diſhonoured in your converſation, but like a good matron keep your veſſel in holineſs. The peace of God remain with you for ever, Amen.

My brother Iveſon ſendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katharine a token, three pence. John Launder ſendeth you a piece of Spaniſh money. Father Herault, a ſix penny piece. William Andrews ſendeth a race of ginger; and I ſend your mother one, and a nutmeg. I ſend Katharine comfits, for a token to eat. I have ſent you a key-clog for a token.

Your huſband,

ROBERT SMITH.

LETTER IX.

From Mr. SMITH *to his* FRIEND.

THE eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations to you and your huſband, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve you in well-doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Chriſt, that you may be found faultleſs in the day of the Lord. I have heard ſay, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart not only to hear that he ſo doth, but alſo teacheth others that it is no crime to go to all abominations, which now ſtand in the idols temples: nevertheleſs, dear friend, be you not moved to follow ſinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Chriſt. But look that by going into the idol temple, you defile not the temple of God: for light hath no fellowſhip with darkneſs. But look, what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to church were without perſecution, they would not learn you that leſſon. But all things that are ſweet to the fleſh, are allowed of the fleſhly. The Lord ſhall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity; and he that by the fleſhly man is led in the fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption. The Lord Jeſus give you his holy Spirit, Amen.

I have ſent thee an epiſtle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace and inſure it. Fear God, love God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength.

Thy friend, and all men's, in Chriſt Jeſus,

Scribbled in much haſte from
Newgate, May 12.

ROBERT SMITH.

ROBERT SMITH *to all the faithful* SERVANTS *of* CHRIST, *exhorting them to be ſtrong under* Perſecution.

CONTENT thyſelf with patience,
With Chriſt to bear the croſs of pain,
Which can and will thee recompenſe,
A thouſand fold with joys again.
Let nothing cauſe thy heart to quail,
Launch out thy boat, haul up thy ſail,
Put from the ſhore:
And be thou ſure thou ſhalt attain,
Unto the port that ſhall remain
For evermore.

The MARTYRDOM *of* STEPHEN HARWOOD, *and* THOMAS FUST.

ABOUT this time alſo died theſe two martyrs of God, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fuſt at Ware. Who, as they were burnt much about the ſame time (though not at the ſame place) with the aforeſaid Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, ſo were they likewiſe examined and openly condemned together with them; and as the proceedings againſt them all were alike, I thought it needleſs to repeat the ſame; only there is one thing more to be added concerning Thomas Fuſt, who at his laſt appearance on the 12th of July, being moved by the biſhop to revoke his opinion, anſwered thus: No, my lord, for no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies: you condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can you find any anointing or greaſing in God's book? I ſpeak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I ſpeak. This anſwer of Thomas Fuſt only, I find noted by the regiſter; and how unfaithful theſe regiſters have been, (I mean in omitting thoſe things that were moſt worthy of note, in order to render the martyrs ridiculous to the people) is very evident in many places of this hiſtory. But to be ſhort, when they had made their anſwers, both he and Stephen Harwood were, for their faithful perſeverance, condemned together by the biſhop in his accuſtomed pity, to be burnt as heretics, and ſo (as you have heard before) they finiſhed their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of Auguſt, and year abovesaid.

The MARTYRDOM *of* WILLIAM HALE, *at* BARNET.

OF the ſame company with thoſe ten before recorded, who were ſent to biſhop Bonner by ſir Nicholas Hare and other commiſſioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was alſo William Hale, of Thorp, in the county of Eſſex, who likewiſe being examined with the reſt, the 12th of July, received with them alſo the ſentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on: Ah, good people, ſaid he, beware of this idolater, and this Antichriſt (pointing to the biſhop of London); and ſo he was delivered to the ſheriffs to be burnt as an heretic, who ſent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of Auguſt he moſt conſtantly ſealed up his faith with the conſuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his ſoul to the Lord Jeſus, his only and moſt ſure Redeemer.

An ACCOUNT *of* GEORGE KING, THOMAS LEYES, *who died, and were buried in the Fields.*

MEntion was made before of ten perſons ſent out of Newgate by Mr. Hare and other commiſſioners, to be examined by Bonner, biſhop of London: of whom ſix already have been executed in ſeveral places, as hath been ſhewed; whoſe names were Elizaberh Warn, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fuſt, and William Hale. The other three, namely, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, falling ſick in Lollard's Tower, were ſo weak that they were removed into ſundry houſes within the city of London, and there died, and were thrown out into the fields, and there buried in the night by ſome of the faithful brethren, when none in the day time durſt do it, *Propter metum Judæorum.* The laſt that remained of this company aforeſaid was Joan Layſh, or Layſhford, the daughter-in-law of John Warn, and Elizabeth Warn, martyrs: but becauſe ſhe was reprieved to another time, her ſtory and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

An ACCOUNT *of* WILLIAM ANDREW.

THE like catholic charity was alſo ſhewed upon William Andrew, of Horſley, in the county of Eſſex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the firſt day of April, 1555, by John Motham, conſtable of Malden in Eſſex. The firſt and principal promoter of him was the lord Rich, who ſent him firſt to priſon. Alſo ſir Richard Southwell, knight, was another great enemy to him, as appeareth by a letter written by him to Bonner, which here followeth.

A LETTER

From Sir RICHARD SOUTHWELL *to* BONNER, BISHOP *of* LONDON.

MAY it pleaſe your lordſhip to underſtand, that the lord Rich did about ſeven or eight weeks paſt, ſend up unto the council one William Andrew, of Thorp, within the county of Eſſex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleaſure was to command me to commit him to Newgate, where he remaineth; and as I am informed, hath infected a number in that priſon with his hereſy. Your lordſhip ſhall do very well if it pleaſe you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his caſe doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordſhip, but by occaſion of other buſineſs, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore knowing their good pleaſure, I did adviſe the keeper of Newgate to wait on you with theſe few lines. And ſo referring the reſt to your virtuous conſideration, I remain your lordſhip's to command, June 12, 1555.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL.

This William Andrew being twice examined before biſhop Bonner, there manfully ſtood in defence of his religion. At length, by the ſevere uſage he met with in Newgate priſon, he there loſt his life, which otherwiſe would have been taken away by fire: and ſo after the popiſh manner he was caſt out into a field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

The MARTYRDOM *of* ROBERT SAMUEL, MINISTER *of* BARFOLD, *in* SUFFOLK.

MR. Foſter, a juſtice, dwelling at Cobdock, near Ipſwich, in the county of Suffolk, being in continual hatred againſt the truth and the profeſſors of the ſame, his conſtant ſtudy night and day was how to bring thoſe into thraldom and captivity, that were honeſt and piouſly inclined to religion; but alſo whatſoever they were that once came into his claws, could not eaſily eſcape without clog of conſcience or loſs of life, ſo greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in king Edward's days, a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and conſtant behaviour in his ſermons, ſeemeth worthy of high admiration. He was miniſter at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he induſtriouſly and ſucceſsfully taught the flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, ſo long as the time would ſuffer him to do his duty.

At laſt being removed from the miniſtry, and put from his benefice, (as many other good paſtors were) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by ſtealth, when he could not openly do ſo. At which time order was given by the queen, to be publiſhed by the commiſſioners, that all prieſts which had been married in king Edward's days, ſhould put away their wives from them, and be compelled to return again to their chaſtity and ſingle life. This decree Mr. Samuel would not ſtand to, becauſe he knew it to be manifeſtly wicked and abominable; but determining with himſelf, that God's laws were not to be broke for man's traditions, ſtill kept his wife at Ipſwich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the inſtructing of others which were about him, as occaſion ſerved. At laſt Mr. Foſter having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in thoſe parts, ſpared no time nor diligence, but quickly ſent his ſpies abroad, laying cloſe wait for Mr. Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to priſon.

In concluſion, when ſuch as ſhould betray him eſpied him at home with his wife, they brought word to the officer, who came to the houſe, and beſet it with a great company, and ſo took him in the night-ſeaſon, becauſe they durſt not do it in the day-time for fear of trouble and tumult, although good Mr. Samuel did not withſtand them at all, but meekly yielded himſelf into their hands of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipſwich jail, where he patiently ſpent his time among his pious brethren, ſo long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked ſort) to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, biſhop of that dioceſe, and Dr. Dunnings, his chancellor, exerciſed great cruelty againſt him, as indeed they were men, in that time of perſecution, as had not their matches for cruel tormenting the bodies of the martyrs among all the reſt; and eſpecially through the procuring of Dunnings. For although the others were ſharp enough in their generation, yet would they be ſatisfied with impriſonment and death, and could go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any beſides theſe, who ſo far exceeded all bounds of pity and compaſſion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this biſhop did; in ſuch ſort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and ſome from their wits alſo.

The biſhop therefore, or elſe his chancellor, thinking that he might as eaſily prevail with Mr. Samuel, as he had done with the others before, kept him in a very cloſe priſon at his firſt coming, where he was chained bolt-up-right to a great poſt, in ſuch ſort, that ſtanding only on tip-toe, he was fain to ſtay up the whole poiſe or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he ſuffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirſt; ſaving that he had every day allowed him two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three ſpoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reſerved to farther torment, than that they would preſerve his life. O worthy conſtancy of the martyr! O pitileſs hearts of papiſts, worthy to be complained of, and to be accuſed before God and nature! O the wonderful ſtrength of Chriſt in his members! Whoſe heart, though it had been made of adamant ſtone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature! How often would he have drunk his own water; but his body was ſo dried up with his long emptineſs, that he was not able to make one drop.

At laſt, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in compariſon of thoſe pains that he had paſſed, there were ſeveral that heard him declare what ſtrange things had happened unto him during the time of his impriſonment: to wit, that after he had been famiſhed or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a ſleep, as it were one half in a ſlumber, at which time one clad all in white ſeemed to ſtand before him, which adminiſtered comfort unto him by theſe words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day ſhalt thou never be either hungry or thirſty." Which came to paſs accordingly, for ſoon after he was burned; and from that time till he ſuffered, he felt neither hunger nor thirſt. And this he declared, to the end as he ſaid, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many other matters concerning the great comfort he had of Chriſt in his afflictions he could utter, he ſaid, beſides this, but that ſhamefacedneſs and modeſty would not ſuffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleaſed God, I wiſh he had been leſs modeſt in that behalf, that the love and care that Chriſt hath of his ſervants, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by ſuch preſent arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be ſufficient teſtimonies of the ſame in the holy ſcriptures already.

No leſs memorable it is, and worthy alſo to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers, he ſaw in his ſleep ſet up towards heaven; of which there was one ſomewhat longer than the reſt, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom firſt of himſelf, and from the death of two honeſt women, who were brought forth and ſuffered in the ſame town not long after.

As this pious martyr was going to the ſtake, a certain maid came to him, and took him about the neck and kiſſed him, which being marked by them that were preſent, was ſought for the next day after to be had to priſon and burned, as the very party herſelf informed me: however, as God of his goodneſs would have it, ſhe eſcaped their fiery hands, keeping herſelf ſecret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Roſe Nottingham, was marvellouſly preſerved by the providence of God; ſo there were two other honeſt women that fell into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a ſhoemaker's wife, but both together now eſpouſed to a new huſband, Chriſt.

With theſe two this maid aforeſaid was very familiar and well acquainted, who on a time giving counſel to one of them, that ſhe ſhould convey herſelf away while ſhe had time and ſpace, ſeeing ſhe could not away with the queen's proceedings; had this anſwer at her hands again: I know well, ſaith ſhe, that it is well enough to fly away, which remedy you may uſe if you pleaſe. But my caſe ſtandeth otherwiſe. I am tied to an huſband, and have beſides young children at home; and then I know not how my huſband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Chriſt and his truth, to ſtand to the extremity of the matter.

And ſo the next day after Mr. Samuel ſuffered, theſe two pious wives, the one named Anne Potten, the other Joan Trunchfield, wife of Michael Trunchfield, ſhoemaker of Ipſwich, were apprehended, and both had to priſon together. Who, as they were both by ſex and nature ſomewhat tender, ſo were they at firſt leſs able to endure the ſtraitneſs of the priſon, and eſpecially the brewer's wife was caſt into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Chriſt beholding the weak infirmity of his ſervant, did not fail to help her when ſhe was in this neceſſity. So at length they both ſuffered after Samuel, Feb. 19, 1556, as ſhall be by God's grace declared hereafter. And theſe, no doubt were thoſe two ladders, which being joined with the third, Samuel ſaw ſtretched up into heaven. This bleſſed Samuel, the ſervant of Chriſt, ſuffered the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1555.

The report goeth among ſome that were there preſent, and ſaw him burn, that his body in burning did ſhine as bright and white as new tried ſilver in the eyes of them that ſtood by, as I am informed by ſome that were there, and did behold the ſight.

LETTER I.

From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, *exhorting to the patient Suffering of Affliction for the* Cauſe *of* Chriſt.

A Man knoweth not his time; but as the fiſh is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with a ſnare, ſo are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezekiel vii. Better it were to die (as the preacher ſaith) than to live and ſee the miſerable works which are done under the ſun; ſuch ſudden and ſtrange mutation, ſuch woeful, heinous, and lamentable diviſions ſo faſt approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas, for this ſinful nation, a people of great iniquity and ſeed of ungraciouſneſs, corrupting their ways. They have forſaken* the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Iſrael to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in ſuch ſecurity and reſt, as though all dangers were clean overpaſt? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Chriſt, which ſeeth me, and ſeeth me not? Yea, who liveth not now in ſuch felicity, worldly pleaſures and joys, wholly ſeeking the world, providing, and craftily ſhifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetites, as though ſin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggiſh Gergeſites, now are we more afraid and aſhamed of Chriſt our Meſſiah, fearing the loſs of our filthy pigs, I mean our tranſitory goods, and diſquieting our ſinful and mortal bodies in this ſhort, uncertain, and miſerable life, than of a legion of devils, ſeducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Chriſt, God's eternal Son, and his word, the power to ſave our ſouls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

O perilous abundance of goods, too much ſaturity of meats, wealth and quietneſs, which deſtroyed with ſo many ſouls, thoſe goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, ſo long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God, and without reprehenſion; but brought once to wealth and a proſperous ſtate, he became a wicked and moſt ſhameful idolator. And what made the covetous young man ſo loth to follow Chriſt, when he was bidden to forſake the worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto theſe falſe alluſions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have ſo ſhamefully deceived and ſeduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the highways of confuſion and perpetual perdition.

We might now worthily, dear chriſtians, lament and bewail our heavy ſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorrowful chance: yea, I ſay, we might well accuſe ourſelves, and with Job curſe theſe our turbulent, wicked, and bloody laſt days of this world, were it not that we both ſee and believe, and find in God's ſacred book, that God hath reſerved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exerciſed, whetted, and poliſhed with divers afflictions, troubles, and toſſings, caſt and daſhed againſt all peril and dangers, as the very droſs and out-caſts of the earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one; he cannot away with them that are between both, but caſteth them away as a filthy vomit. Chriſt will not part ſpoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or loſe all: he will not permit the devil to have the ſervice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the heart and mind: but "He will be glorified both in your bodies and in your ſpirits, which are his," as Saint Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. vi. For he hath made all, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter ſaith, "With his own immaculate body hath he clean diſcharged your bodies from ſin, death, and hell, and with his moſt precious blood paid your ranſom and full price once for all and for ever."

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loſs ſuſtain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jeſus your gentle Saviour, and his goſpel of ſalvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with falſe deluſions utterly to deſtroy both your ſouls and bodies? Think you to be more ſure than under your captain, Chriſt? Do you promiſe yourſelves to be more quiet in Satan's ſervice, than in Chriſt's religion? Eſteem you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious pleaſures, than God and all his heavenly treaſures? O palpable darkneſs, horrible madneſs, and wilful blindneſs, without compariſon, too much to be ſuffered any longer! We ſee and will not ſee; we know and will not know; yea, we ſmart and will not feel, and that our conſcience well knoweth. O miſerable and brainleſs ſouls, which would for fooliſh pleaſures and ſlippery wealth loſe the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlaſting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleaſure and wealth; and the devil, who is their god, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Chriſt, ſeek and inquire for heavenly things, which by God's promiſe and mercy in Chriſt ſhall be peculiar unto us. Let, I ſay, the Cretians, and Epicures, and ſuch other beaſtly Belials and carnal people, delight in things that be pleaſant for the body, and do appertain to this tranſitory life: "Yet ſhall they once (as the kingly prophet ſaith) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, deſiring one ſcrap of the joys of God's elect," but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

Let us therefore follow thoſe things that do pertain to the Spirit, and are celeſtial. "We muſt be here (ſaith St. Paul) not as inhabiters, and home-dealers, but as ſtrangers;" not as ſtrangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful ſoldiers appointed by our governor, to fight againſt the governor of darkneſs of this world, againſt ſpiritual craftineſs in heavenly things. The time is come; we muſt to it; the judgment muſt begin firſt at the houſe of God. Began they not firſt with the green and ſappy tree? And what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy, ſpeaking in the perſon of God, ſaith, "In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to puniſh:" but as for you (meaning the wicked), ſhall you be as innocents, and not once touched? Nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all ſorrows, are reſerved unto them in the end: but God's houſhold ſhall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us ſay with Ezechias, "Play the men and ſhrink not: let us comfort ourſelves, for the Lord is with us, our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is (ſaith he) with you, when you be with him; and when you ſeek him, he will be found of you: and again, when you forſake him, he will forſake you."

Wherefore we ought not to be diſmayed, or diſcourage ourſelves, but rather to be of good comfort: not to be ſad, but merry, not ſorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodneſs will vouchſafe to take us as his beloved children, to ſubdue our ſinful luſts, our wretched fleſh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly houſe of this our habitation (St. Paul meaning the body) be deſtroyed? We know aſſuredly we ſhall have a building not made with hands, but everlaſting in heaven, with ſuch joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They paſs all deſires and wiſhes. Gotten they may be by Chriſt, eſteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and perſecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle eaſe, wealthy pleaſure, and this preſent and pleaſant tranſitory life and felicity, which the ungodly fooliſhly imagine to procure unto themſelves by perſecuting and thruſting away the goſpel, ſhall turn unto their own trouble, and at laſt unto horrible deſtructions and mutations of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather, with Nabal and his temporal pleaſures, deſcend to the devil, than with Chriſt and his bodily troubles, aſcend unto the kingdom of God his Father. "But an unwiſe man," ſaith the Pſalmiſt, "comprehendeth them not, neither doth the fooliſh underſtand them;" that is, theſe bloody perſecutors grow up and flouriſh like the flower and graſs in the field. But unto this end do they ſo flouriſh, that they might be cut down and caſt into the fire for ever. For as Job ſaith, "their joy laſteth but the twinkling of an eye," and death ſhall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the paſture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance, (as St. Mark ſaith) ſhall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accuſing their wretched conſcience for evermore.

Let us therefore (good chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather than men. For although they ſlay our ſinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity; yet they cannot do it, but by God's ſufferance and good will, to his praiſe and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood, ſhed for the goſpel, ſhall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others. What though they laugh Chriſt and his word to ſcorn, who ſit in the chair of perverſe peſtilent ſcorners. To whom, as to the wiſe gentiles of the world, the goſpel of Chriſt is but fooliſhneſs, as it was to the Jews a ſlander and a ſtumbling ſtone, whereat they now being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

Theſe are the days of vengeance, ſaith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And ſurely it ſhall be no leſs than a huge ſtorm of evils that ſhall come upon us, becauſe that a long and obſtinate maliciouſneſs of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hoſts, who ſo many times and ſo many ways have been provoked with the unſpeakable riches of his goodneſs, his patience, and long-ſuffering, to amendment, and have nevertheleſs contemned the ſame, and proceeded forward to worſe and worſe, provoking and ſtirring the preſence of God's Majeſty to anger.

Now, therefore, ſaith God by the mouth of his prophet, "I will come unto thee, and I will ſend my wrath upon thee:" upon thee, I ſay, O England, and puniſh thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou haſt kindled the fire of God's wrath, and haſt ſtirred up the coals. For thou waſt once enlightened, and hadſt taſted of the heavenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the Holy Ghoſt, and hadſt taſted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſaith the prophet. Alas! O England, thou kneweſt thy Lord and Maſter's will, but didſt not do it; thou muſt therefore, ſaith he, ſuffer many ſtripes, and many ſharp ſtrokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and on the coals that thou haſt kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, ſaith the Lord, namely, that thou ſhalt ſleep in ſorrow and in bitterneſs. The plain truth telleth the tale, the immutable juſtice of the ever-living God, and the ordinary courſe of his plagues from the beginning confirmeth the ſame. The joy of our heart, ſaith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry ſinging is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen: alas! that ever we ſinned ſo ſore!

Let all the wicked enemies of Chriſt, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all helliſh furies, and clean without hope of God's accounting day, who know not God in Chriſt to be their very righteouſneſs, their life, their only ſalvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They muſt, as St. John ſaith, needs abide and periſh with their ſins in death and in eternal damnation. But we be the children of ſaints, as the elder Toby did anſwer, and look for another life, which God ſhall give to all them who change not their faith, and ſhrink not from him. Rejoice therefore, ye chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our ſouls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the boſom of our moſt ſweet and loving Father: and if we abide faſt in Chriſt, and turn not away like weather-cocks, ſurely we ſhall live for ever. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame, ſaying, "My ſheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no ſtrangers, and I give them everlaſting life; for they ſhall not be loſt, and no man ſhall pluck them out of my hands:" no nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleaſures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and ſtout brags can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What conſolation and comfort can we have more pleaſant and effectual than this? God is on our ſide, and fighteth for us; he ſuffereth, he ſmarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing againſt his might, neither in taking away or diminiſhing from his glory, nor putting him from his celeſtial throne; ſo neither can it hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore with an earneſt faith lay faſt hold on the promiſes in the goſpel, and let us not be ſeparated from the ſame by any temptation, tribulation, or perſecution. Let us conſider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promiſing and giving us, his faithful ſoldiers, life eternal. It is he only that hath deſerved it for us: it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only muſt we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantaſies and dreams of men, and fooliſh gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty deluſions of the devil, drive and ſeparate us from our hope of the crown of righteouſneſs that is laid up in ſtore for us againſt the laſt day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Chriſt by his covenant ſhall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may aſcend and ſit in ſeats with him, as he aſcended and ſitteth on the throne with his Father. The ſame body and ſoul that is now with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then with Chriſt be glorified: then now in the butcher's hands, as ſheep appointed to die; then ſitting at God's table with Chriſt in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we ſhall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty, ſaturity of the pleaſant preſence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirſt; celeſtial joys in the company of angels, for ſorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal for bodily death. O happy precious ſouls! O precious death and evermore bleſſed, right dear in the eyes of God; to you the ſpring of the Lord ſhall ever be flouriſhing. Then (as ſaith Iſaiah) "The redeemed ſhall return and come again into Sion, praiſing the Lord, and eternal mercies ſhall be over their heads: and they ſhall obtain mirth and ſolace; ſorrow and woe ſhall be utterly vanquiſhed." Yea, I am he, ſaith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlaſting conſolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be glory and praiſe for ever, Amen.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

LETTER II.

From Mr. ROBERT SAMUEL, *to the* CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION, *wherein he declareth the* CONFESSION *of his* FAITH.

CONSIDERING with myſelf theſe perilous times, periſhing days, and the unconſtant ſtate of man, the decay of our faith, the ſiniſter report and falſe ſlander of God's moſt holy word, theſe urgent cauſes in conſcience do conſtrain me to acknowledge and confeſs my faith and meaning in Chriſt's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, ſaying, "Be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, and that with meekneſs and fear, having a good conſcience, that when they back-bite you as evil-doers, they may be aſhamed, foraſmuch they have falſly accuſed your good converſation in Chriſt.

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conſcience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Chriſt, and his apoſtles. For it were not only ſin, but alſo the very part of a curſed miſcreant, to deny, belie, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be aſhamed to confeſs and ſtand to the defence of the ſame; ſeeing that Chriſt planted it with his moſt precious blood, and all good men have more eſteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this tranſitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Chriſt, and his apoſtles, to be ſufficient and abſolutely neceſſary to inſtruct and teach me, and all the holy church, of our duty towards God, the magiſtrates, and our neighbours.

Firſt, and principally, I do aſſuredly believe, without doubting, that there is one Deity, or Divine Eſſence, and Infinite Subſtance; which is both called, and is indeed, God Everlaſting, unbodily, unpartable, unmeaſurable in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, the maker and preſerver of all things, as well viſible as inviſible; and yet there be three diſtinct perſons, all of one Godhead, or Divine Being, and all of one power, coequal, conſubſtantial, coeternal, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

I believe in GOD the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as holy ſcripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the firſt perſon in the Trinity, firſt cauſe of our ſalvation, who hath bleſſed us with all manner of bleſſings in heavenly things by Chriſt, who hath choſen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him; who hath predeſtinated and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Chriſt Jeſus; in him, as it is ſaid, we live, we move, and have our being; he nouriſheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

And in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin Mary: ſo that there be in him two natures, a divine nature and an human nature, in the unity of one perſon inſeparable, conjoined in one Chriſt, truly God, and truly man, the expreſs and perfect image of the inviſible God, wherein the will of God the Father apparently ſhineth, and wherein man, as it were in a glaſs, may behold what he ought to do, that he may pleaſe God the Father.

Born of the virgin Mary; truly ſuffering his paſſion, crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a ſacrifice, and oblation, not only for original ſin, but alſo for the actual ſins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deſervings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthineſs, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthineſs and merits of Jeſus Chriſt.

The ſame Chriſt went down to the hells, and truly roſe again the third day, and aſcended into the heavens, that he might there ſtill reign and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence ſhall come, &c.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whoſe virtue, ſtrength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and ſociety of ſaints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all power of ſin. Which church is ſanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; which hath alſo her ſign and mark, that ſhe heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true paſtor Chriſt, and no ſtrangers. This church alſo is the houſe of God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Chriſt, a church both in name and in deed.

I believe the remiſſion of ſins, by the only means and merits of Chriſt's death and paſſion; who is made unto us of God, that only ſacrifice and oblation offered once for all, and for ever, for them that be ſanctified.

I believe the reſurrection of the body, whereby in the laſt day all men ſhall riſe again from death, the ſouls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlaſting life, the wicked to everlaſting pain and puniſhment. And nothing may more certainly eſtabliſh and confirm our faith, that we ſhall riſe again immortal both in body and ſoul, than the reſurrection of our Saviour, and the firſt fruits of the dead. Now that Chriſt our head is riſen, we being his body and members muſt follow the head. Death, hell, and ſin, cannot ſeparate or pluck us from him. For as the Son cannot be divided nor ſeparated from the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Chriſt, be ſeparated from Chriſt. And for a confirmation of our reſurrection, Chriſt would be ſeen after his reſurrection in his moſt glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, ſpeaking and teaching, and eating and drinking, &c. We look (ſaith St. Paul) for Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour, who ſhall change our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body by the ſame power and virtue, whereby he is able to ſubdue all things; even like as the grain of wheat ſown in the ground is firſt putrified and brought, as it were, to nothing, yet after that it ſpringeth up afreſh with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty, than it had before. The body is ſown in corruption, and riſeth in incorruption; it is ſown in diſhonour, and riſeth in glory.

Thus I verily know, and aſſuredly believe the reſurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Chriſt, and for Chriſt's ſake. Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, ſaith Chriſt, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that ſent me, hath everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into damnation, but is eſcaped from death to life. It is Chriſt that once died for our ſins, and is riſen again, never more to die: it is he that ſwalloweth up death, and hath caſt it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing elſe, but for a little time ſeparate our precious ſouls from our wretched bodies, that divine ſubſtance from a maſs of ſin, that eternal life from a body of death, and ſo ſend our ſouls out of this miſerable, wretched, and ſorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that moſt bleſſed felicity and joys eternal.

As concerning the holy and reverend ſacraments of Chriſt's church, which are two in number, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſupper of the Lord; I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or ſeals of God's promiſes, which have added to them a promiſe of grace; and therefore they are called viſible ſigns of inviſible grace.

The ſacrament of baptiſm is a mark of Chriſt's church, a ſeal and confirmation of our acceptation into the grace and favour of God, for Chriſt's ſake. For his innocency, his righteouſneſs, his holineſs, his juſtice, is our's, given us of God, and our ſins and unrighteouſneſs, by his obedience and abaſing of himſelf to the death of the croſs, are his, whereof baptiſm is the ſign, ſeal, and confirmation.

Baptiſm is alſo a ſign of repentance, to teſtify that we are born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we ſhould die continually, as long as we live from ſin, and riſe again like new men unto righteouſneſs, Rom. vi.

The other ſacrament, which is the ſupper of our Saviour Chriſt, whereby the church of Chriſt is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, a ſeal and confirmation of his moſt precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the croſs, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from ſin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a viſible word, becauſe it worketh the ſame thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a means to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to believe, Rom. x. ſo this ſacrament is a means to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghoſt moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when as Chriſt ſhall appear, which is now in heaven, and no where elſe as concerning his human body.

Yet do I believe aſſuredly, that his very body is preſent in his moſt holy ſupper at the contemplation of our ſpiritual eyes, and ſo verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For as ſoon as I hear theſe moſt comfortable and heavenly words ſpoke and pronounced by the mouth of the miniſter: "This is my body which is given for you:" when I hear (I ſay) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promiſes and truth; I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and believe the words ſimply and plainly, even as Chriſt ſpake them. For hearing theſe words, my ſenſes be wrapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not fleſh, nor carnal imaginations of our groſs, fleſhly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Chriſt witneſſeth, John vi. but with a ſorrowful and wounded conſcience, an hungry and thirſty ſoul, a pure and faithful mind do fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that moſt glorious body of Chriſt in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and ſlain, and his blood ſhed for our ſins, there now making interceſſion, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ranſom, for my full price and ſatisfaction, who is my Chriſt, and all that ever he hath; and by this ſpiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the moſt ſweet ſap and taſte of the fruits, benefits, and unſpeakable joys of Chriſt's death and paſſion, fully digeſted into the bowels of my ſoul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adverſities, turmoilings, and troubles, my conſcience is pacified from ſin, death, hell, and damnation; my ſoul is full, and hath even enough, and deſires no more; for all things are but loſs, vile dung, droſs, and vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus, my Lord and Saviour.

Thus now is Chriſt's fleſh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me; for through faith in Chriſt, and for Chriſt's ſake we are one, that is, of one conſent, mind and fellowſhip, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. John xvii. Thus I am aſſured and fully perſuaded, and on this rock have I built, by God's grace, my dwelling and reſting-place for body and ſoul, life and death. And thus I commit my cauſe unto Chriſt the righteous and juſt judge, who will another day judge theſe debates and controverſies; whom I humbly beſeech to caſt his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and ſhortly to reduce them into godly and perpetual concord, Amen.

Thus do I believe, and thus is my faith and my underſtanding in Chriſt my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whoſoever is aſhamed to do among this adulterous and ſinful generation, of him ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

An ACCOUNT *of* WILLIAM ALLEN, Martyr.

NOW after the ſuffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen was burnt in Walſingham, a labouring man, ſometime ſervant to John Houghton, of Somerton. He being brought before the biſhop, and aſked the cauſe why he was impriſoned, anſwered, That he was put in priſon becauſe he would not follow the croſs, ſaying, that he would never go in proceſſion.

Then being willed by the biſhop to return again to the catholic church; he anſwered, That he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romiſh church: and ſaid, That if he ſaw the king and queen, and all others follow the croſs, or kneel down to the croſs, he would not. For which ſentence of condemnation was given againſt him the 12th of Auguſt, to be burnt at Walſingham about the beginning of Sept. who declared ſuch conſtancy at his martyrdom, and had ſuch credit with the juſtices, by reaſon of his well-tried converſation among them, that he was ſuffered to go untied to his ſuffering, and there being faſtened with a chain, ſtood quietly without ſhrinking until he died.

The MARTYRDOM *of* ROGER COO, *firſt* Examined *by the* Bishop *of* NORWICH, *and by him* Condemned, Auguſt 12, 1555.

ROGER COO, being brought before the biſhop, was firſt aſked by him, why he was impriſoned?

Coo. At the juſtice's commandment.

Biſhop. There was ſome cauſe why.

Coo. Here is my accuſer, let him declare.

And his accuſer ſaid, that he would not receive the ſacrament.

Then the biſhop ſaid, that he thought he had tranſgreſſed a law.

But Coo anſwered, that there was no law to tranſgreſs.

The biſhop then aſked, What he ſaid to the law that then was?

Coo anſwered, That he had been in priſon a long time, and knew it not.

No, ſaid his accuſer, nor will not. My lord, aſk him when he received the ſacrament.

When Coo heard him ſay ſo, he ſaid, I pray you, my lord, let him ſit down and examine me himſelf.

But the biſhop would not hear that, but ſaid, Coo, why will you not receive?

He anſwered him, That the biſhop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine inſtead of the goſpel, and the belief of the ſame.

Biſhop. How prove you that?

Coo. Our Saviour ſaid, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;" and the bread and wine doth not ſo.

Biſhop. Well, Coo, thou doſt ſlander our holy fathers. Did not Chriſt take bread, give thanks, and break it, and ſaid, "This is my body?"

Yes, ſaid he; and ſo he went further with the text, ſaying, "Which ſhall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Biſhop. You have ſaid the truth.

Then Coo replied further, and ſaid, Chriſt commanded to do this in remembrance of him, and not to ſay this in remembrance of him; neither did the Holy Ghoſt ſo lead the apoſtles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break from houſe to houſe, and not to ſay as the biſhop ſaid.

Biſhop. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in Acts ii.

Then the biſhop's chaplain ſaid it was true.

The biſhop aſked him if he could ſay his creed.

He anſwered yea, and ſo ſaid part of the creed; and then after, he ſaid he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all ſuch as look to be ſaved, to be obedient unto them.

Biſhop. Is not the holy church to be believed alſo?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The biſhop ſaid to Coo, that he had the charge of his ſoul.

Coo. Have you ſo, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your ſins, what ſhall become of me?

Biſhop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honeſt man?

Coo. It is written, that after Chriſt hath ſuffered, "There ſhall come a people with the prince that ſhall deſtroy both city and ſanctuary. I pray you ſhew me whether this deſtruction was in my father's time, or now?

The biſhop not anſwering his queſtion, aſked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.

Biſhop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

Coo. If Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, had ſo done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confeſſed the living God.

Biſhop. Theſe two and twenty years we have been governed by ſuch kings.

Coo. My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not ſpeak or bark?

Biſhop. I durſt not for fear of death. And thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I recollected, and wrote down my railing (as they called it) that light ſhould not be taken for darkneſs, nor ſin for holineſs, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and for ever, Amen.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his ſundry troubles and conflicts with his adverſaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he moſt bleſſedly ended his aged years, in the month of September, 1555.

An ACCOUNT *of* THOMAS COB, *of* HAVERHILL, Butcher, *and* Martyr.

THOMAS COB, of Haverhill, butcher, was condemned on the 12th day of Auguſt, and executed in the month of September. Being brought and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; firſt, whether he believed that Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially in the ſacrament of the altar; anſwered, That the body of Chriſt, born of the virgin, was in heaven, and otherwiſe (he ſaid) he would not anſwer, becauſe he had read it in the ſcripture, that Chriſt did aſcend, and did never deſcend ſince; and therefore ſaid, that he had not learned in the ſcripture, that Chriſt ſhould be in the ſacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of the faith, or no; he anſwered, That his body ſhould be at the king and queen's commandment ſo far as the law of God would ſuffer, &c. In fine, he being condemned, was burnt in the town of Thetford, in September, 1555.

An ACCOUNT *of the* MARTYRDOM *of* GEORGE CATMER, ROBERT STREATER, ANTHONY BURWARD, GEORGE BRODBRIDGE, *and* JAMES TUTTY.

NOW to return to Norfolk and Suffolk, in the dioceſe of Canterbury, where we ſhall treat of five worthy martyrs, whoſe blood in the ſame year and month of September, was ſpilt for the true teſtimony of Chriſt and his goſpel, the names of whom are as follow:

George Catmer, of Hith; Robert Streater, of Hith; Anthony Burward, of Calete; George Brodbridge, of Bromfield; James Tutty, of Brenchley.

Theſe upon the third day of Auguſt were brought before Dr. Thornton, the aforeſaid biſhop of Dover, and his accomplices, and there were both jointly and ſeverally examined upon certain articles, touching the ſacrament of the altar, auricular confeſſion, and other ſuch like.

To which the ſaid Catmer (being firſt examined) made anſwer in this wiſe: Chriſt, ſaid he, ſitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father, and therefore I do not believe him to be in the ſacrament of the altar; but he is in the worthy receiver ſpiritually; and the ſacrament, as you uſe it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him Robert Streater was called forth, who being alſo aſked, Whether he did believe the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid, that he did not ſo believe; for you do maintain hereſy and idolatry (ſays he) in that you teach to worſhip a falſe god in the ſacrament, encloſed in a box. It is you that are the malignant of the church: for in your church there are twenty things uſed againſt the law of God.

The like objection was likewiſe made againſt Anthony Burward, who alſo ſaid that their ſacrament was made an idol.

After him it was demanded of George Brodbridge what he ſaid to thoſe articles. Who anſwered, that he would not be confeſſed of a prieſt, becauſe he could not forgive his own ſins. And further ſaid, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is no real body of our Saviour Chriſt, but bread given in remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your maſs, I do (ſays he) utterly deny them.

And laſt of all, James Tutty made and confirmed the foregoing anſwers.

And therefore they were all five condemned as heretics, and were all five burned at Canterbury in one fire, about the 6th day of September then next following.

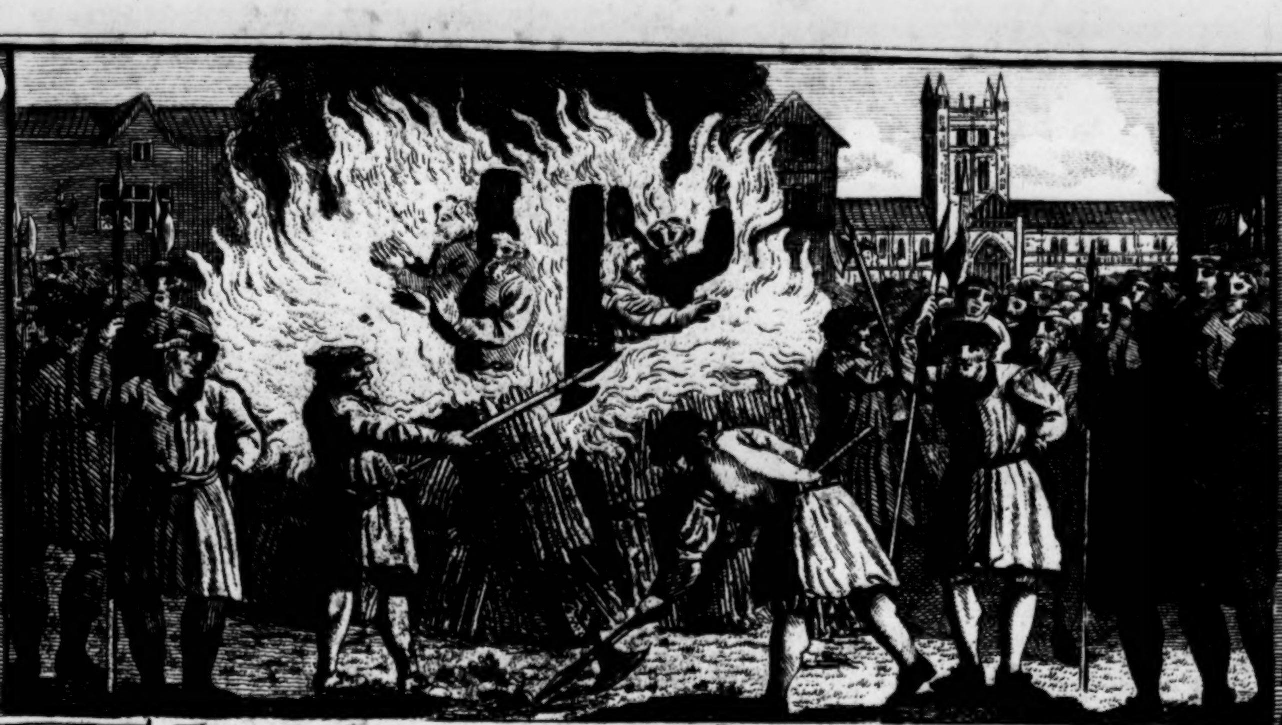
Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible perſecution in queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Eſſex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithſtanding, few parts of the realm were free from this fatal ſtorm, but in almoſt all places ſome were put to death for the ſame righteous cauſe. And now to begin with the dioceſe of Litchfield and Coventry, where we ſhall juſt mention two perſons, namely, Thomas Hayward, and John Goreway, who were both condemned as heretics, and were burnt at Litchfield about the middle of September.

The HISTORY *of* ROBERT GLOVER, Gentleman, *and* Mr. JOHN GLOVER, *in the* Dioceſe *of* LITCHFIELD.

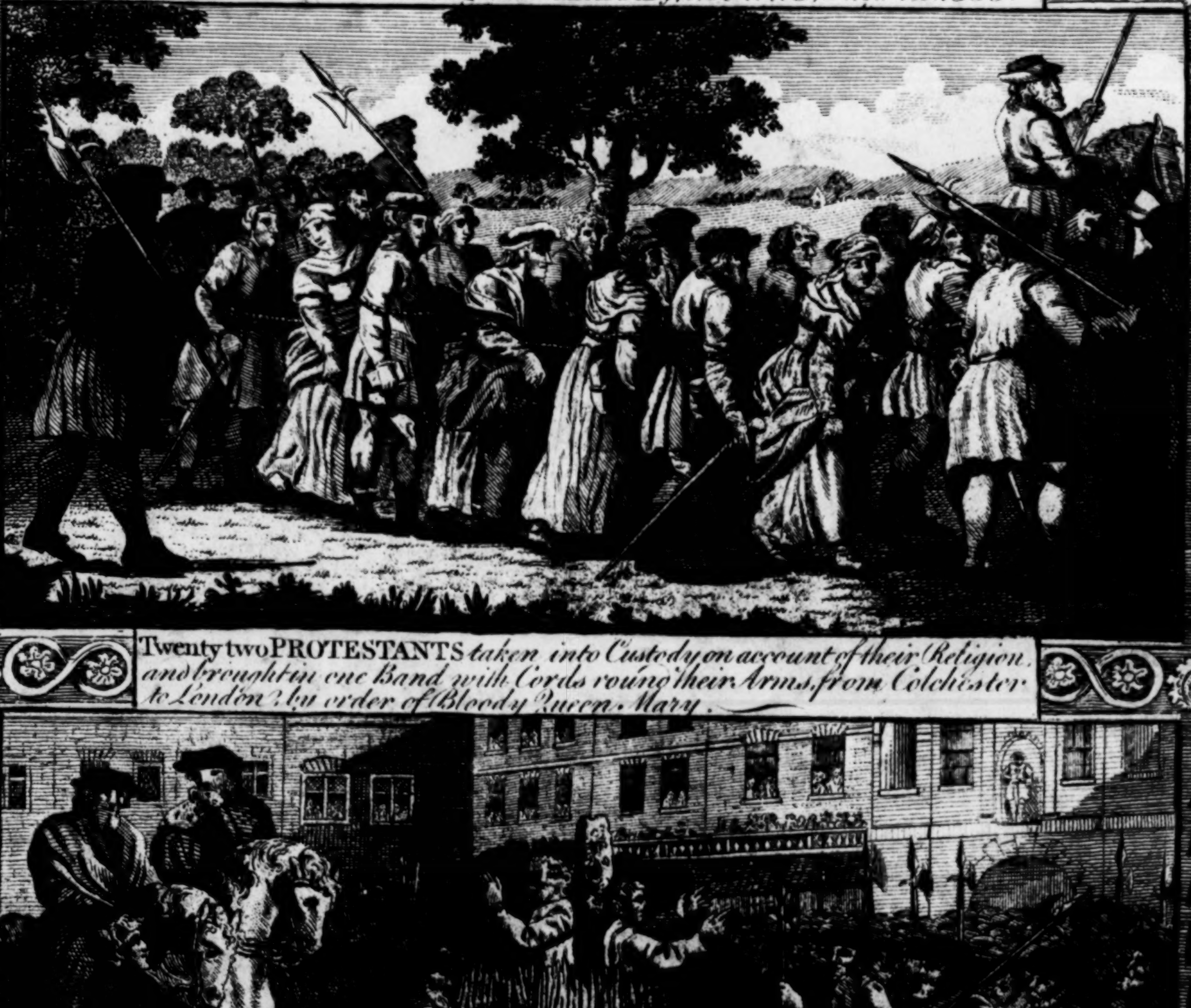
ROBERT GLOVER, gentleman, was likewiſe apprehended, and put to death in the month of September, in the dioceſe of Litchfield and Coventry. Of whoſe apprehenſion and troubles I cannot well treat, without mentioning ſome things relating to John Glover, his brother, becauſe the commiſſion was chiefly ſent down for John, and not for Robert, (although it pleaſed God that John eſcaped, and Robert in his ſtead was apprehended) therefore I thought it neceſſary to comprehend them both in one ſtory. In deſcribing ſome part of their virtuous inſtitution and order of life, I ſhall firſt begin with John the eldeſt brother; who, being a gentleman, and heir to his father in the town of Mancetor, was endowed with fair poſſeſſions and worldly goods, but much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace, and inward virtues: which grace ſo wrought in him, that he with his other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Chriſt's holy goſpel, but alſo moſt zealouſly profeſſed, and no leſs diligently in their lives and converſation followed the ſame.

John Glover was a man of a very tender conſcience, and ſeemed to have a deeper taſte and contemplation of heavenly things, and more mortified from worldly cares than the others were. His ſpiritual conflicts were very extraordinary, and becauſe the conſideration of them both is worthy of memory, and the example may work experience to the comfort of the godly, it may not be amiſs to rehearſe ſome part of them. It pleaſed God ſo to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous paſſions upon him, that though he ſuffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brothers and other martyrs did; yet if we conſider what he ſuffered inwardly, and that for a long time, he may well be counted a martyr with his brother Robert, being no leſs deſirous with him of the ſame martyrdom; yea, and in compariſon may ſeem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

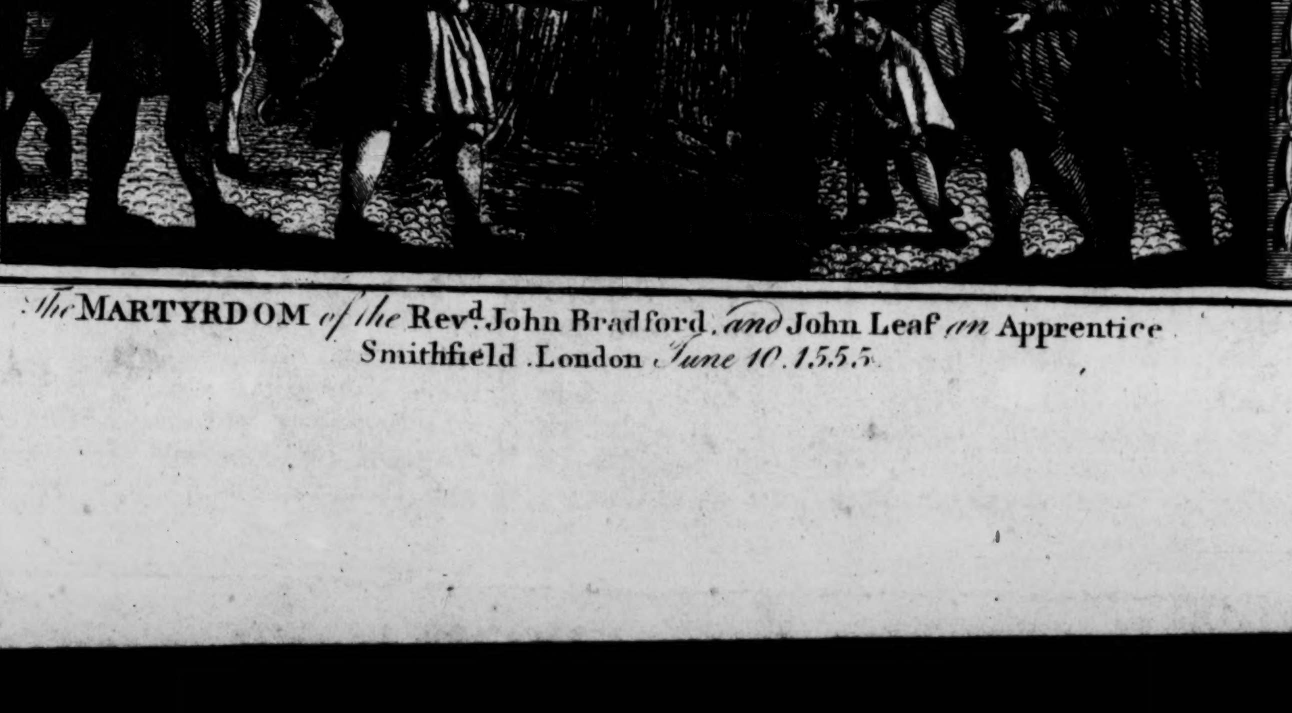
For as the ſaid Robert was ſpeedily diſpatched with the ſharp and extreme torments of the fire in a ſhort time; ſo this no leſs bleſſed ſaint of God, what, and how much more grievous pangs, what ſorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell he inwardly felt, no tongue is able to expreſs. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived



The Burning *of those pious* MARTYRS, Geo. Catmer, Robt. Sheater, Anthony Burward, & Geo. Broadridge, *at* Canterbury, *in Kent, July 12. 1555.*



Twenty two PROTESTANTS *taken into Custody on account of their Religion, and brought in one Band with Cords round their Arms from Colchester to London, by order of Bloody Queen Mary.*



The MARTYRDOM *of the* Revd. John Bradford, *and* John Leaf *an* Apprentice
Smithfield. London *June 10. 1555.*

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ceived, and partly by mine own eyes ſaw to be ſo worn and conſumed by the ſpace of five years, that he could hardly digeſt any meat, enjoy the quietneſs of ſleep, or pleaſure of life; yea, and almoſt no kind of ſenſes were left in him. And truly I have often greatly wondered at the miraculous operation of Chriſt ſhewed upon him, who unleſs he had relieved in time his poor wretched ſervant ſo far worn, with ſome ſeaſonable conſolation now and then, it could not be poſſible for him to ſubſiſt under ſuch intolerable agonies. And yet the occaſion thereof was of no great moment neither. But nothing is more common amongſt the holieſt and beſt of men, by how much the more devout and watchful there are, (having the fear of God before their eyes) ſo much the more they miſtruſt and ſuſpect themſelves; whereby it cometh to paſs, that they are often ſo terrified and perplexed with ſmall matters (in compariſon) as though they were huge mountains; whereas, on the contrary, others there be whom the blackeſt and moſt heinous crimes will nothing touch or move.

The occaſion of this was, that he being firſt called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the goſpel, and having received a wonderful, ſweet, and feeling ſenſe of Chriſt's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling to ſome cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to miſdoubt himſelf upon the occaſion of theſe words written in the 6th chapter to the Hebrews; "For it is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: ſeeing they crucify to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open ſhame." Upon the conſideration of which words, he fully perſuaded himſelf that he had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; even ſo much, that had he been in hell, he could hardly deſpair much more of his ſalvation. Every good man may readily judge, by himſelf, what terrors, boilings, and convulſions, turmoiled in the mean time in his woful breaſt; although it be hard for any man to judge of the miſery thereof, but he who hath by experience felt the like.

Now in comparing the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you, what pains, puniſhment, and flames would he not willingly have ſuffered, to have had ſome ſmall eaſe and refreſhment? Being under ſuch intolerable agonies of mind, that he could have no enjoyment of his food, yet was he compelled to eat againſt his appetite, on purpoſe to defer the time of his damnation as long as he could, thinking with himſelf, that he muſt needs be thrown into hell, as ſoon as the breath went out of his body. However, he thought Chriſt pitied his caſe, and was ſorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, becauſe of the verity of the word, which ſaid, "It is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened," &c.

And this I mention not to open his wound and expoſe his misfortunes, but to encourage all good men by his example to glorify the Son of God, who ſuffereth none to be tempted above his ſtrength, but ſo tempereth and ſeaſoneth the aſperity of evils, that what ſeemeth to us intolerable, he doth not only alleviate, that we may bear it, but alſo turneth it more to our advantage than we can imagine; which manifeſtly appeared in this good ſervant of God, and in no man more. And although (as we have ſaid) he ſuffered many years theſe ſharp temptations and ſtrong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciouſly preſerved him all the while, did not only at laſt rid him out of all diſcomfort, but alſo framed him thereby to ſuch mortification of life, as the like probably hath not been ſeen, in ſuch ſort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead to this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celeſtial, abhorring in his mind all prophane doings. Neither was his talk any thing different from the fruits of his life, never throwing out an idle, vile, or vain word. The moſt part of his lands he diſtributed to the uſe of his brethren, and committed the reſt to the guiding of his ſervants and officers, whereby he might the more quietly give himſelf up to his godly ſtudy, as to a continual Sabbath reſt. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued in the time of king Edward VI.

After this in the perſecuting days of queen Mary, as ſoon as the biſhop of Coventry heard of his fame, and of his being ſo ardent and zealous in the goſpel of Chriſt, he immediately wrote a letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as ſoon as poſſible. But by the good providence of God, it happened otherwiſe: for God diſpoſeth all things after his own ſecret pleaſure, who ſeeing his old and truſty ſervant ſo many years with ſo extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wiſe heap too many ſorrows upon one poor ſilly wretch: neither would he commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and ſcorched with the ſharp fires of inward affliction, and had ſuſtained ſo many burning darts and conflicts of Satan ſo many years: God therefore, of his divine providence, thinking it too much that one man ſhould be ſo overcharged with ſo many plagues and torments, did graciouſly provide, that Robert his brother being both ſtronger in body, and alſo better furniſhed with helps of learning to anſwer the adverſaries, (being a Maſter of Arts in Cambridge) ſhould ſuſtain that conflict, and even ſo it came to paſs.

For as ſoon as the mayor of Coventry had received the biſhop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he forthwith ſent private notice to the ſaid John to convey himſelf away: who with his brother William was not ſo ſoon departed out of his houſe, but that yet, in the ſight of the ſheriff and others, the ſearchers came and ruſhed in to take him, according to the biſhop's order.

But when the perſon they ſought for could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found there Robert the other brother lying on his bed, who had been long ſick; and was by him immediately brought before the ſheriff. Which ſheriff, notwithſtanding, favouring Robert and his cauſe, would indeed fain have diſmiſſed him, and wrought what means he could, ſaying, that he was not the man for whom they were ſent: yet nevertheleſs, being terrified with the threats of the officer, contending with him to have him detained till the biſhop's coming, he was conſtrained to carry him againſt his will, and ſo laid him faſt till the biſhop came. And thus much by way of preamble, concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. John Glover.

Now to enter upon the matter which principally we have in hand, that is, to conſider the ſtory and martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover; as the whole narration was ſent in a letter of his own writing to his wife, concerning the manner of his being handled; therefore it ſeemeth beſt, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit his own letter, the contents of which are as follow.

LETTER

From Mr. ROBERT GLOVER *to his* WIFE, *containing the whole* DESCRIPTION *of his* TROUBLES.

THE peace of conſcience with paſſeth all underſtanding, the ſweet conſolation, comfort, ſtrength, and boldneſs of the Holy Ghoſt, be continually increaſed in your heart, through a fervent, earneſt, and ſtedfaſt faith in our moſt dear and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

I thank you heartily (moſt loving wife) for your letters ſent to me in my impriſonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice; with tears (I ſay) for joy and gladneſs, that God had wrought in you ſo merciful a work; firſt, an unfeigned repentance; ſecondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a voluntary ſubmiſſion and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and theſe his great mercies poured upon you.

Theſe your letters, and the hearing of your moſt godly proceedings and conſtant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and ſhall be a goodly teſtimony with you at the great day, againſt many worldly and dainty dames, who ſet more by their own pleaſure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlaſting health of their own ſouls or others. My prayer ſhall be whilſt I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finiſh it to the glory of his name; and by the mighty power and inſpiration of his Holy Spirit, ſo ſtrengthen, eſtabliſh, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together ſhew forth his praiſes in the world to come, to our unſpeakable conſolation everlaſtingly, Amen.

So long as God ſhall lend you continuance in this miſerable world, above all things give yourſelf continually to prayer, liſting up, as St. Paul ſaith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he ſaith alſo) if you have any thing againſt any man, as Chriſt forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatneſs of our ſins, which Chriſt daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we ſhall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they ever ſo many. And becauſe God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but alſo what we ought to do, or not to do in the whole diſcourſe and practice of this life, what pleaſeth or diſpleaſeth God, and that, as Chriſt ſaith, "The word of God that he hath ſpoken, ſhall judge in the laſt day;" let your prayer be to this end eſpecially, That God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart, the true ſenſe, knowledge, and underſtanding of his moſt holy word, and give you grace in your living to expreſs the fruits thereof.

And foraſmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghoſt calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is ſeldom without hatred, perſecution, peril, danger of loſs of life and goods, and whatſoever ſeemeth pleaſant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his aſſiſtance always, as Chriſt teacheth, caſting your accounts what it is like to coſt you, endeavouring yourſelf, through the help of the Holy Ghoſt, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation ſo ſure, that no ſtorm or tempeſt ſhall be able to overthrow or caſt it down; remembering always (as Chriſt ſaith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that diſpleaſeth God. And becauſe nothing diſpleaſeth God ſo much as idolatry, that is, falſe worſhipping of God, otherwiſe than his word commandeth; look not back (I ſay) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blaſphemous maſs, manifeſtly againſt the word, practice, and example of Chriſt; as it is moſt manifeſt to all that have any taſte of the true underſtanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the church of England at this preſent, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the expreſs commandment of the Holy Ghoſt.

They object that they be the church, and therefore they muſt be believed. My anſwer was, The church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, whom ye have refuſed, and choſen the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition, enemy to Chriſt, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

Chriſt's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he ſaith, "My ſheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my diſciples." Their church repelleth God's words, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

Chriſt's church dare not add or diminiſh, alter or change his bleſſed teſtament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Chriſt inſtituted, and go a whoring (as the ſcripture ſaith) with their own inventions, to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

The church of Chriſt is, hath been, and ſhall be in all ages under the croſs, perſecuted, moleſted, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, becauſe they be not of the world. But theſe perſecute, murder, ſlay, and kill ſuch as profeſs the true doctrine of Chriſt, be they in learning, living, converſation, and other virtues ever ſo excellent.

Chriſt and his church reſerved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the ſame word, "Search the ſcriptures." But this church taketh away from the people, and ſuffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

The true church of God laboureth by all means to reſiſt and withſtand the luſts, deſires, and motions of the world, the fleſh, and the devil: theſe for the moſt part give themſelves to all voluptuouſneſs, and ſecretly commit ſuch things, which (as St. Paul ſaith) it is ſhame to ſpeak of.

By theſe and ſuch like manifeſt probations, they declare themſelves to be none of the church of Chriſt, but rather of the ſynagogue of Satan. It ſhall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of thoſe whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it ſhall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldneſs, to withſtand with ſuffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the ſcripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a ſtout champion, telling them, that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the ſword, and be the church whether men will or no; and called them with good conſcience, as Chriſt called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, ſo their kingdom and church (as they call it) ſtandeth by lying and murdering.

Have no fellowſhip with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, leſt you be partaker of their ſins, for whom is reſerved a heavy damnation, without ſpeedy repentance. Beware of ſuch as ſhall advertiſe you to bear with the world for a ſeaſon as they do. There is no dallying with God's matters: "It is a fearful thing (as St. Paul ſaith) to fall into the hands of the living God." Remember the prophet Elias. "Why halt ye on both ſides?" Remember what Chriſt ſaith, "He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me." And ſeeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good ſoldier in the fore front, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that ſhall dwell in the fiery lake, ſuch as be fearful in God's cauſe. Set always before your eyes the examples of ſuch as have behaved themſelves boldly in God's cauſe, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's ſons, and in your days Anne Aſkew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witneſſes of Chriſt. "Be afraid in nothing (ſaith St. Paul) of the adverſaries of Chriſt's doctrine, which is to them the ſign of perdition, but to you of eternal ſalvation." Chriſt commandeth the ſame, ſaying, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the example of him which aſketh time firſt to take leave of his friends. If we ſo do, we ſhall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our buſineſs, pleaſe it God ever ſo much. We do not read that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers or friends pleaſure. But the ſcripture ſaith, "They forſook all, and by and by followed Chriſt." Chriſt likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, which whoſoever findeth, ſelleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whoſoever hath but a little taſte or glimmering how precious a treaſure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the moſt part now-a-days are like Eſop's cock, which when he had found a precious ſtone, wiſhed rather to have found a barley corn. So ignorant are they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they chuſe rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, are leſs in value than a barley-corn.

If I would have given place to worldly reaſons, theſe might have moved me: firſt, the leaving of you and my children; the conſideration of the ſtate of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and ſo having the more need of my aſſiſtance, being not altogether deſtitute of gifts to help them withal; poſſeſſions above the common ſort of men; becauſe I was never called to be a preacher or miniſter; and (becauſe of my ſickneſs) fear of death in impriſonment before I ſhould come to my anſwer, and ſo my death to be unprofitable.

But theſe and ſuch like, I thank my heavenly Father, (who of his infinite mercy inſpired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son's ſake, my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me: but when I had by the wonderful permiſſion of God fallen into their hands, at the firſt ſight of the ſheriff, nature a little abaſhed; yet before I came to the priſon, by the working of God, and through his goodneſs, fear departed. I ſaid to the ſheriff at his coming to me, What matter have you, Mr. Sheriff, to charge me withal? He anſwered, You ſhall know when you come before the maſters; and ſo taking we with him, I expected to have been carried before the maſters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my anſwer, little juſtice being ſhewed therein. But the leſs juſtice a man findeth at their hands, the more conſolation in conſcience ſhall he find from God; for whoſoever is of the world, the world will love him.

After I came into priſon, and had repoſed myſelf there a while, I wept for joy and gladneſs, my belly-full, muſing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) ſaying to myſelf after this ſort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou ſhouldſt beſtow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the ſaints that ſuffer for the goſpel's ſake? And ſo beholding and conſidering on the one ſide my imperfection, unableneſs, ſinful miſery, and unworthineſs, and on the other ſide the greatneſs of God's mercy, to be called to ſo high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladneſs, concluding thus with myſelf in my heart; O Lord, thou ſheweſt power in weakneſs, wiſdom in fooliſhneſs, mercy in ſinfulneſs; who ſhall hinder thee to chuſe where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealouſly loved the confeſſion of thy word, ſo I ever thought myſelf to be moſt unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the ſame.

Not long after Mr. W. Braſbridge, Mr. C. Phineas, and Mr. N. Hopkins, came unto me, perſuading with me to be diſmiſſed upon bonds. To whom my anſwer was (to my remembrance) after this ſort: Foraſmuch as the maſters have impriſoned me, having nothing to burden me withal; if I ſhould enter into bonds, I ſhould in ſo doing accuſe myſelf; and ſeeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me paſs without bonds as with them.

Secondly, If I ſhall enter bonds, covenant and promiſe to appear, I ſhall do nothing but excuſe, colour and cloak their wickedneſs, and endanger myſelf nevertheleſs, being bound by my promiſe to appear. They uſed many worldly perſuaſions to me to avoid the preſent peril, and alſo how to avoid the forfeiture if I brake my promiſe. I ſaid unto them, I had caſt up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook alſo to make the bond eaſy.

And when they were ſomewhat importunate, I ſaid to Mr. Hopkins, That liberty of conſcience was a precious thing; and took, as it were, a pauſe, lifting up my heart to God earneſtly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might pleaſe him. And ſo when they had let their ſuit fall, my heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Mr. Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I anſwered in effect as I did before.

Afterwards debating the matter with myſelf, theſe conſiderations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conſcience (God I take to record) moved all ſuch as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to ſhew themſelves, after ſo great a light and knowledge, hearty, earneſt, conſtant, and ſtable in ſo manifeſt a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the ſame. Now thought I, if I ſhall withdraw myſelf, and make any ſhifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I ſhall give great offence to my weak brethren in Chriſt, and advantage to the enemies to ſlander God's word. It will be ſaid, He hath encouraged others to be earneſt and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himſelf will give no ſuch example.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodneſs of God marvellouſly called and appointed hereunto, to ſet aſide all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly reſpects and conſiderations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the meaſure of my ſmall gift within the compaſs of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and perſuaded all that profeſs God's word, manfully to perſiſt in the defence of the ſame, not with ſword and violence, but with ſuffering and loſs of life, rather than to defile themſelves again with the whoriſh abomination of the Romiſh Antichriſt; ſo the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and proteſt the ſame to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, I reſolved myſelf with much peace of conſcience, willingly to ſuſtain whatſoever the Romiſh Antichriſt ſhould do againſt me, and the rather, becauſe I underſtood the biſhop's coming to be at hand, and conſidered that poor men's conſciences would then be ſharply aſſaulted. So I remained priſoner in Coventry for the ſpace of ten or eleven days, being never called to my anſwer by the maſters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither ſtatute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehenſion. They would have laid all the matter upon the ſumner; who being examined, denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, ſaying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings againſt me to their charge at the great day.

The ſecond day after the biſhop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and ordered the chief jailor to carry me to the biſhop. I laid to Mr. Warren's charge the cruel ſeeking of my death; and when he would have excuſed himſelf, I told him he could not wipe his hands ſo; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And ſo he departed from me, ſaying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination ſhall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciouſly, and ſpitefully perſecute, moleſt, and afflict the members of Chriſt for their conſcience ſake, and for the true teſtimony of Chriſt's word, and cauſe them moſt unjuſtly to be ſlain and murdered, without ſpeedy repentance ſhall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlaſtingly, where they ſhall wiſh and deſire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion did) to be refreſhed by them whom in this world they contemned, deſpiſed, diſdained, as ſlaves, miſers, and wretches.

When I came before the biſhop in Mr. Denton's houſe, he began with this proteſtation, That he was my biſhop for lack of a better, and willed me to ſubmit myſelf.

I ſaid to him, I am not come to accuſe myſelf, what have you to lay to my charge?

He aſked me, whether I was learned? I anſwered, Smally learned.

Mr. Chancellor ſtanding by, ſaid I was a maſter of arts.

Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, foraſmuch as I had not been in his dioceſe for a long ſeaſon, neither was any of the citizens able to prove any ſuch matter againſt me. Notwithſtanding, I anſwered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had, nor would come to their church, as long as their maſs was uſed there, to ſave (if I had them) five hundred lives. I deſired him to ſhew me one jot or tittle in the ſcriptures for the proof and defence of the maſs.

He anſwered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content (I told him) to learn of him, ſo far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Biſhop. Who ſhall judge the word?

Glover. Chriſt was willing that the people ſhould judge his doctrine by ſearching the ſcriptures, and ſo was Paul; methinks you ſhould claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.

Thus ſpake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content that the primitive church next to the apoſtles' time, ſhould judge between the biſhop and him. But the biſhop refuſed that. Then he ſaid, he was his biſhop, and therefore he muſt believe him.

Glover. If you will be believed becauſe you are a biſhop, why find you fault with the people that believed biſhop Latimer, biſhop Ridley, and biſhop Hooper, and the reſidue of them that were biſhops?

Biſhop. Becauſe they were heretics.

Glover. And may not you err as well as they? I expected my lord to uſe ſome learned arguments to perſuade me, but inſtead of that, he oppreſſed me only with his authority. He ſaid, I diſſented from the church, and aſked me where my church was before king Edward's time?

I deſired him to ſhew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward ſhew it had in Chriſt's time.

Biſhop. Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's houſe, whom he called heretics.

Glover. You be not able to ſhew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that ſame time.

My lord making no anſwer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the maſters of the city, cometh in the mean ſeaſon, taking upon him as though he would anſwer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to ſome tower, if they had any beſides the common jail, ſaying, he would at the end of the viſitation of his dioceſe, weed out ſuch wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himſelf for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaſeth you, ſaid I to my lord, I am content; and ſo I was returned at that time to the common jail again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day, I had warning by one of the priſoners to prepare myſelf to ride with my fellow-priſoners the ſame day to Litchfield, there to be beſtowed at the biſhop's pleaſure. Which tidings at firſt ſomewhat diſcouraged me, fearing leſt I ſhould by means of my great ſickneſs, through hard uſage, (which I expected) have died in priſon before I ſhould come to anſwer: but immediately with God's word, I rebuked this infidelity in myſelf, and by the ſame corrected mine own diſtruſt in the following manner. What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his power extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meſhach, and Jeremy, in their moſt dangerous impriſonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The ſparrow falleth not to the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithleſs, whom he hath made worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. So long as we put our truſt in him, we ſhall never be deſtitute of his help, neither in priſon, in ſickneſs, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, biſhops, or the devil himſelf, much leſs one of his miniſters ſhall be able to prevail againſt us. With ſuch meditations I grew chearful, of good conſolation and comfort: ſo that hearing one ſay that they could not provide horſes enough for us, I ſaid, Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horſes, if they pleaſe, I am willing for my part.

Notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of my friends, I wrote to Mr. Mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make anſwer here to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to my charge; the contents of which were to this purpoſe.

"I beſeech you to underſtand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the jail, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man ſubject to very great ſickneſs, and have been for the ſpace of ſeven years and more, ſo that it is not like that I ſhould be removed without great peril and danger of life. And becauſe I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cauſe thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwiſe, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man ſhall have juſt judgment without reſpect of perſons."

But receiving no anſwers to my letters, I conjectured, that when the biſhop and the chancellor had ſeen them, they moved them rather to have me away, being more deſirous (as I ſuppoſe) to have had me diſpatched privily in priſon, than to bring me openly to my anſwer; as did in ſome meaſure appear by the treatment I met with at my firſt coming to priſon.

Certain ſerjeants and conſtables of Coventry being appointed to have the conveying of us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, ſent from Coventry with us for the ſame purpoſe, we were commanded to be on horſeback about eleven or twelve o'clock on Friday, being a market day, that we might be the more gazed at: and to ſet the people's hearts more againſt us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and diſannulling of all ſuch books as truly expound and interpret the ſcriptures. We came to Litchfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repoſe ourſelves for ſupper-time. We put up at the ſign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

After ſupper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we intreated that upon former ſureties we might reſt ourſelves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourſelves withal in the priſon at that preſent. He ſeemed willing at firſt, but afterwards (whether by perſuaſion, but I rather ſuppoſe out of policy, till he could gather a multitude to ſtare and gaze upon us, and alſo that we ſhould provide nothing to eaſe ourſelves withal) he revoked his promiſe, and ſo by conſent we were carried to priſon, in the ſight of a great multitude of people. I deſired Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him, that they ſhould have judgment without mercy, that ſhewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a priſon that ſame night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next the dungeon, where was ſmall room, ſtrong building, and very cold, with little light; and there he allowed me a bundle of ſtraw inſtead of my bed, without chairs, form, or any thing elſe to eaſe myſelf withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, ſo that if it had been his pleaſure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: but Jephcot, and one Perſey, the biſhop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the moſt part, came to me in the morning, to whom I ſaid, This is a great extremity, God ſend us patience, and no more.

Then they were content that I ſhould have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithſtanding my great ſickneſs; nor yet paper, pen, ink, or books, except my New Teſtament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily ſtole in.

Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Temſey, a prebendary there, came to me into my priſon. Mr. Chancellor exhorted me to conform myſelf to my lord and to the church. He wiſhed no more hurt to my ſoul than he did to his own; belike becauſe I had laid to his charge at Coventry the ſeeking of my blood unjuſtly and wrongfully.

Now thus the ſecond time I anſwered Mr. Chancellor to his exhortation, That I refuſed not to be ruled by that church, that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

Chancellor. How know you the word of God, but by the church?

Glover. The church ſheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God: this is no good reaſon in learning, ſaid I to Mr. Chancellor. For it is like unto this; John ſhewed the people who was Chriſt: Therefore John was above Chriſt. Or elſe, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king, am I therefore above the king?

Mr. Chancellor ſaid, he came not to reaſon with me, and ſo departed. And I remained for the ſpace of eight days without any further conference with any man, until the biſhop's coming: in which time I gave myſelf continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promiſes of God made unto all, without exception of perſon, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt. I found in myſelf daily amendment of health of body, increaſe of peace in conſcience, and many conſolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and ſometimes as it were a taſte and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake: to him be all praiſe for ever and ever.

The enemy ceaſed not many times ſundry ways to aſſault me, often objecting to my conſcience mine own unworthineſs, through the greatneſs of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that ſhould ſuffer for Chriſt, for his goſpel's ſake. Againſt him I replied with the word of God on this ſort, What were all thoſe whom God hath choſen from the beginning to be his witneſſes, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas ſaid, as well ſubject to wickedneſs, ſin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even ſuch were Noah, Abraham, David, and the reſt, "who gave firſt unto him," as Paul ſaith. And alſo ſpeaking to every man, "What haſt thou, that thou receivedſt not?" Likewiſe John, "All have received of his fulneſs:" they were no bringers of any goodneſs to God, but altogether receivers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt. Yea, he both loved and choſe them when they were his enemies, full of ſin and corruption, and void of all goodneſs. He is, and will be ſtill, the ſame God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive ſins without reſpect of perſons, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him: to all that call upon him in truth." God is near, he is at hand, he is with all, with all I ſay, and refuſeth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time ſoever it be. It is no arrogancy nor preſumption in any man, to burthen God (as it were) with his promiſe, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help and aſſiſtance in all our perils, dangers, and diſtreſs, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godlineſs, but in the truſt of his promiſes made in Chriſt, in whom, and by whom, and for whoſe ſake, whoſoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-ſeat of the Father, is ſure to receive whatſoever is expedient or neceſſary, either for body or ſoul, in a more bountiful manner, than he can well wiſh, or dare deſire. His word cannot lie, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me."

I anſwered the enemy alſo on this manner; I am a ſinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witneſs of this truth. What then? Muſt I deny his word, becauſe I am not worthy to profeſs it? What bring I to paſs in ſo doing, but add ſin to ſin? What is greater ſin than to deny the truth of Chriſt's goſpel? As Chriſt himſelf beareth witneſs, "He that is aſhamed of me or of my words, of him alſo will I be aſhamed before my Father and all his angels." I might alſo, for the like reaſon, neglect obedience to any of God's commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may ſay to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I ſhall not pray: and ſo in like manner of all the commandments, I ſhall not forbear ſwearing, ſtealing, or murdering, becauſe I am not worthy to keep any commandment of God. Theſe be the deluſions of the devil, and Satan's ſuggeſtions, which muſt be overcome by continual prayer, and with the word of God applied according to the meaſure of every man's gift, againſt all aſſaults of the devil.

At the biſhop's firſt coming to Litchfield, after mine impriſonment, I was called into a bye chamber next to my priſon, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and ſaw none but his officers, chaplains, and ſervants, except it were an old prieſt, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and aſſiſtance.

My lord aſked me how I liked my impriſonment; I gave him no anſwer touching that queſtion. He proceeded to perſuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued ſo many years. As for your church (ſaid he to me), it was not known but lately in Edward's time.

I profeſs myſelf to be a member of that church (ſaid I) that is built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone; and ſo alledged the place of St. Paul to the Epheſians. And the church hath been from the beginning (ſaid I), tho' it bear no glorious ſhew before the world, being ever, for the moſt part, under the croſs and affliction, contemned, deſpiſed, and perſecuted. My lord contended on the other ſide, that they were the church.

So cried all the clergy (ſaid I) againſt the prophets of Jeruſalem, ſaying, "The church of the Lord, the church of the Lord." And always when I was about to ſpeak any thing, my lord cried, Hold thy peace, I command thee by the virtue of thy obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I deſired my lord to lay ſomething to my charge in particular, and then to convince me with ſome ſcriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain queſtions. I refuſed to anſwer him in corners, requiring that I might make my anſwer openly. He ſaid I ſhould anſwer him there. I ſtood with him upon that point till he ſaid I ſhould go to priſon again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had anſwered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might ſtand and agree with the doctrine of his moſt holy word.

The firſt queſtion was this, How many ſacraments Chriſt inſtituted to be uſed in the church?

The ſacrament of baptiſm, ſaid I, and the ſacrament that he inſtituted at his laſt ſupper.

No more? ſaid he.

Then ſaid I, To all thoſe that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a ſure hope, truſt and confidence in the death of Chriſt, to ſuch miniſters, (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the authority of God's word, the remiſſion of ſins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a ſacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, becauſe the matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in ſo doing did me wrong, for I called it not a ſacrament.

He aſked me further, Whether I allowed their confeſſion?

I anſwered, No.

Then the biſhop would know my mind what I thought of the preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament.

I anſwered, That their maſs was neither ſacrifice nor ſacrament, becauſe (ſaid I) you have taken away the true inſtitution, which when you reſtore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Chriſt's body in the ſacrament.

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him in his own hand-writing, concerning the manner of his uſage in priſon, and alſo of his diſputes with the biſhop and his chancellor. More examinations he had (no doubt) with the biſhop in the public conſiſtory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which he would alſo have left unto us, if either length of life, or leiſure of time, or haſte of execution, had permitted him to finiſh what he intended; but by reaſon of the writ of his burning being come down from London, want of time did neither ſerve him ſo to do, neither yet could I get the records of his laſt examination, wheresſoever they are become.

Only this which I could learn by the relation of one Auguſtine Bernher, a miniſter, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report; that the ſaid Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the biſhop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it ſo happened, that two or three days before, his heart being heavy, and deſolate of all ſpiritual conſolation, felt in himſelf no aptneſs or willingneſs, but rather a heavineſs and dulneſs of ſpirit, full of much diſcomfort to bear the bitter croſs of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon fearing in himſelf leſt the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this Auguſtine, his friend above-mentioned, ſignifying unto him how earneſtly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor ſenſe of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the ſaid Auguſtine anſwering again, deſired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleaſure, and howſoever his preſent feeling was, yet ſeeing his cauſe was juſt and true, he exhorted him conſtantly to ſtick to the ſame, and to play the man, nothing miſdoubting but the Lord in his good time would viſit him, and ſatiſfy his deſire with plenty of conſolation; whereof (he ſaid) he was right certain and ſure; and therefore deſired him, whenſoever any ſuch feeling of God's heavenly mercies ſhould begin to touch his heart, that then he would ſhew ſome ſignification thereof, whereby he might witneſs with him the ſame, and ſo departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was come within ſight of the ſtake, (although all the night before praying for ſtrength and courage he could feel none) ſuddenly he was ſo mightily repleniſhed with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands, to Auſtin, and ſaying theſe words, "Auſtin, he is come, he is come," &c. and that with ſuch joy and alacrity, as one ſeeming rather to be riſen from ſome deadly danger to liberty and life, than as one paſſing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

An ACCOUNT *of* CORNELIUS BUNGEY, Fellow-Martyr *with* Mr. ROBERT GLOVER.

IN the ſame fire with Mr. Glover, Cornelius Bungey, of Coventry, was likewiſe burnt, who was condemned by the ſaid biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield. As concerning the articles which were objected to him, the effect thereof was this.

Firſt, It was objected againſt him, that theſe three years laſt, in the city of Coventry and Litchfield, and places thereabout, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the prieſt hath no power here to abſolve any ſinner from his ſins.

Secondly, That by baptiſm ſins are not waſhed away, becauſe he ſaid that the waſhing of the fleſh purgeth the fleſh outwardly, and not the ſoul.

Thirdly, that there be in the church only two ſacraments, that is, baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper.

Fourthly, That in the ſacrament of the popiſh altar, was not the real body and blood of Chriſt, but the ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining ſtill, becauſe St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

Fifthly, That he, within the compaſs of the ſaid years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the viſible church here on earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the dioceſe and juriſdiction of the biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the premiſes are true, manifeſt, and notorious, and that upon the ſame there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearſed, as in other quarters alſo about, &c.

To which articles he anſwered again:

To the firſt he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the popiſh manner of abſolution.

To the ſecond he granted firſt, after revoked the ſame.

To the third alſo he granted, adding withal, that in ſcripture there is no more contained.

To the fourth touching the ſacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewiſe.

Alſo to the ſixth he granted; and likewiſe to the ſeventh.

Upon theſe articles and his anſwers to the ſame, the ſaid Radulph, the biſhop, read the ſentence, and ſo committed him alſo, after condemnation of Mr. Robert Glover, to the ſecular power.

Thus this aforeſaid Cornelius, falſely condemned by the biſhop before-mentioned, ſuffered at the ſame ſtake with the chriſtian martyr, Mr. Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th of September.

The HISTORY *of* JOHN GLOVER, *and* WILLIAM GLOVER, *who were excommunicated after their Death, and buried in the* Fields.

JOHN and William Glover, the two brothers of Robert Glover, the martyr, ought not to be omitted in this hiſtory, although they were not called to finiſh their courſe in fire, as their brother, and other martyrs were; yet they were caſt out of the church, and excommunicated even after they were dead, and denied chriſtian burial.

And firſt concerning Mr. John Glover, the elder brother, what inward ſtorms and agonies he ſuſtained by the ghoſtly enemy, you have partly heard before deſcribed: now what his bodily enemies wrought againſt him, remaineth to be declared. Whoſe rage and malice, although God reſtrained, that they could little prevail againſt him ſo long as life endured, yet after his deceaſe, having power upon him, what they did you ſhall now underſtand.

Whereupon the ſheriffs, with their under officers and ſervants, being ſent to ſeek him, came into his houſe, where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the chamber by himſelf, the officers burſting into the houſe, and ſearching other rooms, came to the chamber where John Glover was, who being within, and holding the latch ſoftly in his hand, perceived and heard the officers buſtling about the door, amongſt whom one of the ſaid officers having the ſtring in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the ſame.

In the mean time another coming by, (whoſe voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, ſaying, they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to ſearch other corners of the houſe, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being carried to Litchfield, and there examined before the biſhop, at length after much ado, was conſtrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon not long after, he left this life, which the cruel papiſts ſo long had ſought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the perſecuting enemies during all the time of his life, you have heard. Now what befel after the time of his death, both to him and his brother William, is worthy to be remembered. After he was dead and buried in the church-yard, without prieſt, or clerk, Dr. Dracott, then chancellor, ſix weeks after, ſent for the parſon of the town, and demanded how it happened that he was there buried. The parſon anſwered, that he was then ſick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parſon to go home, and to cauſe the body of the ſaid John Glover to be taken up, and to be caſt over the wall into the high-way: the parſon again anſwered, that he had been ſix weeks in the earth, and ſo ſmelled, that none were able to endure it. Well, quoth Dr. Dracot, then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned ſoul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones, (for then the fleſh will be conſumed) and caſt them over the wall, that the carts and horſes may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-yard where he was buried. Recorded by the parſon of the town, who told the ſame to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Fynden, in Derbyſhire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wiſe, by whoſe credible information we received the ſame.

Not much unlike uſage was practiſed alſo by theſe catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother, whom, after it had pleaſed Almighty God about the ſame ſeaſon to call out of this vale of miſery, the well-diſpoſed people of the town of Weme, in Shropſhire, where he died, brought the body into the pariſh church, intending to have it there buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the ſaid church, in order to ſtop the burial thereof, rode to the biſhop named Ralph Baine, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time, the body lying there a whole day, in the night-time one Richard Morice, a taylor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Weme, with ſome others, of Weme, and would not ſuffer the body to be buried; expreſſing to us the contrary examples of good Tobit; for as he was religious in burying the dead, ſo this man's religion conſiſts in not burying the dead; ſo that after he had lain there two days and one night, the aforeſaid Bernard, the curate, came with the biſhop's letter, the contents of which letter being copied out word for word, here follow.

A COPY *of the* BISHOP's LETTER *written to the* PARISH *of* WEME.

UNDERSTANDING that one Glover an heretic is dead in the pariſh of Weme, which Glover hath, all the time of my being in this country, been known for a rebel againſt our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy ſacraments and ceremonies uſed in the holy church, and hath ſeparated himſelf from the holy communion of all good chriſtian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his laſt days did call for his ſpiritual father, but died without the rites belonging to a chriſtian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Weme, that he ſhould not be honoured with chriſtian burial, but alſo will and command all the pariſh of Weme, that no man procure help, nor ſpeak to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Weme in ſpecial, and all the pariſh of the ſame, that they aſſiſt the ſaid curate in defending and hindering, and procuring that he be not buried in the church, or within the walls of the church-yard: and likewiſe I charge thoſe that brought the body to the place to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will anſwer at their peril. At Ecclesch, this ſixth of September, 1555.

By your Ordinary, RADULPH,
Coventry and Litchfield.

By virtue of this aforeſaid letter, ſo it fell out, that they who brought the corpſe thither, were obliged to carry it back again at their own charges. But as the body was corrupted, and ſmelt ſo ſtrong that no man could well come near it, they were forced to draw it with horſes into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

The like example of charitable affection in theſe catholic churchmen, is alſo to be ſeen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Eſq. who in the ſame dioceſe of Cheſter, departing out of this world the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would anſwer for it, that his body ſhould be buried in his pariſh church, (which was St. Chad's, in Shrewſbury) ſo that no maſs-monger ſhould be preſent thereat. Which thing being declared to the curate of that pariſh, named John Marſhall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the ſame day when the queen was crowned, the curate being therewith offended, ſaid plainly, that he ſhould not be buried in the church there. Whereupon one of the friends of the deceaſed, named George Torpelley, anſwering again, ſaid, That God would judge him in the laſt day, &c. Then ſaid the prieſt, Judge God or devil, the body ſhall not come there. And ſo they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven as if he had been buried in the midſt of the church.

Moreover, in the ſaid county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine, of the pariſh of Whitchurch, was burnt in Hartford-weſt, ſir John Yonge being ſheriff the ſame time, which ſeemeth to be about the laſt year of king Henry the eighth. Whoſe name, as it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give ſome little touch of him, having now in hand to ſpeak of the perſecution within the dioceſe of Coventry and Litchfield.

The MARTYRDOM *of* WILLIAM WOLSEY, *and* ROBERT PYGOT, Painter.

WILLIAM Wolſey and Robert Pygot, both inhabitants of the town of Wiſbich, were the next condemned after the ſuffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey. Theſe two bleſſed martyrs were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the biſhop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxtone, his ſuffragan, Robert Stewart, dean of Ely, John Chriſtopherſon, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. The ſaid William Wolſey, who was then a conſtable, through the means of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a juſtice appointed for thoſe days, who cruelly treated the ſaid William Wolſey, was cauſed to put in ſureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next general ſeſſions held within the Iſle of Ely. Being called again at the next ſeſſions, he was ſtill conſtrained to put in new ſureties, which at length he refuſed to do, and ſo was committed to jail, at the aſſize held at Ely in Lent.

In the Eaſter week following, Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, with Chriſtopherſon, and one Dr. Yong, came to confer with him, who laid earneſtly to his charge that he was not of the catholic faith, deſiring him to meddle no further with the ſcriptures, than it did become ſuch a lay-man as he was, to do. The ſaid William Wolſey ſtanding ſtill a great while, ſuffering them to ſay their pleaſure, at laſt he anſwered in this wiſe; Good Mr. Doctor, What did our Saviour Chriſt mean, when he ſpake theſe words written in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel, "Woe be unto you ſcribes and phariſees, hypocrites; for ye ſhut up the kingdom of heaven againſt men: for ye neither go in yourſelves, neither ſuffer ye them that are entering to go in."

Yea, ſaith Dr. Fuller, you muſt underſtand, that Chriſt ſpake to the ſcribes and phariſees.

Nay, Mr. Doctor, Chriſt ſpake even to you, and your fellows here preſent, and to all others ſuch as you be.

Away, Mr. Doctor, ſaid Chriſtopherſon, for you can do no good with this man Yet, ſaith Dr. Fuller, I will leave thee a book to read, I promiſe thee of a learned man's doing, that is to ſay, of Dr. Watſon's doing (who was then biſhop of Lincoln).

Wolſey receiving the ſame book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifeſtly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the ſaid Dr. Fuller reſorting again to the priſon to confer with the ſaid Wolſey, aſked him how he liked the ſaid book, (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the ſame) who anſwered him and ſaid, Sir, I like the book no otherwiſe than I thought before I ſhould find it. Wherefore the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book raſed with a pen by the ſaid Wolſey. Which he ſeeing, and being vexed therewith, ſaid, O this is an obſtinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book.

Then the aſſizes to be held at Wiſbich drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the ſaid Wolſey, and ſpake unto him on this manner: Thou doſt much trouble my conſcience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, ſo that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, ſo far as I may, I promiſe thee I will not hear of it.

Mr. Doctor, ſaid Wolſey, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the ſeſſions before named, Wolſey was laid in the caſtle at Wiſbich, he and all his friends thinking, that he ſhould have ſuffered there at that preſent time, but it proved otherwiſe.

Then Robert Pygot, the painter, being at liberty, was there preſented by ſome evil diſpoſed perſons (ſworn men as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The ſaid Pygot being called in the ſeſſions, would not abſent himſelf, but there did plainly appear before ſir Clement Hygham, being judge, who ſaid unto him; Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance you came not to the church? Sir, quoth the painter, I am not out of the church, I truſt in God.

No, ſir, ſaid the judge, this is no church, this is a hall. Yea, ſir, ſaid Pigot, I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, is never abſent, but in the church of God.

Ah, ſirrah, ſaid the judge, you are too high learned for me to talk with, wherefore I will ſend you to them that are better learned than I, ſtraightway commanding him to the jail where Wolſey lay. So the ſeſſions being broke up and ended, the ſaid Wolſey and Pygot were carried again to Ely to priſon, where they both remained till the day of their death.

In the mean time ſome of their neighbours of Wiſbich being at Ely, came to ſee how they did. There came hither alſo a chaplain of biſhop Goodrick's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who ſaid to the ſaid Wolſey and Pygot: My brethren, according to my office I am come to talk with you, for I have been amner here theſe twenty years and above. Wherefore I muſt deſire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you, I promiſe you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and deſire, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, that you ſtand to the truth of the goſpel and word, and I beſeech the Almighty God, for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to preſerve both you and me in the ſame unto the end. For I know not myſelf (my brethren) how ſoon I ſhall be at the ſame point that you are. Theſe with many other like words he made an end, cauſing all that were there preſent to water their cheeks, contrary to the expectation they all had of him. God be praiſed therefore.

Then within a ſhort time after, Pygot and Wolſey were called to judgment about the 9th of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Chriſtopherſon, and others in commiſſion, who laid earneſtly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but eſpecially of the ſacrament of the altar. Whereunto their anſwer was, That the ſacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Chriſt was not preſent really in the ſacrament; and to this opinion they ſaid they would ſtick, perfectly believing the ſame to be no hereſy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would ſtand. Then the doctors ſaid, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton ſaid unto them, Good brethren, remember yourſelves, and become new men, for I myſelf was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, ſaid Wolſey, are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God ſhall juſtly judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then ſpake, ſaying, This Wolſey is an obſtinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, (as far as I perceive) and is ſoon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any ill opinion I find in him.

Then Chriſtopherſon called for pen and ink, and wrote theſe words following: I Robert Pygot do believe, that after the word of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, the ſelf-ſame that was born of the virgin Mary; and reading it to the painter, he ſaid thus, Doſt thou believe all this according as it is written?

No, ſir, ſaid the painter, that is your faith, and not mine.

Chriſtopherſon. Lo, Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go, he is as much an heretic as the other. And ſo immediately judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the ſentence read, they were ſent again to priſon, where they lay till the day of their death. On which day, one Peacock, a batchelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. v. of one that had lived inordinately by abuſing his father's wife; likening the ſaid Pigot and Wolſey to the ſame man, oftentimes ſaying, that ſuch members muſt be cut off from the congregation; moſt maliciouſly reporting the ſaid Wolſey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the ſcriptures.

So his ſermon being ended, the aforeſaid Pygot and Wolſey were brought to the place of execution, and ſo bound to the ſtake with a chain; thither came one Richard Collinſon, a prieſt, at that time deſtitute of any abiding place or ſettled benefice, who ſaid unto Wolſey, Brother Wolſey, the preacher hath openly reported in his ſermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptiſm, and that you do err in the holy ſcripture; wherefore I beſeech you, for the certifying of my conſcience, with others here preſent, that you do declare in what place of the ſcripture you do err and find fault.

Wolſey. I take the eternal and everlaſting God to witneſs, that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in the ſame to be moſt firm and ſound doctrine in all points moſt worthy for my ſalvation, and for all other chriſtians to the end of the world. Whatſoever mine adverſaries report of me, God forgive them therefore. With that came one to the fire with a great ſheet full of books to burn, like as they had been New Teſtaments. O, ſaid Wolſey, give me one of them, and Pygot deſired another, both of them clapping them cloſe to their breaſts, ſaying the 106th Pſalm, deſiring all the people to ſay, Amen, and ſo received the fire moſt thankfully.

Concerning the ſtory of William Wolſey, I received moreover from the univerſity of Cambridge, by a credible perſon, and my faithful friend William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not improper to be notified to the reader, in order and form as followeth.

There were two godly martyrs burnt at Ely, the one named Wolſey, the other Pygot. In theſe two appeared a different diſpoſition of ſpirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modeſt, promiſing that he would be conformable to his perſecutors, if they could perſuade him by the ſcripture. Wolſey was ſtout, ſtrong, and vehement, as one having the fulneſs of the Spirit, and deteſted all their doing, as of whom he was ſure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderfully jealous over his companion, fearing leſt his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the ſame day that they were burnt, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almoſt by force. He was ſo deſirous to glorify God with his ſuffering, that being wonderfully ſore tormented in the priſon with the tooth-ach, he feared nothing more than that he ſhould depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This Wolſey being in priſon at Ely, was viſited by Thomas Hobilo, brewer, in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be diſtributed (as he appointed) part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and eſpecially ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, to be delivered to one Richard Denton, a ſmith, dwelling at Wells, in Cambridgeſhire, within the juriſdiction of the iſle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried ſo long behind him, ſeeing that he was the firſt that delivered him the book of ſcripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth, deſiring him to make haſte after as faſt as he could.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witneſs of his doings herein, delivered the ſame ſum of money to one Mr. Lawrence, a preacher, in Eſſex, (who then reſorted often to his houſe) to be diſtributed as Wolſey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when his ſix ſhillings and eight-pence was delivered to Richard Denton, with the commendation aforeſaid, his anſwer was this, I confeſs it is true, but alas! I cannot burn. This was almoſt one whole year after Wolſey was burnt. But he that could not burn for the cauſe of Chriſt, was afterwards burnt againſt his will, even after Chriſt had given peace to his church. For on Tueſday, the 18th of April, 1564, his houſe was ſet on fire, and he endeavouring to ſave his goods, periſhed in the flames, with two others that were in the ſame houſe.

Witneſſed by

THO. HODILO, and WILL. FULKE.

Not much unlike this, was the example of Mr. Weſt, chaplain to biſhop Ridley, who refuſing to die in the cauſe of Chriſt, with his maſter, ſaid maſs againſt his conſcience, and died ſoon after.

C H A P. XII.

HISTORY *of the* MARTYRDOM *of* Bishop RIDLEY *and* Bishop LATIMER. CHARACTER *of* STEPHEN GARDINER, Bishop *of* Winchester.——*Further* ACCOUNT *of the* EXAMINATIONS, *&c. of many* PIOUS *and* GODLY MEN *and* WOMEN.

The HISTORY *of* Dr. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, *and* Mr. HUGH LATIMER, *both* BISHOPS.

ON the 17th of October, 1555, (the day on which William Wolſey and Thomas Pygot ſuffered at Ely) thoſe two famous and ſingular captains, the principal pillars of Chriſt's church, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, biſhop of London, and Mr. Hugh Latimer, ſometime biſhop of Worceſter, were cruelly burnt in one fire at Oxford. Men, ever memorable for their piety, learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace.

Dr. Ridley was born in the county of Northumberland; when a child, he learned his grammar in Newcaſtle, and was removed from thence to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he in a ſhort time became ſo famous, that for his ſingular aptneſs he was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to king Henry the eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the biſhopric of Rocheſter, and from thence tranſlated to the ſee and biſhopric of London, in king Edward's days.

Biſhop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, was one of the firſt that hands were laid on, and committed to priſon, as before hath been ſufficiently declared: firſt in the Tower, and from thence tranſlated with the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Mr. Latimer to Oxford, and with them incloſed in the common priſon of Boccardo; but at length being ſeparated from them, he was committed to cuſtody in the houſe of one Iriſh, where he was committed till the day of his martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till Oct. 16, 1555.

Dr. RIDLEY'*s Anſwers in Company with* Mr. LATIMER, *in Priſon, upon the Objections of* ANTONIAN, *meaning by that Name ſome* Popiſh Perſecutor, *as* Winchester, *alluding thereby to the* Story *of* VICTOR. lib. 3. De Perſecut. Aphri.

Objection 1. ALL men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the reſt, do not go to maſs, which is a thing much eſteemed of all men, yea, of the queen herſelf.

Ridley. Becauſe no man that layeth hand on the plough and looketh back is fit for the kingdom of God, and alſo for the ſelf-ſame cauſe why St. Paul would not ſuffer Titus to be circumciſed, which is, that the truth of the goſpel might remain with us incorrupt, Gal. ii. And alſo, If I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make myſelf a treſpaſſer. This is likewiſe another cauſe: leſt I ſhould ſeem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am perſuaded is contrary to ſound doctrine, and ſo ſhould be a ſtumbling-block unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh: it were better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and be caſt into the midſt of the ſea.

Objection 2. What is it then that offendeth you ſo greatly in the maſs, that you will not vouchſafe once to hear or ſee it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have you not uſed in times paſt to ſay maſs yourſelf?

Ridley. I confeſs unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for theſe matters I have done penance long ago, both at St. Paul's Croſs, and alſo openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I truſt God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it ignorantly. But if you be deſirous to know, and will vouchſafe to hear what things do offend me in the maſs, I will rehearſe thoſe things which be moſt clear, and ſeem moſt manifeſtly to repugn againſt God's word, and they be theſe: The ſtrange tongue, the want of the ſhewing of the Lord's death, the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the ſacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the ſign is ſervilely worſhipped for the thing ſignified; Chriſt's paſſion is injured, foraſmuch as this maſs-ſacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of ſins; to be ſhort, the manifold ſuperſtitions, and trifling fooleries which are in the maſs, and about the ſame.

Latimer. Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you ſhall prevail more with praying, than with ſtudying, though mixture be beſt, for ſo one ſhall alleviate the tediouſneſs of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reaſonable account of my faith given: for it will be but in vain. They will ſay, as their fathers ſaid, when they have no more to ſay: We have a law, and by our law we ought to die. Be you ſtedfaſt and immoveable, ſaith St. Paul: and again, Stand faſt: and how oft is this repeated, If you abide, &c. But we ſhall be called obſtinate, ſturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; ſo that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with ſuch men.

Objection 3. But you know how great a crime it is to ſeparate yourſelf from the communion or fellowſhip of the church, and to make a ſchiſm, or diviſion. You have been reported to have hated the ſect of the Anabaptiſts, and always to have impugned the ſame. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called [Cathari], that they would not communicate with the church.

Ridley. I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the ſame is neceſſary to ſalvation. But I do not take the maſs, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popiſh device, whereby both the commandment and the inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miſerably deluded. The ſect of the Anabaptiſts, and the hereſy of the Novitians, ought of right to be condemned, foraſmuch as without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe, they wickedly ſeparate themſelves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not alledge that the ſacraments were unduly adminiſtered, but turning their eyes from themſelves, wherewith, according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themſelves, and caſting their eyes ever upon others, either miniſters, or communicants with them, they always reproved ſomething, for which they abſtained from the communion, as from an unholy thing.

Objection 4. But admit there be in the maſs, that peradventure might be amended, or at leaſt made better: yea, ſeeing you will have it ſo, admit there be a fault; if you do not conſent thereto, why do you trouble yourſelf in vain? Do not you know both by Cyprian and Auguſtine, that communion of ſacraments doth not defile a man, but conſent of deeds?

Ridley. If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were ſome one thing of itſelf indifferent, (although I would wiſh nothing ſhould be done in the church which doth not edify the ſame) yet for the continuance of the common quietneſs I could be content to bear it. But foraſmuch as things done in the maſs tend openly to the overthrow of Chriſt's inſtitution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed I ought to conſent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well ſpoken, if it be well underſtood. But it is meant of them which ſuppoſe they are defiled, if any ſecret vice be either in the miniſters, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor ſuperſtition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not ſuffer the ſame to be thruſt upon themſelves, or upon the church, inſtead of God's word and the truth of the goſpel.

Objection 5. Conſider into what dangers you caſt yourſelf, if you forſake the church; and you cannot but forſake it, if you refuſe to go to maſs. For the maſs is the ſacrament of unity; without the ark there is no ſalvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ſhip. You know this ſaying well enough. He ſhall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, (ſaith St. Auguſtine) be the life ever ſo well ſpent, none ſhall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Ridley. The holy catholic or univerſal church, which is the communion of ſaints, the houſe of God, the city of God, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, the body of Chriſt, the pillar and ſtay of truth; this church I believe according to the creed. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghoſt. In times paſt, (ſaith Chryſoſtom) there were many ways to know the church of Chriſt, that is to ſay, by good life, by miracles, by chaſtity, by doctrine, by adminiſtering the ſacraments. But from that time that hereſies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the ſcriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward ſhow, which the true church hath in truth. To that which they ſay, That the maſs is the ſacrament of unity, I anſwer; The bread which we break, according to the inſtitution of the Lord, is the ſacrament of the unity of Chriſt's myſtical body. For we being many, are one bread and one body, foraſmuch as we are all partakers of one bread. But in the maſs, the Lord's inſtitution is not obſerved; for we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is uſed) it may ſeem a ſacrament of ſingularity, and of a certain ſpecial privilege for one ſect of people, whereby they may be diſcerned from the reſt, rather than a ſacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is repreſented.

Objection 6. That church which you have deſcribed to me is inviſible, but Chriſt's coming is viſible and known. For elſe why ſhould Chriſt have ſaid, Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto his church, if a man cannot tell which it is.

Ridley. The church which I have deſcribed is viſible, it hath members which may be ſeen; but either if our eyes be ſo dazzled, that we cannot ſee, or that Satan hath brought ſuch darkneſs into the world, that it is hard to diſcern the church, that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindneſs, or of Satan's darkneſs. But yet in this moſt deep darkneſs, there is one moſt clear candle, which of itſelf alone is able to put away all darkneſs. Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my ſteps.

Objection 7. The church of Chriſt is a catholic or univerſal church, diſperſed throughout the whole world; this church is the great houſe of God, in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and ſheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kinds of fiſhes; this church cannot err, becauſe Chriſt hath promiſed it his Spirit, which ſhall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatſoever it ſhall looſe or bind upon earth ſhall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and ſtay of truth; that is it for which St. Auguſtine ſaith, he believeth the goſpel. But this univerſal church alloweth the maſs, becauſe the greater part of the ſame alloweth it.

Ridley. I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the ſcripture. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them who profeſs the name of Chriſt, of which they are alſo named Chriſtians. But as St. Paul ſaith of the Jews, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. neither yet all that be of Iſrael are counted the ſeed; even ſo, not every one that is a chriſtian outwardly is a chriſtian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, the ſame is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Chriſt is the head, ſtandeth only on living ſtones, and true chriſtians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But foraſmuch as this church, (which is the ſecond taking of the church) as touching the outward fellowſhip, is contained within the great houſe, and hath with the ſame outward ſociety of the ſacraments and miniſtry of the word, many things are ſpoken of that univerſal church (which St. Auguſtine calleth the mingled church) which cannot truly be underſtood, but only of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree to the ſame, but by reaſon of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and ſynagogue of Satan. And there is alſo a third taking of the church; of which although there be ſeldom mention in the ſcriptures, in that ſignification, yet in the world, even in the moſt famous aſſemblies of Chriſtendom, this church hath borne the greateſt ſway. This diſtinction preſuppoſed of the three ſorts of churches, it is an eaſy matter, by a figure called Syncedoche, to give to the mingled and univerſal church that which cannot be truly underſtood, but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will ſtiffly affirm, that Univerſal doth ſo pertain unto the church, that whatſoever Chriſt hath promiſed to the church, it muſt needs be underſtood of that, I would gladly know of the ſame man where that univerſal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moſes, (at ſuch time as the people would have ſtoned him) of Elias, of Jeremiah, in the times of Chriſt, and the diſperſion of the apoſtles, in the time of Arius, when Conſtantius was emperor, and Felix, biſhop of Rome, ſucceeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra writeth upon Matthew; The church (ſaith he) doth not ſtand in men by reaſon of their power or dignity, whether it be eccleſiaſtical or ſecular. For princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church conſiſteth in thoſe perſons, in whom is true knowledge and confeſſion of the faith, and of the truth.

Objection 8. General councils repreſent the univerſal church, and have this promiſe of Chriſt; Where two or three be gathered together in my name; there am I in the midſt of them. If Chriſt be preſent with two or three, then much more where there is ſo great a multitude, &c. But in general councils maſs hath been approved and uſed.

Ridley. Of the univerſal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think; Whenſoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the ſame, and to whom the whole myſtical body of Chriſt doth obey, are the lively members of Chriſt, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock to everlaſting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of ſuch guides and paſtors of the chriſtian flock, do indeed repreſent the chriſtian church; and being ſo gathered in the name of Chriſt, they have a promiſe of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any ſuch council hath at any time allowed the maſs, ſuch an one as ours was of late, in a ſtrange tongue, and ſtuffed with ſo many abſurdities, errors, and ſuperſtitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impoſſible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkneſs, betwixt Chriſt and Belial; ſo ſurely ſuperſtition and the ſincere religion of Chriſt, will-worſhip and the pure worſhipping of God, ſuch as God requireth of his, that is, in ſpirit and truth, never can agree together. But you will ſay, where ſo great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there are two or three gathered in the name of Chriſt. I anſwer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, (for as much as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices) what can the leſs number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better.

Objection 9. If the matter ſhould go thus, that in general councils men ſhould not ſtand to the greater number of the multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices) then ſhould no certain rule be left unto the church, by which controverſies in weighty matters might be determined; but it is not to be believed, that Chriſt would leave his church deſtitute of ſo neceſſary a help and ſafeguard.

Ridley. Chriſt, who is the moſt loving ſpouſe of his church, who alſo gave himſelf for it, that he might ſanctify it unto himſelf, did give unto it abundantly all things which are neceſſary to ſalvation; but yet ſo, that the church ſhould declare itſelf obedient unto him in all things, and keep itſelf within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to ſeek any thing which he teacheth not, as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Now further, for determination of all controverſies in Chriſt's religion, Chriſt himſelf hath left unto the church not only Moſes and the prophets, whom he willeth in all doubts to go unto, and aſk counſel at, but alſo the goſpels, and the reſt of the body of the New Teſtament; in which whatſoever is heard of Moſes and the prophets, and whatſoever is neceſſary to be known unto ſalvation, is revealed and opened.

Objection 10. If you ſay that councils have ſometimes erred, or may err, how then ſhould we believe the catholic church? ſince councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church.

Ridley. From may be, to be indeed, is no good argument: But from being, to may be, no man doubteth but it is a moſt ſure argument. But now that councils have ſometimes erred, it is manifeſt. How many councils were there in the eaſtern parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council? and all thoſe who would not forſake the ſame, they called by a ſlanderous name (as they thought) Homouſians. Was not Athanaſius, Chryſoſtom, Cyril, Euſtachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, baniſhed and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and inſtitutions of the councils, which the papiſts themſelves do much diſlike? But here peradventure one man will ſay unto me, We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of ſome one nation, that they may ſometimes err, forſomuch as they do not repreſent the univerſal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time. Here if I had my books of the councils, or rather ſuch notes as I have gathered out of thoſe books, I could bring ſomething which ſhould ſerve for this purpoſe. But now ſeeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Auſtin, which, in my judgment, may ſuffice in this matter inſtead of many. Who knoweth not (ſaith he) that the holy ſcripture is ſo ſet before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of biſhops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils, and that the councils themſelves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when as by ſome experience of things, either what was ſhut up, is opened, or that which was hid, is known. Thus much out of St. Auſtin. But I will plead upon our Antonian, upon matter confeſſed. Here with us as when popery reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called, The biſhop's book, made in the time of king Henry the eighth, whereof the biſhop of Wincheſter is thought to be either the firſt father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I ſay) ſharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, and that with the conſent of the emperor of Conſtantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in thoſe days our learned ancient fathers and biſhops of England did not ſtick to affirm, that a general council might err.

Objection 11. St. Auſtin ſaith, the good men are not to be forſaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good. You will not ſay (I ſuppoſe) that in our congregations all be evil.

Ridley. I ſpeak nothing of the goodneſs or badneſs of your congregations; but I fight in Chriſt's quarrel againſt the maſs, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Chriſt. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition wall that made the ſtrife ſhall be broken down. Now to the place of St. Auſtin, for bearing with the evil for the good's ſake, there ought to be added other words, which the ſame writer hath expreſſed in other places; that is, if thoſe evil men do caſt abroad no ſeeds of falſe doctrine, nor lead others to deſtruction by their example.

Objection 12. It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto which the examples of the prophets, of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles, are contrary? But unto this your fact, in abſtaining from the church by reaſon of the maſs, the examples of the prophets, of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles, are clean contrary: therefore, &c. The firſt part of the argument is evident, and the ſecond part I prove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Chriſt, and his apoſtles, all things were moſt corrupt. The people were miſerably given to ſuperſtition, the prieſts deſpiſed the law of God; and yet notwithſtanding we read not that the prophets made any ſchiſms or diviſions; and Chriſt himſelf frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, Paul after the reading of the law, being deſired to ſay ſomething to the people, did not refuſe to do it. Yea further, no man can ſhew, that either the prophets, or Chriſt, or his apoſtles, did refuſe to pray together with others, to ſacrifice, or to be partakers of the ſacrament of Moſes' law.

Ridley. I grant the former part of your argument; and to the ſecond part I ſay, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt ſtate in the times of the prophets, of Chriſt, and the apoſtles; and of the temple being frequented by Chriſt and his apoſtles; yet notwithſtanding the ſecond part of your argument is not ſufficiently proved. For you ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Chriſt or his apoſtles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worſhipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apoſtles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars? For what cauſe, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people ſo much, as for their falſe worſhipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was ſo much as that was? Whereſore the falſe prophets ceaſed not to accuſe the true prophets of God: therefore they beat them, they baniſhed them, &c. How elſe, I pray you, can you underſtand what St. Paul alledgeth, when he ſaith, What concord hath Chriſt with Belial? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? Or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himſelf hath ſaid: I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves from them (ſaith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and be a Father unto you, and you ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord God Almighty.

Objection 13. Seeing you are obſtinately ſet againſt the maſs, that you affirm, becauſe it is done in tongue not underſtood of the people, and for other cauſes, I cannot tell what; therefore is it not the true ſacrament ordained of Chriſt? Is our baptiſm, which we do uſe in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptiſm of Chriſt, or no? If it be, then the ſtrange tongue doth not hurt the maſs. If it be not the baptiſm of Chriſt, tell me how you were baptized. Or whether will you, (as the anabaptiſts do) that all which were baptized in Latin, ſhould be baptized again in the Engliſh tongue?

Ridley. Although I would wiſh baptiſm to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's ſake, which are preſent, that they may the better underſtand their own profeſſion, and alſo be more able to teach their children the ſame, yet notwithſtanding there is not like neceſſity of the vulgar tongue in baptiſm, as in the Lord's ſupper. Baptiſm is given to children, who by reaſon of their age are not able to underſtand what is ſpoken unto them, whatſoever it be. The Lord's ſupper is, and ought to be given to them that are at years of maturity. Moreover, in baptiſm, which is accuſtomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the ſubſtantial points (as a man would ſay) which Chriſt commanded to be done, are obſerved. And therefore I judge that baptiſm to be a perfect and true baptiſm; and that it is not only not needful, but alſo not lawful for any man ſo baptized, to be chriſtened again. But yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be taught the catechiſm of the chriſtian faith, when they come to years of diſcretion; which catechiſm whoſoever deſpiſeth, or will not deſirouſly embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a chriſtian man.

Objection 14. Foraſmuch as you are ſo wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations can call you home to a better mind, you muſt be hampered by the laws, and be compelled to obey whether you will or no, or elſe to ſuffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to ſuffer. Do you not know, that whoſoever refuſeth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know this is the readieſt way to ſtir up ſedition and civil war?

Ridley. I grant it to be reaſonable, that he who by words and gentleneſs cannot be made to yield to that which is right and good, ſhould be bridled by the ſtrait correction of the laws: that is to ſay, He that will not be ſubject to God's word, muſt be puniſhed by the laws. It is true that is commonly ſaid, He that will not obey the goſpel, muſt be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law. But theſe things ought to take place againſt him, who refuſeth to do that which is right and juſt according to true godlineſs, not againſt him who cannot quietly bear ſuperſtitions, but doth hate and deteſt from his heart ſuch kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which you ſay, a tranſgreſſor of the common laws bewrayeth himſelf to be an enemy of his country, ſurely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful chriſtian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws.

But this is the readieſt way (you ſay) to ſtir up ſedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are theſe things to be repreſſed in time by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not ceaſe to practiſe his old guiles, and accuſtomed ſubtleties. He hath ever this dart in readineſs to hurl againſt his adverſaries, to accuſe them of ſedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For ſo hath he by his miniſter always charged the prophets of God. Ahab ſaid unto Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Iſrael?" The falſe prophets alſo complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were ſeditious, and not to be ſuffered: did not the ſcribes and phariſees falſely accuſe Chriſt as a ſeditious perſon, and one that ſpake againſt Cæſar's friend? Did they not, at laſt, cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæſar's friend?" The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuſe Paul before Felix the high deputy? "We have found this man, ſaith he, a peſtilent fellow, and a ſtirrer of ſedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world," &c. But, I pray you, were theſe men, as they were called, ſeditious perſons? Chriſt, Paul and the prophets? God forbid. But they were by falſe men falſely accuſed. Polycarp, the moſt conſtant martyr, when he ſtood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſwear by the fortune of Cæſar, &c. he anſwered with a mild ſpirit: We are taught (ſaith he) to give honour unto princes, and thoſe powers which be of God; but ſuch honour as is not contrary to God's religion.

Hitherto you ſee (good father) how I have in word only made as it were a flouriſh before the fight, which I ſhortly look for, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight againſt the adverſary of Chriſt, and to muſe with myſelf how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what manner I may ſmite him again with the ſword of the Spirit. I learn alſo hereby to accuſtom myſelf to armour, and to try how I can go armed. In Tindal, where I was born, not far from the borders of Scotland, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harneſs, ſuch as they had, and their ſpears in their hands, eſpecially when they had any private warning of the coming of the Scots. And ſo doing, although at every ſuch bickering ſome of them ſpent their lives, yet by ſuch means, like valiant men, they defended their country. And thoſe that ſo died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offſpring and progeny were loved by all the country the better for their father's ſake. And in the quarrel of Chriſt our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith and the chriſtian religion, wherein reſteth our everlaſting ſalvation, ſhall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed? Always looking when our adverſary (which like a roaring lion ſeeketh whom he may devour) ſhall come upon us by reaſon of our ſlothfulneſs? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppreſs us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us ſleeping. Let us awake therefore. For if the good man of the houſe knew at what hour the thief would come, he would ſurely watch, and not ſuffer his houſe to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I ſay: let us not ſuffer our houſe to be broken up. Reſiſt the devil, ſaith St. James, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore reſiſt him manfully, and taking the croſs upon our ſhoulders, let us follow our captain Chriſt, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlaſting joys. Let us follow, I ſay, whither he calleth and inviteth us, that after theſe afflictions, which laſt but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlaſtingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen, Amen.

Good Father, forſomuch as I have determined with myſelf, to pour forth theſe my cogitations into thy boſom, here, methinks, I ſee you ſuddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and ſpeaking to me, with theſe or like words, Truſt not, my ſon, (I beſeech you vouchſafe me the honor of this name; for in ſo doing I ſhall think myſelf both honoured and beloved of you); truſt not, I ſay, my ſon, to theſe word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord: "Do not imagine beforehand, what and how you will ſpeak; for it ſhall be given you in the ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak. For it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you." I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may caſt my whole care upon him, and truſt upon him in all perils. For I know, and am ſurely perſuaded, that whatſoever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, except he aſſiſt me with his Sprit when the time is. I beſeech you therefore, father, pray for me, that ſuch a complete harneſs of the Spirit, ſuch a boldneſs of mind may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith ſay with David, "I will not truſt in my bow, and it is not my ſword that ſhall ſave me. For he hath no pleaſure in the ſtrength of an horſe, &c. but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their truſt in his mercy." I beſeech you, pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is paſt, I being not overcome, through his gracious aid, may remain and ſtand faſt in him till that day of the Lord, in which to them that obtain the victory ſhall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this harneſs a little better. For you know the deepneſs of Satan, being an old ſoldier, and you have collared with him ere now: bleſſed be God, that hath ever aided you ſo well. I ſuppoſe he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be ſo willing (I think) to join with you as with us youngſters. Sir, I beſeech you, let your ſervant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it ſhall ſeem unto you beſt, let your pen run on my book: ſpare not to blot my paper: I give you good leave.

Latimer. Sir, I have cauſed my man not only to read your armour unto me, but alſo to write it out, for it is not only ſolid armour, but alſo well buckled armour. I ſee not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart fer it, and my prayers you ſhall not lack, truſting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. many things make confuſion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not beſtow much amongſt them, further than to gall them, and ſpur-gall too, when and where occaſion were given, and matter came to mind; for the law ſhall be their ſheet-anchor ſtay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy (namely, now when they have the maſter-bowl in their hand, and rule the roaſt) but patience. Better is it to ſuffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore (my good lord) be of good cheer in the Lord, with due conſideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promiſe you. Our common enemy ſhall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength, &c. Be at a point what you will ſtand unto; ſtick unto that, and let them both ſay and do what they liſt. They can but kill the body, which otherwiſe is of itſelf mortal. Neither yet ſhall they do that when they liſt, but as God will ſuffer them, when the hour appointed is come. It will be but in vain to uſe many words with them, now they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for you. But it is very requiſite that you give a reaſonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; elſe, you know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep ſilence, after the example of Chriſt. Let them not deceive you with their ſophiſtical ſophiſms and fallacies: you know that falſe things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be moſt true: therefore St. Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likelineſs of ſpeech. Neither is it requiſite that with the contentious you ſhould follow ſtrife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the ſubverſion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and oſtentation of the adverſaries. Fear of death doth moſtly perſuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that perſuaded Shaxton (as many men thought) after that he had once made a good profeſſion openly before the judgment ſeat. The fleſh is weak, but the willingneſs of the ſpirit ſhall refreſh the weakneſs of the fleſh.

The number of the criers under the altar muſt needs be fulfilled; if we be ſeparated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greateſt promotion that God giveth in this world, to be ſuch Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer, &c. But who is able to do theſe things? Surely all our ability, all our ſufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiſeth. Let us declare his obedience to his will when it ſhall be requiſite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midſt of the fire.

When that number is fulfilled, which I ſuppoſe will be ſhortly, then have at the papiſts, when they ſhall ſay, Peace, all things are ſafe, when Chriſt ſhall come to keep his great parliament to redreſs all things that are amiſs. But he ſhall not come as the papiſts feign him, to hide himſelf, and to play the bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread; but he ſhall come glorioully, to the terror and fear of all papiſts, and to the great conſolation and comfort of all that will here ſuffer for him. Comfort yourſelves and one another with theſe words.

Lo, ſir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiouſly; but ſo I thought better than not to fulfil your requeſt at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me I ſay, pray for me. For I am ſometimes ſo fearful, that I would creep into a mouſe-hole; ſometimes God doth viſit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, leſt I ſhould rob him of his due, as many do, and almoſt all the world. Fare you well.

What belief is to be given to papiſts may appear by their racking, writing, wrinching, and monſtrouſly injuring of God's holy ſcripture, as appeareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a ſchool of forgetfulneſs. Fare you well once again, and be you ſtedfaſt and unmoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellouſly well, notwithſtanding he ſaith unto him, "Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the goſpel;" and again, "Harden thyſelf to ſuffer afflictions. Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," ſaith the Lord.

This pious man employed all his leiſure time in devout meditation and writing. Several of his letters are preſerved, but our confined limits can only admit a ſelection.

In Letter I. he addreſſes Mr. Bradford and his fellow preachers; wherein he ſays, "We ſhall by God's grace one day meet together, and be merry. The day aſſuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may ſhortly come. For before that day come, I fear the world will wax worſe and worſe. But then all our enemies ſhall be trodden under foot: righteouſneſs and truth then ſhall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partakers, and all that love truly the truth."

In Letter II. to his couſin he laments the then ſuperſtitious idolatry. Letters III. IV. and V. are to Mr. Bradford and his fellow priſoners, hoping he and his company will patiently bear the croſs of Chriſt.

LETTER VI.

To the BRETHREN *remaining in* CAPTIVITY, *and diſperſed abroad in ſundry* Prisons, *but knit together in* Unity *of* Spirit *and* Holy Religion, *in the* Bowels *of the* Lord Jesus.

GRACE, peace, and mercy, be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you my brethren, namely, for the great conſolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who notwithſtanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of ſubtle means to beguile the world, and alſo buſily laboureth to reſtore and ſet up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; you remain yet ſtill immoveable, as men ſurely grounded upon a ſtrong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his ſoldiers and wicked miniſters, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, ſo that it is ſaid of him, that he plucketh the very ſtars out of heaven, while he driveth into ſome men the fear of death, and loſs of all their goods, and ſheweth to others the pleaſant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleaſures, fair houſes, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent that they ſhould fall down and worſhip, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old ſerpent, which is the devil, that great beaſt and his image, and ſhould be enticed to commit fornication with the ſtrumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the leſſer beaſt, and with the falſe prophets, and ſo to rejoice and be pleaſant with her, and to get drunk with the wine of her fornication; yet bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath ſo ſtrengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the allurements of the world, eſteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought; who hath alſo wrought, planted, and ſurely eſtabliſhed in your hearts, ſo ſtedfaſt a faith and love of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, joined with ſuch conſtancy, that by no engines of Antichriſt, be they ever ſo terrible or plauſible, you will ſuffer any other Jeſus, or any other Chriſt, to be forced upon you, beſides him whom the prophets have ſpoken of before, the apoſtles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confeſſed and teſtified with the effuſion of their blood.

In this faith ſtand you faſt, my brethren, and ſuffer not yourſelves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and ſuperſtition any more. For you know, brethren, how our Saviour warned us beforehand, that ſuch ſhould come as would point unto the world another Chriſt, and would ſet him out with ſo many falſe miracles, and with ſuch deceivable and ſubtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were poſſible) ſhould thereby be deceived: ſuch ſtrong deluſion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue you faithful and conſtant, and be of good comfort, and remember that our great captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us, is ſtronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiſeth us, that for the elect's ſake, the days of wickedneſs ſhall be ſhortened. In the mean ſeaſon abide you and endure with patience as you have begun: endure I ſay, and reſerve yourſelves unto better times, as one of the heathen poets ſaid; ceaſe not to ſhew yourſelves valiant ſoldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travelling faith of the goſpel.

You have need of patience, that after you have done the will of God you may receive the promiſes. "For yet a very little, and he that ſhall come, will come, and will not tarry; and the juſt ſhall live by faith: but if any withdraw himſelf, my ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him (ſaith the Lord). But we are not they which do withdraw ourſelves unto damnation, but believe unto the ſalvation of the ſoul." Let us not ſuffer theſe words of Chriſt to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body, the reſt you know. For I write not unto you, as men which are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth, and to this end only, that we agreeing together in one faith, may comfort one another, and be more confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby. We never had a better, or more juſt cauſe either to contemn our life, or ſhed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifeſt truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it toucheth the very ſubſtance of our whole religion, yea, even Chriſt himſelf, Shall we, or can we receive any other Chriſt inſtead of him, who is alone the everlaſting Son of the everlaſting Father, and is the brightneſs of the glory, and a lively image of the ſubſtance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulneſs of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let ſuch wickedneſs (my brethren), let ſuch horrible wickedneſs be far from us. For although there be that be called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods, and many lords, yet unto us there be but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. "This is life eternal, (ſaith St. John) that they know thee to be the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent." If any therefore would force upon us any other God, beſides him whom Paul and the apoſtles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us fly from, and hold him accurſed.

Brethren, you are not ignorant of the deep and profound ſubtilties of Satan; for he will not ceaſe to range about you, ſeeking by all means poſſible whom he may devour: but play you the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And although your enemies and the adverſaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do ſet upon you; yet be you not faint-hearted, and ſhrink not therefore, but truſt unto your captain Chriſt, truſt unto the Spirit of truth, and truſt to the truth of your cauſe; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, ſo can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praiſe be given to God therefore) moſt plainly, evidently and clearly on our ſide, all the prophets, all the apoſtles, and undoubtedly all the ancient eccleſiaſtical writers which have written, until of late years paſt.

Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourſelves in the Lord. Be in no wiſe afraid of your adverſaries; for that which is to them an occaſion of perdition, is to you a ſure token of ſalvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only you ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake. And when you are railed upon for the name of Chriſt, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Chriſt our Saviour alſo, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apoſtles, and with the holy martyrs of Chriſt, happy and bleſſed for ever: for the glory and Spirit of God reſteth upon you.

On their part our Saviour Chriſt is evil ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they elſe do unto you by perſecuting you, and working all cruelty and villainy againſt you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea beautify and multiply the ſame, and heap upon themſelves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage ever ſo fiercely againſt us, yet let us not wiſh evil unto them again, knowing that while for Chriſt's cauſe they vex and perſecute us, they are like mad men, moſt outrageous and cruel againſt themſelves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather wiſh well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Chriſt Jeſus, that we ſhould be heirs of the bleſſing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he ſhould drive out of their hearts this darkneſs of errors, and make the light of his truth to ſhine unto them, that they acknowledging their blindneſs, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and with us confeſs him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only

Son Jeſus Chriſt, worſhipping him in ſpirit and truth, Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Chriſt, Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whoſe name this bearer ſhall ſignify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

In Letter VII. he comforts his afflicted and perſecuted brethren as in Letter VI. Letter VIII. anſwers an epiſtle from Mr. Weſt, formerly his chaplain, declaring his willingneſs to die for the truth.

Mr. Grindal (afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury) being in the time of exile in the city of Francfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then priſoner, a certain epiſtle, wherein firſt he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be conſtant. Secondly, He certifieth him of the Engliſh exiles being diſperſed in Germany, and of the ſingular providence of God in ſtirring up the magiſtrates and rulers there towards them. Thirdly, He writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book againſt tranſubſtantiation, and of other treatiſes and his diſputations. Whereunto biſhop Ridley anſwered him as follows.

LETTER IX.

From Dr. RIDLEY, *in Anſwer to* Mr. GRINDAL.

BLESSED be God our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have ſuch a deſire to write unto me, and bleſſed be he again which hath heard your requeſt, and brought your letters ſafe unto my hands; and over all this I bleſs him through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the great comfort I have received by the ſame, of the knowledge of your ſtate, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in thoſe parts beyond the ſea.

Dearly beloved brother Grindal, I ſay to you and all the reſt of our brethren in Chriſt with you, rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the others my reverend fathers and fellow-priſoners (which undoubtedly are Gloria Chriſti) lament not our ſtate, but I beſeech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundleſs mercies and unſpeakable benefits, even in the midſt of all our troubles given unto us, moſt hearty thanks. For know you, that as the weight of his croſs hath increaſed upon us, ſo he hath not, nor doth he ceaſe to multiply his mercies to ſtrengthen us; and I truſt, yea by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will do ſo for Chriſt our maſter's ſake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find favour and grace in your exile, with the magiſtrates, miniſters, and citizens at Tigury, Francfort, and other places, it doth greatly comfort (I dare ſay) all here that do love Chriſt and his true word. I do aſſure you it warmed my heart, to hear you by chance name ſome, as Scory, Cox, &c. O that it had come in your mind to have ſaid ſomewhat alſo of Cheek, Turner, Leaver, Sampſon, and Chambers, but I truſt in God they be all well. And ſir, ſeeing you ſay, that there be in thoſe parts with you of ſtudents and miniſters ſo good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwiſe than to wiſh that God's glory may be ſet forth by us. For whenſoever God ſhall call us home (as we look daily for no other, but when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſay, Come) you, bleſſed be God, are enough, through his aid, to light and ſet up again the lanthorn of his word in England. As concerning the copies you ſay you have with you, I wonder how they ever did or could find the way to come to you. My diſputation, except you have that which I gathered myſelf after the diſputation was done, I cannot think you have it truly. If you have that, then you have therewithal the whole manner after which I was uſed in the diſputation.

As for the treatiſe in Engliſh againſt tranſubſtantiation, I cannot think it worth tranſlating into Latin, nor would I have you tranſlate any other of my writing, till you are certain how the Lord will diſpoſe of me. And thus muhc concerning your letters. Now although I ſuppoſe you know a good part of our condition here, (for we are forth coming, even as when you departed, &c.) you ſhall underſtand that I was in the Tower about the ſpace of two months cloſe priſoner, and after that had granted to me, without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and ſo continued about half a year; and then, becauſe I refuſed to allow the maſs with my preſence, I was ſhut up in priſon again.

The laſt Lent ſave one, it chanced by reaſon of the tumult ſtirred up in Kent, there were ſo many priſoners in the Tower, that my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Bradford, and I, were put all together in one priſon, where we remained until almoſt Eaſter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I, were ſuddenly ſent a little before Eaſter, and were ſuffered to have nothing with us, but what we carried upon us. About the Whitſuntide following were our diſputations at Oxford, after which all was taken from us, as pen, ink, &c. Our own ſervants were taken from us before, and every one had a ſtrange man put to him, and each of us were appointed to be kept in ſeparate places, as we are unto this day.

Bleſſed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We expected long ago to have been diſpatched, for we were all three on one day condemned as heretics by Dr. Weſton, (he being the head commiſſioner) within a day or two of our diſputations, and ever ſince we remain here as we were by him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I doubt not but by his grace it ſhall be to his glory, and our eternal ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

Likewiſe the Lord hath hitherto preſerved, above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Chriſt's cauſe a ſtrong champion, John Bradford. He is alſo condemned, and is already delivered to the ſecular power, and writs (as we have heard ſay) given out for his execution, and called in again.

Thus the Lord, ſo long as his bleſſed pleaſure is, preſerveth whom he liſteth, notwithſtanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear ſay) have valiantly ſuffered, confeſſing Chriſt's truth, and nothing yielding to the adverſary, no, not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now ſuffered, are theſe; Farrar, biſhop of St. David's; Hooper, biſhop of Worceſter; Roger, your fellow-prebend; Dr. Taylor, of Hadley; Mr. Sanders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now this laſt day, Mr. Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield, in London, and many others in Eſſex and Kent, whoſe names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

Weſt, your old companion, and ſometime my officer, (alas!) hath relented, (as I have heard) but the Lord hath ſhortened his days, for ſoon after he died, and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and caſt into the Marſhalſea, but now is at liberty again; but I fear he eſcaped not without bowing his knee to Baal.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head, in Cheap, which was to me the moſt faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed alſo unto God. My brother Shipſide, that married my ſiſter, hath been almoſt half a year in priſon, for delivering (as he was accuſed) of certain things from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but ſo that the biſhop hath taken from him his park.

Of all us three priſoners in Oxford, I am kept moſt ſtrict, and with leaſt liberty; either becauſe the man in whoſe houſe I am a priſoner is governed by his wife, who is a moroſe, ſuperſtitious old woman, and thinks ſhe ſhall merit by having me very cloſely confined; for the man himſelf, whoſe name is Iriſh, is civil enough to all, but too much ruled by his wife. Though I never had a wife, yet from this daily uſage I begin to underſtand how great and intolerable a burthen it is to have a bad one. The wiſe man ſays rightly, A good wife is the gift of God: and again, Bleſſed is the man who hath a good wife. Or elſe I ſay the reaſon is, (for I know not from which) that he is ſo commanded from the higher powers, which is what he pleads, when I complain of my hard uſage.

At Cambridge, (as I hear ſay) all the reformations of ſtudents and ſtatutes which were lately made, are now undone; and all things are reduced to their ancient confuſion and popiſh ſuperſtition. All the heads of colleges who preached the ſincere word of God, or favoured it, are turned out, and others of the popiſh faction put in their places; inſomuch that I hear no one can be admitted a fellow of a college, that will not bow the knee to Baal. Nor do I wonder, ſince it is ſo throughout the whole realm of England, among archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, and the whole body of the clergy. And to tell you much naughty matter in few words, Popery every where reigns among us in its full and ancient force.

The Lord be merciful, and for Chriſt's ſake pardon us our old unkindneſs and unthankfulneſs: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favours, alas! we did not ſerve him, nor render thanks unto him according to the ſame. We paſtors, many of us were too cold, and bore too much with the wicked world: our magiſtrates did abuſe, to their own worldly gain, both God's goſpel and the miniſters of the ſame. The people in many places were unruly and unkind. Thus of every ſide and of every ſort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but bleſſed may he be that hath not ſuffered his to continue in thoſe ways which ſo wholly have diſpleaſed his ſacred majeſty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's croſs, unto his glory and our endleſs ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know) and by God's grace ſhall be ſo long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, becauſe you will rather forſake all worldly things, than the truth of God's word. It is even the ſame that I uſe to make to God for all thoſe churches abroad through the world, which have forſaken the kingdom of Antichriſt, and profeſſed openly the purity of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, will daily increaſe in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true ſetting forth of his glory and of his goſpel, and make you agree brotherly in the truth of the ſame, that there ariſe no root of bitterneſs among you, that may affect that good ſeed which God hath ſown in your hearts already, and finally that your life may be ſo pure and ſo honeſt, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the goſpel of Chriſt our Saviour, that the honeſty and purity of the ſame may provoke all that ſhall ſee or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for honeſty and virtue's ſake, and ſo both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and alſo in the godly virtue of your honeſt life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

Several of our magiſtrates, viz. the chancellor of Wincheſter, earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, are ambaſſadors with cardinal Poole, beyond the ſeas, to make peace (as it is ſaid) between the emperor, our realm, and the king of France. After whoſe return, and the delivery of the queen, which we daily expect, and have long expected, and which God, for the glory of his name, grant to be a ſafe and happy one, then ſhall we expect from the old enemy of our profeſſion, ſoon to receive triumphant crowns in the Lord.

I humbly with my whole heart commend me to all your prayers, and firſt to your's, O moſt dear brother in Chriſt, and my moſt beloved Grindal, to your's moſt dear, and together with my beloved in the Lord, Cheek, Cox, Turner, Lever, Sampſon, Chambers, and all our brethren and fellow-countrymen who live amongſt you, and love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in truth. I commend alſo to you the reverend fathers in God, and my fellow captives in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, moſt worthy of the name of a true great paſtor and archbiſhop; and that old ſoldier of Chriſt, and true apoſtle of our Engliſh nation, Hugh Latimer. I here give myſelf the greater length in this letter, moſt dear brother, becauſe after this I am perſuaded they will be too ſhort to trouble you.

Oxford.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER X.

From Dr. RIDLEY *to* AUGUSTINE BERNHER.

BROTHER AUGUSTINE, I bleſs God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Chriſt, eſpecially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleaſeth him to ſet forth firſt, no doubt out of his gracious goodneſs and fatherly favour towards him. And likewiſe bleſſed be God in the reſt, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleaſed the Lord to ſet in the fore-front of the battle againſt his adverſaries, and hath endued them all (ſo far as I can hear) to ſtand in the confeſſion of his truth, and to be content in his cauſe and for his goſpel's ſake to loſe their lives. And evermore and without end, bleſſed be even the ſame our heavenly Father, for our dear and intirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for; for I believe he will no longer vouchſafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he (for thoſe gifts of grace which the Lord hath beſtowed on him plenteouſly) hath helped thoſe which have gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated them to keep the highway, and ſo to run, that at length they may receive the reward. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had ſuch a one in my houſe. And yet again I bleſs God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr Rogers, that he was alſo one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher in London. And now becauſe Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will beſtow him) I truſt to God it ſhall pleaſe him of his goodneſs to ſtrengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to ſuffer for Chriſt whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witneſs unto, Paul and all the apoſtles preached. Thus fare you well, I had no paper, I was conſtrained thus to write.

N. RIDLEY.

The LIFE *of* BISHOP LATIMER, *a famous* PREACHER *and worthy* MARTYR *of* CHRIST.

NOW conſequently after the life of biſhop Ridley, followeth the life of that valiant champion, and old diſciplined ſoldier of Chriſt, biſhop Hugh Latimer, who was the ſon of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkeſſon, in the county of Leiceſter, a huſbandman in good repute, with whom he was brought up till he was about four years old: at which time his parents, (having him as then left for their only ſon, with ſix daughters) ſeeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and ſharp wit, purpoſed to train him up in erudition and knowledge of good literature; wherein he ſo profited in the common ſchools of his own country, that at fourteen years of age he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge: where, after ſome continuance in the exerciſe of other things, he gave himſelf up to the ſtudy of ſuch ſchool divinity, as the ignorance of that age would ſuffer.

Zealous he was then in the popiſh religion, and therewith ſo ſcrupulous, as himſelf confeſſed, that being a prieſt, and uſing to ſay maſs, he was ſo ſervile an obſerver of the Romiſh decrees, that he thought he had never ſufficiently mingled his maſſing wine with water; and moreover, that he ſhould never be damned, if he were once a profeſſed friar, with divers of ſuch ſuperſtitious fantaſies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the profeſſors of Chriſt's goſpel; as both his oration made, when he commenced bachelor of divinity, againſt Melancthon, and alſo his other works did plainly declare. But eſpecially in thoſe days his popiſh zeal could in no caſe abide good Mr. Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge, moſt ſpitefully railing againſt him, and perſuading the youth of Cambridge in nowiſe to believe him.

Notwithſtanding, ſuch was the goodneſs and merciful purpoſe of God, that when he ſaw his good time, by which he thought utterly to have defaced the profeſſors of the goſpel, and true church of Chriſt, he was at length himſelf by a member of the ſame prettily caught in the bleſſed net of God's word. For Mr. Thomas Bilney being at that time a trier out of Satan's ſubtilties, and a ſecret overthrower of Antichriſt's kingdom, ſeeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal in his way, (although not according to knowledge) was ſtricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and began to conſider by what means he might win this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Chriſt. Wherefore, after a ſhort time, he came to Mr. Latimer's ſtudy, and deſired him to hear him make his confeſſion, which he willingly did; and by hearing thereof, he was, by the good Spirit of God, ſo touched that thereupon he forſook the ſtudy of the ſchool-doctors, and other ſuch fopperies, and became an earneſt ſtudent in true divinity, as he himſelf, as well in his conference with biſhop Ridley, as alſo in his firſt ſermon made upon the Pater-Noſter, doth confeſs. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almoſt a perſecutor of Chriſt, he was now a zealous ſeeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Mr. Bilney and others, and came alſo to Mr. Stafford before he died, and deſired him to forgive him.

After his own converſion, he was not ſatisfied without endeavouring that of others, and like a true diſciple of the bleſſed Samaritan, pitied the miſery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and alſo a private inſtructor to the reſt of his brethren within the univerſity, by the ſpace of three years, ſpending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongſt the ſimple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never ſleepeth when he ſeeth his kingdom begin to decay, ſo likewiſe now, ſeeing that this worthy member of Chriſt would be a terrible ſhaker thereof, he raiſed up his impious imps to moleſt and trouble him.

Amongſt theſe there was an Auguſtine friar, who took occaſion upon certain ſermons that Mr. Latimer made about Chriſtmas, 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as alſo in St. Auguſtine's, within the univerſity of Cambridge, to inveigh againſt him, for that Mr. Latimer in the ſaid ſermons (alluding to the common uſage of the ſeaſon) gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always elſe occupy their time. For the chief triumph in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing they ſhould ſerve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtherance of God's holy word and ſacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wiſhed the ſcriptures to be in Engliſh, whereby the common people might the better learn their duty, as well to God as to their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was ſo apt for the time, and ſo pleaſantly applied by him, that it not only declared the wit and dexterity of the preacher, but alſo wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popiſh ſuperſtition, and ſetting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Chriſtmas day; on which day coming to the church, and cauſing the bell to be tolled to a ſermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the goſpel aforeſaid, read in the church that day, "Who art thou?" &c. In delivering which cards (as is aforeſaid) he made the heart to be Triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to ſerve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praiſe of that Triumph, that though it were ever ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt court card beſide in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of heart and verity, wherein conſiſteth true chriſtian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering ſhew of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of ſupererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's ſupremacy, &c. ſo that all theſe either were needleſs, where the other is preſent; or elſe were of ſmall eſtimation, in compariſon of the other. The tenor and effect of theſe his ſermons, ſo far as they could come to our hands, here followeth.

The Tenor *and* Effect *of certain* SERMONS, *made by* Mr. LATIMER *in* CAMBRIDGE, *about the Year of our Lord* 1529.

TU quis es? Which words are as much as to ſay in Engliſh, "Who art thou?" Theſe be the words of the Phariſees, which were ſent by the Jews unto St. John Baptiſt in the wilderneſs, to have knowledge of him who he was; which words they ſpake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Chriſt, and ſo they would have had him done by their good wills, becauſe they knew that he was more carnal and given to their laws, than Chriſt indeed ſhould be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and alſo, becauſe they marvelled much at his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Chriſt or not: wherefore they ſaid unto him, "Who art thou? Then anſwered St. John, and confeſſed that he was not Chriſt. Now here is to be noted the great and prudent anſwer of St. John Baptiſt unto the Phariſees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly anſwer of himſelf, what he was himſelf; but he ſaid he was not Chriſt, by which ſaying he thought to put the Jews and Phariſees out of their falſe opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exerciſe the office of Chriſt, and ſo declared further unto them of Chriſt, ſaying, "He is in the midſt of you and amongſt you, whom ye know not, the latchet of whoſe ſhoe I am not worthy to unlooſe." By this you may perceive that St. John ſpake much in the praiſe of his maſter Chriſt, profeſſing himſelf to be in no wiſe like unto him. So likewiſe it ſhall be neceſſary unto all men and women of this world, not to aſcribe unto themſelves any goodneſs of themſelves, but all unto our Lord God, as ſhall appear hereafter, when this queſtion aforeſaid [Who art thou?] ſhall be moved unto them: not as the Phariſees did unto St. John, of an evil purpoſe, but of a good and ſimple mind as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and ſimple mind, contrary to the Phariſees' intent, aſk this queſtion, Who art thou? This queſtion muſt be moved to themſelves, what they be of themſelves, on this faſhion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou cameſt into the world? What ſubſtance, what virtue, what goodneſs art thou of thyſelf? Which queſtion if thou rehearſe oftentimes to thyſelf, thou ſhalt well perceive and underſtand, how thou ſhalt make anſwer to it: which muſt be made in this wiſe; I am of myſelf, and by myſelf, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the anger and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of ſin, and working nothing of myſelf, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of myſelf. Now we may ſee in what ſtate we enter into this world, that we be of ourſelves the true and juſt inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Chriſt, working all towards hell, whereby we deſerve of ourſelves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourſelves: which unthrifty ſtate that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deſerts, as proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might pleaſe the king's grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of ſimple degree and birth, not born to any poſſeſſion; whom the king's grace favoureth, not becauſe this perſon hath of himſelf deſerved any ſuch favour, but that the king caſteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and becauſe the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this ſaid man a thouſand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he ſhall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the cuſtody of the ſame, againſt the Frenchmen eſpecially above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promiſing this fidelity thereunto; it chanceth in proceſs of time, that by the ſingular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, theſe Frenchmen give unto the ſaid captain of Calais a great ſum of money, ſo that he will be but content and agreeable, that they may enter into the ſaid town of Calais by force of arms, and ſo thereby poſſeſs the ſame unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the ſaid town of Calais, only by the negligence of this captain.

Now the king's grace hearing of this invaſion, cometh with a great puiſſance to defend this his ſaid town, and ſo by the good policy of war overcometh the ſaid Frenchmen, and entereth again into his ſaid town of Calais. Then he being deſirous to know how theſe enemies of his came thither, he maketh ſtrict ſearch and inquiry by whom this treaſon was conſpired; by this ſearch it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, ſeeing the great infidelity of this perſon, diſchargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thouſand pounds poſſeſſions. Think you not that the king doth uſe juſtice unto him, and all his poſterity and heirs? Yes truly; the ſaid captain cannot deny himſelf but that he had true juſtice, conſidering how unfaithfully he behaved himſelf to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promiſe: ſo likewiſe it was of our firſt father Adam. He had given unto him the ſpirit and ſcience of knowledge, to work all goodneſs therewith; this ſaid ſpirit was not given only to him, but unto all his heirs and poſterity. He had alſo delivered him the town of Calais, that is to ſay, paradiſe in earth, the moſt ſtrong and faireſt town in the world, to be in his cuſtody: he nevertheleſs, by the inſtigation of theſe Frenchmen, that is, the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their deſire, and ſo he broke his promiſe and fidelity, the commandment of the everlaſting King his maſter, in eating of the apple by him prohibited.

Now then, the king ſeeing this great treaſon in his captain, diſpoſſeſſed him of the thouſand pounds of lands, that is to ſay, from everlaſting life and glory, and all his heirs and poſterity: for likewiſe as he had the ſpirit of ſcience and knowledge for him and his heirs; ſo in like manner when he loſt the ſame, his heirs alſo loſt it by him, and in him. So now this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlaſting joy; and by him, and in him again we loſt the ſame.

The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim aſk of the king the right and title of their father in the thouſand pounds poſſeſſions, by reaſon the king might anſwer and ſay unto them, that although their father deſerved not of himſelf to enjoy ſo great poſſeſſions, yet he deſerved by himſelf to loſe them, and greater, committing ſo high treaſon as he did, againſt his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to loſe his title, but was unworthy to have the ſame, and had therein true juſtice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had juſtice to loſe his poſſeſſions, you have wrong to loſe the ſame. In the ſame manner it may be anſwered unto all men and women now in being, that if our father Adam had true juſtice to be excluded from his poſſeſſions of everlaſting glory in paradiſe, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in loſing alſo the ſame; yea, we have true juſtice and right. Then in what miſerable eſtate we be, that of the right and juſt title of our own deſerts have loſt the everlaſting joy and claim of ourſelves, to be true inheritors of hell? For he that committeth deadly ſin willingly, bindeth himſelf to be an inheritor of everlaſting pain: and ſo did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was caſt out of the everlaſting joy in paradiſe, into this corrupt world amongſt all vileneſs, whereby of himſelf he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleaſant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beaſtly appetites, transformed into the uncleaneſt and moſt variable nature that was made under heaven, of whoſe ſeed and diſpoſition all the world is lineally deſcended; inſomuch that this evil nature is ſo much diffuſed and ſhed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themſelves waſh away this abominable vileneſs: and ſo we muſt needs grant of ourſelves to be in like diſpleaſure unto God, as our father Adam was; by reaſon hereof, as I ſaid, we be of ourſelves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the anſwer to this queſtion, made to every man and woman by themſelves, Who art thou?

And now the world ſtanding in this damnable ſtate, cometh in the occaſion of the incarnation of Chriſt; the Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himſelf and of himſelf could do nothing for himſelf, by his prudent wiſdom ſent down the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to declare unto man his pleaſure and commandment: and ſo at the Father's will Chriſt took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miſerable way, and was content to ſuffer cruel paſſion in ſhedding his blood for all mankind, and ſo left behind for our ſafeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlaſting life, as the goſpels, the ſacraments, the commandments, &c. which if we do keep and obſerve according to our profeſſion, we ſhall anſwer better unto this queſtion, [Who art thou?] than we did before: for before thou didſt enter into the ſacrament of baptiſm, thou wert but a natural man or a natural woman; as I might ſay, a man, a woman; but after thou takeſt on thee Chriſt's religion, thou haſt a longer name; for then thou art a chriſtian man, a chriſtian woman. Now then, ſeeing thou art a chriſtian man, what ſhall be the anſwer of this queſtion, Who art thou?

The anſwer of this queſtion is, when I aſk it unto myſelf, I muſt ſay that I am a chriſtian man, a chriſtian woman, the child of everlaſting joy, through the merits of the bitter paſſion of Chriſt. This is a joyful anſwer. Here we may ſee how much we be bound, and indebted unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and ſaved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well conſider, unleſs we do remember what we were of ourſelves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and ſet leſs by it, the more we ſhall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the leſs we ſhall ſet by ourſelves, and the more we ſhall love and pleaſe God; ſo that in no condition we ſhall either know ourſelves or God, except we do utterly confeſs ourſelves to be mere vileneſs and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be chriſtian men, chriſtian women, I pray you, what doth Chriſt require of a chriſtian man, or of a chriſtian woman? Chriſt requireth nothing elſe of a chriſtian man or woman, but that they will obſerve his rule. For likewiſe as he is a good Auguſtine friar that keepeth well St. Auguſtine's rule, ſo is he a good chriſtian man that keepeth well Chriſt's rule.

Now then what is Chriſt's rule? Chriſt's rule conſiſteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and ſo forth. And becauſe I cannot declare Chriſt's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myſelf according to your cuſtom at this time of Chriſtmas; I will, as I ſaid, declare unto you Chriſt's rule, but that ſhall be in Chriſt's cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Chriſtmas in playing at cards, I intend by God's grace to deal unto you Chriſt's cards, wherein you ſhall perceive Chriſt's rule. The game that we will play at, ſhall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth ſhall win; the players ſhall likewiſe win, and the ſtanders by and lookers on ſhall do the ſame; inſomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with theſe cards, but they ſhall be all winners and no loſers.

Let therefore every chriſtian man and woman play at theſe cards, that they may have and obtain the Triumph; you muſt mark alſo that the Triumph muſt apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatſoever ſuit they be of. Now then take you this firſt card which muſt appear and be ſhewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was ſpoken to men of the old law, Thou ſhalt not kill; whoſoever ſhall kill, ſhall be in danger of judgment. But I ſay unto you of the new law, ſaith Chriſt, that whoſoever is angry with his neighbour, ſhall be in danger of judgment, and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour Racha, that is to ſay, Brainleſs, or any other like word of rebuking, ſhall be in danger of a council; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and ſpoken by Chriſt, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

Now it muſt be noted, that whoſoever ſhall play with this card, muſt firſt, before they play with it, know the ſtrength and virtue of the ſame; wherefore you muſt well note and mark terms how they be ſpoken, and to what purpoſe: let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and ſee, this card is divided into four parts: The firſt part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moſes in the old law, before the coming of Chriſt, which commandment we of the new law are bound to obſerve and keep, and is one of our commandments. The other three parts ſpoken by Chriſt, be nothing elſe but expoſitions to the firſt part of this commandment: for in very effect of all theſe four parts be but one commandment, that is to ſay, "Thou ſhalt not kill." Yet nevertheleſs, the three laſt parts do ſhew unto thee how many ways thou mayſt kill thy neighbour, contrary to this commandment: yet for all Chriſt's expoſition, in the three laſt parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that doſt read and hear them ſpoken. No doubt the Jews underſtood Chriſt well enough when he ſpoke to them the three laſt ſentences, for he ſpake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore ſeeing that theſe terms were natural terms of the Jews, it ſhall be neceſſary to expound them, and compare them unto ſome like terms of our natural ſpeech, that we in like manner may underſtand Chriſt as well as the Jews did. We will begin with the firſt part of this card, and then after with the other three parts: you muſt therefore underſtand that the Jews and the Phariſees of the old law, to whom this firſt part, this commandment, "Thou ſhalt not kill," was ſpoken, thought it ſufficient and enough for their diſcharge not to kill with any material weapon, as ſword, dagger, or with any ſuch weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatſoever they ſaid or did by their neighbour, ſo that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies, which was a falſe opinion in them, as prove well the three laſt other ſentences following the firſt part of this card.

Now as concerning the three other ſentences, you muſt note and take heed what difference is between theſe three manner of offences: 1. To be angry with your neighbour. 2. To call your neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word of diſdain. 3. Or to call your neighbour fool: whether theſe three manner of offences be of themſelves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themſelves divers offences, ſo they kill diverſly one more than the other, as you ſhall perceive by the firſt of theſe three, and ſo forth: A man which conceiveth againſt his neighbour or brother, anger or wrath in his mind, by ſome manner of occaſion given unto him, and although he be angry in his mind againſt his ſaid neighbour, he will peradventure expreſs his anger by no manner of ſign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheleſs he offendeth againſt God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own ſoul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

Now to the ſecond part of theſe three: That man that is moved with anger againſt his neighbour, and in his anger calleth his neighbour brainleſs, or ſome other like word of diſpleaſure; as a man might ſay in a fury, I ſhall handle thee well enough, which words and countenances do more repreſent and declare anger to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and ſpake no manner of word, nor ſhewed any countenance to declare his anger: wherefore as he that ſo declareth his anger either by word or countenance, offendeth more againſt God, ſo he both killeth his own ſoul, and doth what in him is to kill his neighbour's ſoul in moving him to anger, wherein he is faulty himſelf, and ſo this man is in danger of a council.

Now to the third offence, and laſt of the three: That man that called his neighbour fool, doth more declare his angry mind towards him, than he that calleth his neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word moving anger; but to call a man a fool, that word repreſenteth more envy in a man, than brainleſs doth. Wherefore he doth moſt offend, becauſe he doth moſt earneſtly with ſuch words expreſs his anger, and ſo he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you muſt underſtand now theſe three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the ſoul of the man than the other.

Now peradventure there will be ſome that will marvel that Chriſt did not declare this commandment by ſome greater fault of anger, than by theſe which ſeem but ſmall faults, as to be angry and ſpeak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man brainleſs, and to call his neighbour fool: truly theſe be the ſmalleſt, and the leaſt faults that belong to anger, or to killing in anger. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of anger: ſeeing that the ſmalleſt be damnable to offend in, ſee that you offend not in the greateſt. For Chriſt thought, if he might bring you from the ſmalleſt manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the leaſt, he reckoned you would not offend in the greateſt and worſt, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreſon, whore, drab, &c. into more blaſphemous names, which offences muſt needs have puniſhment in hell, conſidering how that Chriſt hath appointed theſe three ſmall faults, to have three degrees of puniſhment in hell, as appeareth by theſe three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire; theſe three terms do ſignify nothing elſe but three divers puniſhments in hell, according to the offences. Judgment is leſs in degree than council, therefore it ſignifieth a leſſer pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth expreſs his malice neither by word nor countenance. Council is a leſs degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainleſs, or any ſuch word that declareth his anger and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour fool, by reaſon that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earneſt word of anger. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it, that is, the moſt pain of the three puniſhments.

Now you have heard, that to theſe divers offences of ire and killing, puniſhments are appointed according to their degrees: for obſerve, as the offence is, ſo ſhall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain ſhall be accordingly: if it be leſs, there ſhall be leſs pain for it. I would not now that you ſhould think becauſe that here are but three degrees of puniſhment ſpoke of, that there be no more in hell: no doubt Chriſt ſpake of no more here but of theſe three degrees of puniſhment, thinking they were ſufficient enough for example, whereby we might underſtand, that there are as many pains as there are offences: and ſo by theſe three offences, and theſe three puniſhments, all other offences and puniſhments may be compared with each other: yet I would ſatisfy your minds farther in theſe three terms, judgment, council and hell-fire. Where you might ſay, what was the cauſe that Chriſt declared more the pains of hell by theſe terms than by any other terms? I told you before that he knew well to whom he ſpake them; theſe terms were natural, and well known among the Jews and the Phariſees. Wherefore Chriſt taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might underſtand the better his doctrine; and theſe terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and uſual amongſt us, that is to ſay, the ſeſſions of inquirance, the ſeſſions of deliverance, and the execution day: ſeſſions of inquirance is like unto judgment; for when ſeſſions of inquiry is, then the judges cauſe twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he ſhall be judged to be indicted: ſeſſions of deliverance is much like council; for at ſeſſions of deliverance the judges go among themſelves to council, to determine ſentence againſt the felon. Execution day is to be compared to hell-fire: for the Jews had a place of execution amongſt themſelves named Hell-fire: and ſurely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greateſt pain in this world: wherefore you may ſee that there are degrees in theſe our terms, as there be in thoſe terms. The evil diſpoſed affections and ſenſualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our ſalvation. What ſhall we do now or imagine to thruſt down theſe Turks, and to ſubdue them? It is a great ignominy and ſhame for a chriſtian man to be bound and ſubject to a Turk: nay, it ſhall not be ſo, we will firſt caſt a trump in their way, and play with them at cards who ſhall have the better; let us play therefore on this card. Whenſoever it ſhall happen theſe foul paſſions and Turks to riſe in our ſtomachs againſt our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary to our mind, ſtraightways let us call unto our remembrance, and ſpeak this queſtion unto ourſelves, Who art thou? The anſwer is, I am a chriſtian man. Then further we muſt ſay to ourſelves, What requireth Chriſt of a chriſtian man? Now turn up your trump, your heart, (heart is trump, as I ſaid before) and caſt your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you ſhall learn what Chriſt requireth of a chriſtian man, not to be angry, nor moved to ire againſt his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor otherwiſe by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together; that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play: but, alas, for pity, the Rhodes are won and overcome by the falſe Turks, and ſtrong caſtle faith is decayed, ſo that I fear it is almoſt impoſſible to win it again.

The great occaſion of the loſs of this Rhodes is, by reaſon that chriſtian men do ſo daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Chriſtians is decayed: which murder and killing one of another is increaſed, eſpecially two ways, to the utter undoing of Chriſtendom, that is to ſay, by example and ſilence. By example thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the maſter, the dame, be themſelves overcome with theſe Turks, they be continual ſwearers, adulterers, diſpoſers to malice, never in patience, and ſo forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the maſter, the dame, be diſpoſed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and ſervants ſhall incline and be diſpoſed to the ſame? No doubt as the child ſhall take diſpoſition natural of his father and mother, ſo ſhall the ſervants apply unto the vices of their maſters and dames; if the heads be falſe in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, ſervants, and apprentices do join therein. This is a great and ſhameful manner of killing chriſtian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the maſters, and the dames, ſhall not only kill themſelves, but all their's, and all that belongeth unto them, and ſo this way is a great number of chriſtian lineage murdered and ſpoiled. The ſecond manner of killing is ſilence. By ſilence alſo is a great number of chriſtian men ſlain; which is on this faſhion: although the father and mother, maſter and dame, of themſelves be well diſpoſed to live after the law of God, yet they may kill their children and ſervants in ſuffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not uſe correction according to their offences; the maſter ſeeth his ſervant or apprentice take more of his neighbour, than the king's laws, or the order of his faculty doth admit him, or he ſuffereth him to take more of his neighbour, than he himſelf would be content to pay if he were in like condition: thus doing, I ſay, ſuch men kill willingly their children and ſervants, and ſhall go to hell for ſo doing; but alſo their fathers and mothers, maſters and dames, ſhall bear them company for ſo ſuffering. Wherefore I exhort all true chriſtian men and women to give good example unto your children and ſervants, and ſuffer not them by ſilence to offend: every man muſt be in his own houſe, according to St. Auguſtine's mind, a biſhop, not only giving good example, but teaching according to it, rebuke and puniſh vice, not ſuffering your children and ſervants to forget the laws of God: you ought to ſee them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy days, not to loſe their time in idleneſs; if they do ſo, you ſhall all ſuffer pain for it, if God be true of his ſaying, as there is no doubt thereof: and ſo you may perceive that there be many that break this card, "Thou ſhalt not kill," and play therewith oftentimes, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great loſers; but who be thoſe now-a-days that can clear themſelves of theſe manifeſt murders uſed to their children and ſervants? I think not the contrary, but that many have theſe two ways ſlain their own children unto their own damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent therefore.

Wherefore conſidering that we be ſo prone and ready to continue in ſin, let us caſt ourſelves down with Mary Magdalen, and the more we bow down with her towards Chriſt's feet, the more we ſhall be afraid to riſe again in ſin: and the more we know and ſubmit ourſelves, the more we ſhall be forgiven, and the leſs we know and ſubmit ourſelves, the leſs we ſhall be forgiven, as appeareth by the following example.

When Chriſt was in the world amongſt the Jews and Phariſees, there was a great Phariſee whoſe name was Simon; this Phariſee deſired Chriſt on a time to dine with him, thinking with himſelf that he was able and worthy to give Chriſt a dinner: Chriſt refuſed not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner, there happened to come into the houſe a great ſinner named Mary Magdalen. As ſoon as ſhe perceived Chriſt, ſhe caſt herſelf down, and called unto her remembrance what ſhe was of herſelf, and how greatly ſhe had offended God, whereby ſhe conceived in Chriſt great love, and ſo came near unto him, and waſhed his feet with bitter tears, and ſhed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him ſhe ſhould be delivered from her ſins. This great and proud Phariſee ſeeing that Chriſt did accept her oblation in the beſt part, had great indignation againſt this woman, and ſaid to himſelf, If this man Chriſt were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not ſuffer this ſinner to come ſo nigh him. Chriſt underſtanding the naughty mind of this Phariſee, ſaid to him, Simon, I have ſomewhat to ſay unto thee: ſay what you pleaſe (quoth the Phariſee). Then, ſaid Chriſt, I pray thee tell me this: if there be a man to whom there is owing twenty pounds to one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving theſe two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both. Which of theſe two debtors ought to love this man moſt? The Phariſee ſaid, That man ought to love him beſt that had moſt forgiven him. Likewiſe, ſaid Chriſt, it is by this woman. She hath loved me moſt, therefore moſt is forgiven her; ſhe hath known her ſins moſt, whereby ſhe hath moſt loved me; and thou haſt leaſt loved me, becauſe thou haſt leaſt known thy ſins; therefore becauſe thou haſt leaſt known thine offences, thou art leaſt forgiven. So this proud Phariſee had an anſwer to allay his pride: and think you not but there be amongſt us a great number of theſe proud Phariſees, which think themſelves worthy to bid Chriſt to dinner, who will perk and preſume to ſit by Chriſt in the church, and have diſdain of this poor woman

Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with an high diſdainful and ſolemn countenance; and being always deſirous to climb higheſt in the church, reckoning themſelves more worthy to ſit here than another, I fear me poor Magdalen under the boord and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Chriſt than they have: for it is like that theſe Phariſees do leſs know themſelves and their offences, whereby they leſs love God, and they be leſs forgiven.

I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into ſin, and offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourſelves, and in riſing from ſin. If we be the true Magdalens, we ſhould be as willing to forſake our ſin, and riſe from ſin, as we were willing to commit ſin, and to continue in it; and we then ſhould know ourſelves beſt, and make more perfect anſwer than ever we did, unto this queſtion, Who art thou? To which we might anſwer, that we be true chriſtian men and women: and then, I ſay, you ſhall underſtand and know how you ought to play at this card, "Thou ſhalt not kill," without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks, and ſo triumph at the laſt by winning everlaſting life in glory, Amen.

It would require a long diſcourſe to declare what a ſtir there was in Cambridge upon this preaching of Mr. Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himſelf and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

Firſt came out the prior of Black Friars, called Buckneham, who thinking to make a great hand againſt Mr. Latimer, about the ſame time of Chriſtmas, when Mr. Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Chriſtmas dice, caſting there to his audience Cinque and Quarter, meaning by the Cinque five places in the New Teſtament, and the four doctors by the Quarter; by which his Cinque and Quarter he would prove that it was not expedient for the ſcriptures to be in Engliſh, left the ignorant and vulgar ſort, through the occaſion thereof, might aptly be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or elſe to run into ſome convenience: as for example:

The ploughman, when he heareth this in the goſpel: "No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God;" might peradventure hearing this, ceaſe from his plough. Likewiſe the baker, when he hears that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may perchance leave our bread unleavened, and ſo our bodies ſhall be unſeaſoned. Alſo the ſimple man, when he heareth in the goſpel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and caſt it from thee," may make himſelf blind, and ſo fill the world with beggars. Theſe, with ſome others, this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpoſe.

Mr. Latimer hearing this ſermon of Dr. Buckneham, came again in the afternoon, or ſhortly after, to the church to anſwer the friar, where reſorted to him a great multitude, as well of the univerſity as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could ſay: among whom alſo, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, ſat Buckneham the aforeſaid friar, prior of the Black-Friars, with his black friar's cowl about his ſhoulders.

Then Mr. Latimer firſt repeating the friarly reaſons of Dr. Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue, ſo refuted the friar, ſo anſwered to his objections, ſo dallied with his bald reaſon of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, that there was no ſuch fear nor danger for the ſcriptures to be in Engliſh, as the friar pretended; at leaſt requiring this, that the ſcriptures might be ſo long in the Engliſh tongue, till Engliſhmen were ſo mad, that either the ploughman durſt not look back, or the baker ſhould leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his ſermon, he began to diſcourſe of the myſtical ſpeeches and figurative phraſes of the ſcriptures; which phraſes he ſaid were not ſo diffuſe and difficult, as they were common in the ſcriptures, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly uſed and known: and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but alſo every ſpeech (ſaith he) hath it's like metaphors and figurative ſignifications, ſo common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and on houſes.

As for example (ſaith he, looking towards the friar that ſat over againſt him) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is ſo mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter; which is to point out unto us, what hypocriſy, crafts, and ſubtle diſſimulation lieth hid many times in theſe friar's cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, friar Buckneham was ſo daſhed with this ſermon, that he durſt never after peep out of the pulpit againſt Mr. Latimer.

Beſides this Buckneham, there was alſo another railing friar, not of the ſame coat, but of the ſame note and faction, a gray friar and a doctor, an outlandiſh man, named Dr. Venetus, who likewiſe in his brawling ſermon railed and raged againſt Mr. Latimer, calling him a mad and brainleſs man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Mr. Latimer anſwering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Chriſt, Matt. v. Thou ſhalt not kill, &c. But I ſay unto you, Whoſoever is angry with his neighbour ſhall be in danger of judgment; and whoſoever ſhall ſay unto his neighbour Racha, (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainleſs) ſhall be in danger of council: and whoſoever ſhall ſay to his neighbour, Fool, ſhall be in danger of hell-fire.

In diſcuſſing of which place, firſt he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we uſe any weapon drawn, to ſpill the life of our neighbour. With heart, when we be angry with him. With word, when in word or countenance we diſdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or deſpitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we ſpeak any opprobrious or unſeemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (ſaid he) or brainleſs, or ſuch like, which are guilty of council: words of ſpite, or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Chriſt ſaith is guilty of hell-fire.

Thus Mr. Latimer in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Chriſt's words, and the explaining of the ſame, he had ſufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wiſdom. Out of which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true ſervants and preachers of God in this world, commonly are ſcorned and reviled by the proud enemies of God's word, which account them here as mad-men, fools, brainleſs, and drunken: ſo did they (ſaid he) in the ſcripture call them which moſt purely preached, and ſet forth the glory of God's word. But (ſaid he) what will be the end of theſe jolly fellows, or what will they ſay in the end? We mad men, we mad fools, we, we ourſelves, &c. And that will be their end except they repent. And thus ending his ſermon, he ſo confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but alſo clean out of the univerſity.

But what ſhould I here ſtand deciphering the names of his adverſaries, when whole ſwarms of friars and doctors flocked againſt him on every ſide, almoſt through the whole univerſity, preaching and likewiſe barking againſt him? Amongſt whom was Dr. Watſon, maſter of Chriſt's college, whoſe ſcholar Latimer had been before, Dr. Notaries, maſter of Clare-hall, Dr. Philo, maſter of Michael-houſe, Dr. Metcalfe, maſter of St. John's, Dr. Blithe, of the King's-hall, Dr. Bullock, maſter of the Queen's college, Dr. Cliffe, of Clement-houſe, Dr. Donnes, of Jeſus college, Dr. Pſalms, maſter of St. Nicholas Hoſtel, Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelors of divinity, all three of St.

John's college; alſo Brickenden, bachelor of divinity, of the ſame houſe, and ſcholar ſometime to the ſaid Latimer. In ſhort, almoſt as many as were heads of houſes, ſo many enemies did this worthy ſtandard-bearer of Chriſt's goſpel ſuſtain.

Then came at laſt Dr. Weſt, biſhop of Ely, who preaching againſt Mr. Latimer at Barwell-abbey, forbad him within the churches of that univerſity to preach any more. Notwithſtanding, ſo the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Auguſtine friars, did licenſe Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Auguſtines, and he himſelf preached at the next church, called St. Edward's church, which was the firſt ſermon of the goſpel that Dr. Barnes preached, being Sunday, and Chriſtmas Eve. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his ſermon, and were commenced againſt him by Mr. Tirell, fellow of the King's-hall, and ſo by the vice-chancellor preſented to the cardinal.

Thus Mr. Latimer (as you have heard) being baited by the friars, doctors, and maſters of that univerſity, about the year aforeſaid, 1529, notwithſtanding the malice of theſe malignant adverſaries, continued yet in Cambridge preaching for the ſpace of three years together, with favour and applauſe of the godly, alſo with ſuch admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the biſhop himſelf coming in, and hearing his gift, wiſhed himſelf to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the ſame.

So Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney, after this, continued in Cambridge for ſome time, where they ſo frequently conferred together, that the field wherein they uſually walked, was for a long time after called, The heretics' hill.

The ſociety of theſe two, as it was much noted by many in that univerſity, ſo it was full of many good examples, to all ſuch as would follow them, both in viſiting the priſoners, relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry. Mr. Latimer maketh mention of a certain hiſtory which happened about this time in Cambridge, between them both and a certain woman then priſoner in the caſtle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here worthy to be mentioned. The ſtory is this: It ſo happened, that after Mr. Latimer had been ſo acquainted with the aforeſaid Mr. Bilney, he went with him to viſit the priſoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other priſoners, there was a woman who was accuſed that ſhe had killed her own child, which act ſhe plainly and ſtedfaſtly denied. Whereby it gave them occaſion to ſearch for the matter, and at length they found that her huſband loved her not, and therefore ſought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A child of her's had been ſick a whole year, and at length died in harveſt time, as it were in a conſumption: which when it was gone, ſhe went to have her neighbours to help her at the burial, but all were abroad in the harveſt, whereby ſhe was enforced with heavineſs of heart, alone to prepare the child for the burial. Her huſband coming home, and not loving her, accuſed her of murdering the child. This was the cauſe of her trouble; and Mr. Latimer, by earneſt inquiſition, of conſcience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after he was called to preach before king Henry the eighth at Windſor, where after his ſermon the king's majeſty ſent for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which time Mr. Latimer, finding an opportunity, kneeled down, opened the whole matter to the king, and deſired her pardon, which the king moſt graciouſly granted, and gave it to him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the priſon, whoſe godfather was Mr. Latimer, and Mrs. Cheek godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confeſs the truth of the matter. At length the time came when ſhe expected to ſuffer, and Mr. Latimer came as he was wont, to inſtruct her; unto whom ſhe made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her ſuffering, for ſhe thought ſhe muſt be damned if ſhe died without purification.

Then Mr. Bilney being with Mr. Latimer, both told her, that that law was made for the Jews, and not for us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and political law, for natural honeſty's ſake, than they ſhould any thing the more be purified from ſin thereby, &c. So they thus argued with this woman till they had better inſtructed her, and at length ſhewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act, among many others about that time, happened in Cambridge by Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney. But this was not all, for many more like matters were wrought by them. Among his adverſaries was Dr. Redman, a man favouring more of ſuperſtition than of true religion, after the zeal of the Phariſees, yet not ſo malignant or hurtful, but of a civil and quiet diſpoſition, and alſo liberal in well-doing, that few poor ſcholars were in that univerſity who fared not better by his purſe. Dr. Redman was a man of great authority in the univerſity of Cambridge, and perceiving the bold enterprize of Mr. Latimer, in ſetting abroad the word and doctrine of the goſpel, at this time, or much about the ſame, he wrote to him, ſeeking by perſuaſion to revoke Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching: but Mr. Latimer in his anſwer ſaid, Chriſt's ſheep hear no man's voice but Chriſt's.

After Mr. Latimer had thus laboured in preaching and teaching in the univerſity of Cambridge about the ſpace of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for hereſy, by the procurement of ſome of the ſaid univerſity, where he was content to ſubſcribe and grant to ſuch articles as they then propounded.

After that he returned to the univerſity again, where ſhortly after, by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's phyſician, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cauſe of the king's ſupremacy. At laſt being weary of the court, having a benefice in Wiltſhire offered by the king, at the ſuit of the lord Cromwel and Dr. Buts, he accepted the ſame and inſtructed his flock with much diligence. In fine, his diligence was ſo great, his preaching ſo powerful, the manner of his teaching ſo zealous, that there in like ſort he could not eſcape without enemies.

His chief enemies and moleſters, beſides country prieſts, were Dr. Powel, of Saliſbury, Dr. Wilſon, ſometime of Cambridge, Mr. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom ſome preached and ſome wrote againſt him.

ARTICLES *deviſed by the* BISHOPS *for* Mr. LATIMER *to ſubſcribe unto.*

I Believe that there is a purgatory to purge the ſouls of the dead after this life.

That the ſouls in purgatory are holpen with the maſſes, prayers, and alms of the living.

That the ſaints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for chriſtians to call upon the ſaints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

That pilgrimages and oblations done to the ſepulchres and relics of ſaints are meritorious.

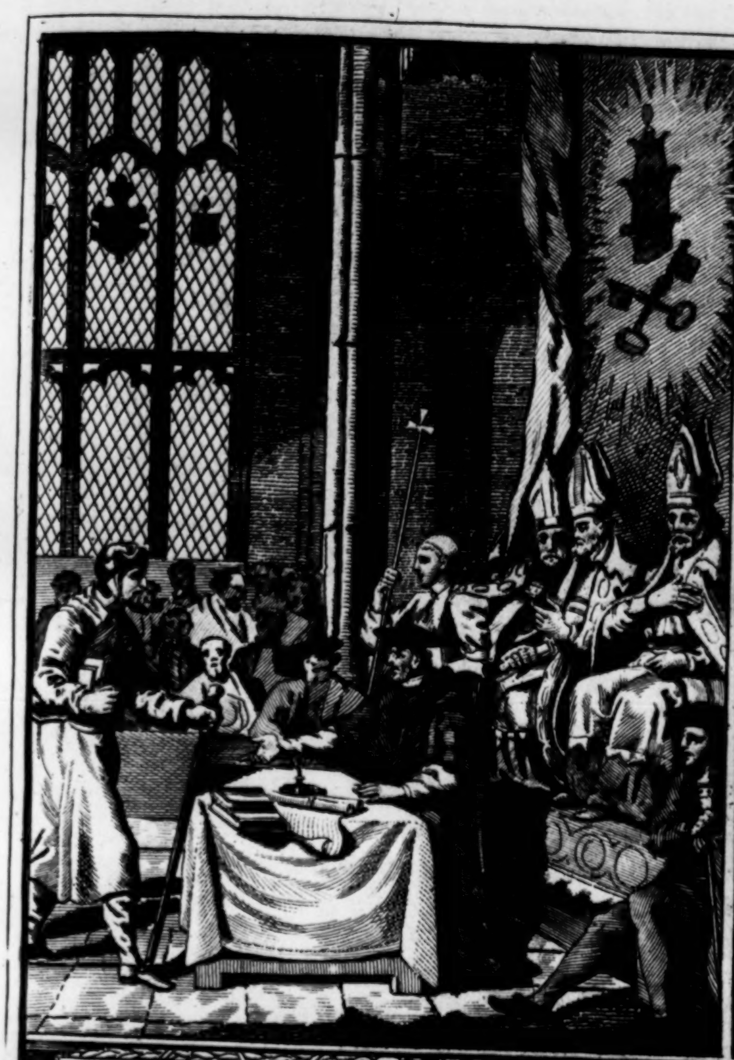
That they which have vowed perpetual chaſtity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the diſpenſation of the pope.

That the keys of binding and looſing, delivered to Peter, do ſtill remain with the biſhops of Rome his ſucceſſors, although they live wickedly, and are by no means, nor at any time, committed to laymen.

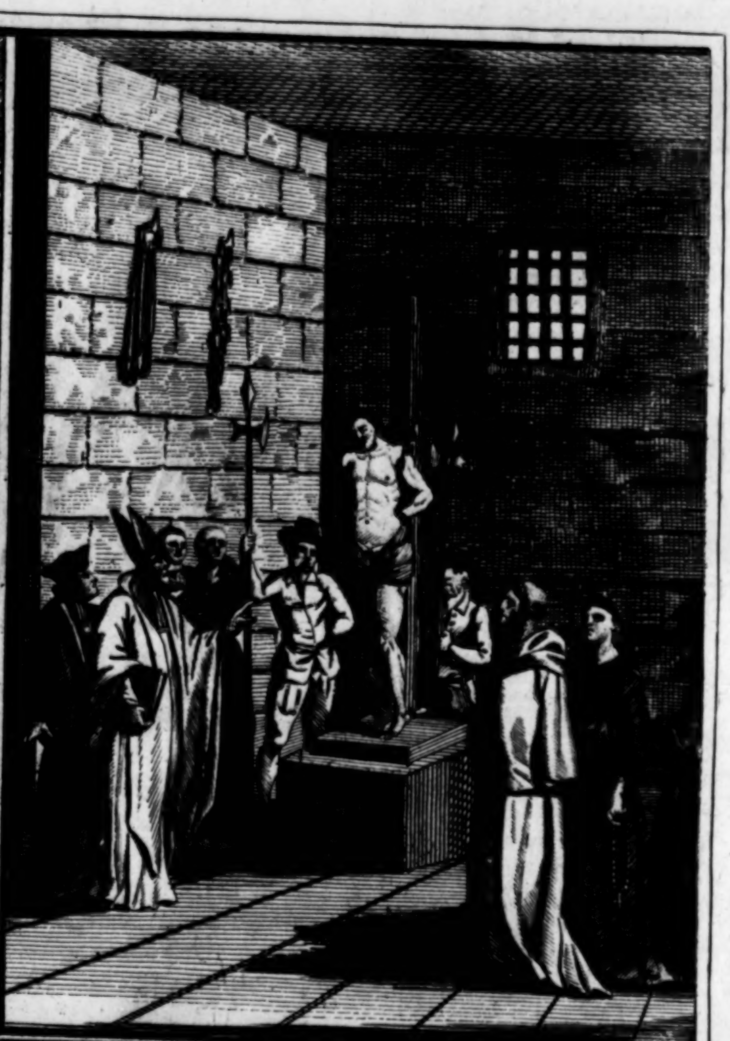
That men may merit and deſerve at God's hand by faſting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden by the biſhop to preach, as ſuſpected perſons, ought to ceaſe until they have purged themſelves before the ſaid biſhop, or their ſuperiors, and be reſtored again.

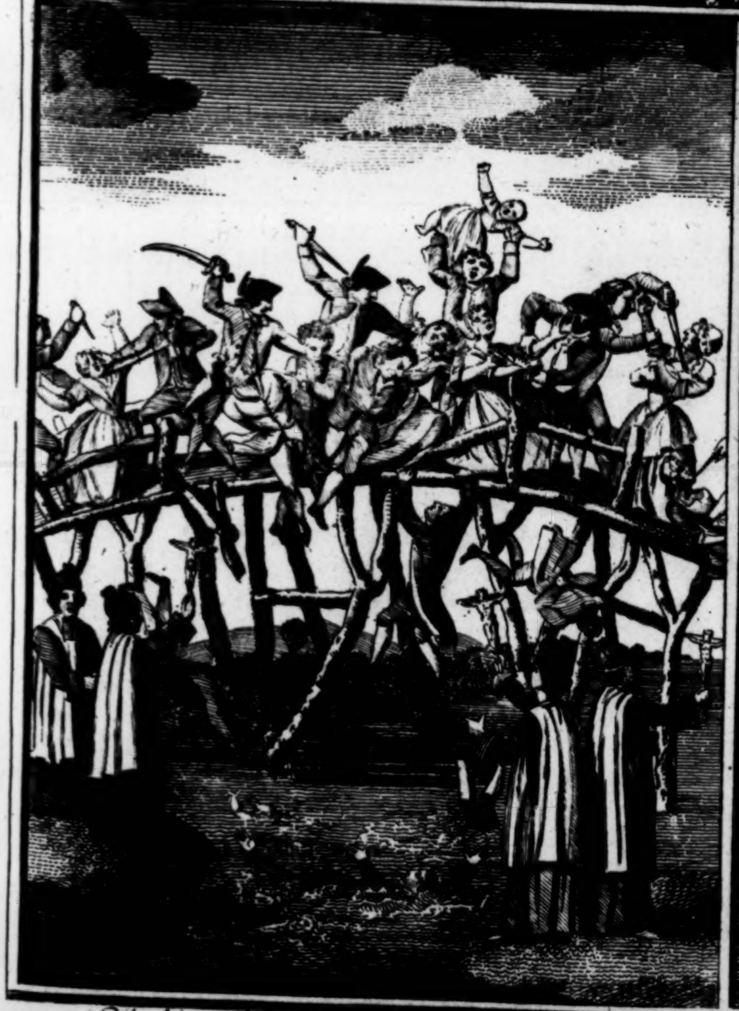
That the faſt which is uſed in Lent, and other faſts pre-



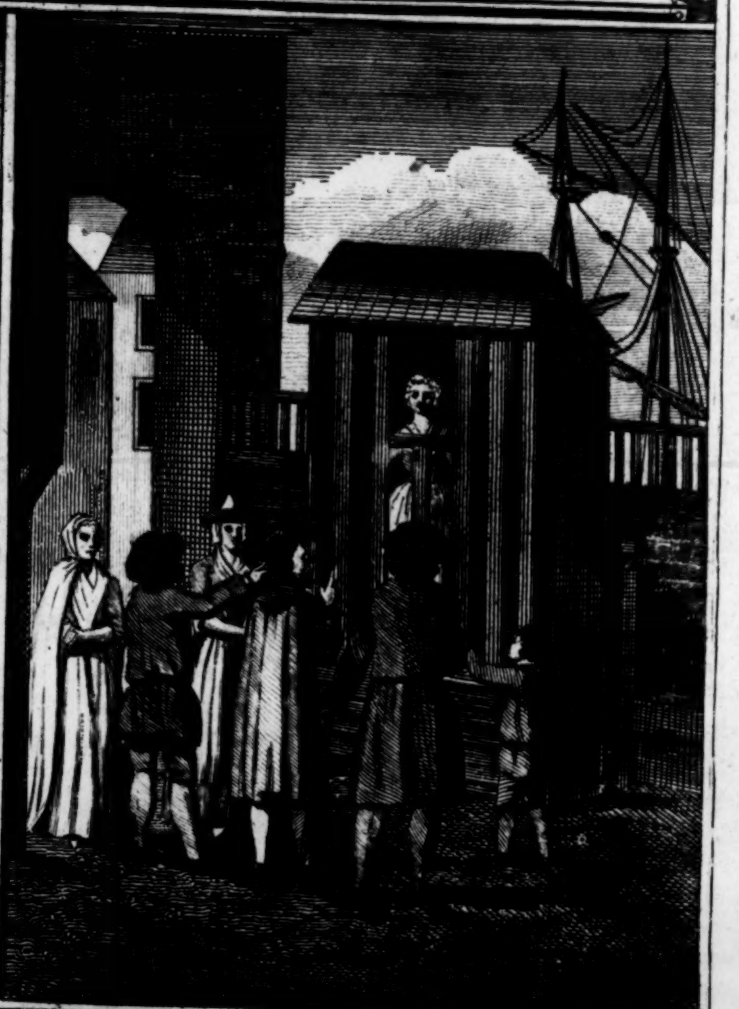
BISHOP LATIMER
before the PAPAL TRIBUNAL, at Oxford.



The Cruel TORTURING of
M^r. ROBERT SAMUEL.



The horrid MASSACRE of the Protestants,
at the Bridge over the River Ban, in IRELAND.
in the Year 1641



A PROTESTANT WOMAN confined, & expos-
ed by the Papists on account of her Religion in
the Cage upon London Bridge.

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preſcribed by the canons, and by cuſtom received of the chriſtians, (except neceſſity otherwiſe require) are to be obſerved and kept.

That God in every one of the ſeven ſacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the ſame.

That conſecrations, ſanctiſyings and bleſſings, by uſe and cuſtom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other ſaints ſhould be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt and his ſaints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe thoſe images, and ſet up burning lights before them to the honour of the ſaid ſaints.

Whether he was compelled by the biſhops to ſign theſe articles cannot here be aſcertained; but in a letter to the biſhop, he avows his deteſtation of the propoſitions, and declares himſelf averſe from ſubſcribing, "leſt I be the author of my own damnation."

As the diligence of this man of God never ceaſed all the time of king Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, ſo it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the ſame good Spirit of God that aſſiſted and comforted him in preaching the goſpel, did alſo enable him to fortel all thoſe kinds of plagues, which afterwards enſued; if England ever had a prophet, he ſeemed to have been one. As touching himſelf, he ever affirmed, that the preaching of the goſpel would coſt him his life, and was perſuaded that Wincheſter was kept in the tower for the ſame purpoſe, as the event did too truly prove. After the death of the ſaid pious king Edward, when queen Mary was proclaimed, a purſuivant was ſent down (by the means, no doubt, of Wincheſter) into the country, to call him up, of whoſe coming, although Mr. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premoniſhed about ſix hours before by one John Careleſs, yet he was ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, that he prepared himſelf for his journey before the ſaid officer came to his houſe.

Thus Mr. Latimer being ſent for, and coming up to London, (entering Smithfield, he merrily ſaid, That Smithfield had long groaned for him) was brought before the council, where he patiently endured all the mocks and taunts of ſcornful papiſts, and was again ſent to the Tower.

Having paſſed a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his caſe could do, from thence he was tranſported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Ridley, biſhop of London, there to diſpute upon articles ſent down from Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, as is before mentioned: the manner and order of which diſputations between them and the univerſity doctors, is alſo before ſufficiently expreſſed. Where alſo is declared, how, and by whom the ſaid Latimer, with his other fellow-priſoners, were condemned after diſputations, and ſo committed again to the priſon, and there they continued from the month of April till the month of October, where they were moſt godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit, Mr. Latimer, by reaſon of the feebleneſs of his age, wrote leaſt of them all, in this latter time of his impriſonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes ſo long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to riſe without help; and amongſt other things, theſe were three principal matters that he prayed for.

Firſt, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, ſo alſo he would give him grace to ſtand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the ſame.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would reſtore his goſpel to England once again.

The third matter was, to pray for the preſervation of the lady Elizabeth, whom in his prayer he uſed to name, and even with tears deſired God to make her a comfort to this comfortleſs realm of England.

Neither were theſe things of him deſired in vain, for the Lord moſt graciouſly did grant all thoſe his requeſts.

Firſt, Concerning his conſtancy, even in the moſt extremity the Lord graciouſly aſſiſted him. For when he ſtood at the ſtake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to ſet the fire to him, and to the learned and pious Dr. Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, with an audible and comfortable countenance, ſaying theſe words, "God is faithful, which doth not ſuffer us to be tempted above our ſtrength:" and ſo afterwards ſhed his blood in the cauſe of Chriſt, which blood ran out of his heart in ſuch abundance, that all thoſe that were preſent, being godly, did marvel to ſee the moſt part of the blood in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with ſuch violence to guſh out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by which things God moſt graciouſly granted his requeſt, which was, That he might ſhed his heart's blood in the defence of the goſpel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his ſecond requeſt, in reſtoring his goſpel once again unto this realm, theſe preſent days can bear record.

Again, Concerning his third requeſt, it ſeemeth likewiſe moſt effectually granted, to the great praiſe of God, the furtherance of his goſpel, and to the unſpeakable comfort of this realm. For the recovery of God's word, queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed father ſo earneſtly prayed in his impriſonment; through whoſe true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightneſs of God's word was ſet up again to confound the dark and falſe vizored kingdom of Antichriſt, the true temple of Chriſt re-edified, the captivity of ſorrowful chriſtians releaſed.

The ſame God, who at the requeſts of his holy, faithful ſaints hath poured upon us ſuch benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, aſſiſt our moſt virtuous and chriſtian prince, and his ſubjects, that we may every one in his ſtate and calling ſerve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we loſe not that which we have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulneſs to build and keep up the houſe and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlaſting comfort in him. And thus much concerning the laborious travels of Mr. Latimer. Now after theſe things thus finiſhed and diſcourſed, pertaining to the ſtory of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and ſundry times from the firſt beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend, which he wrote both in Engliſh and Latin, want of room at preſent will not permit; nevertheleſs ſome we ſhall inſert, and firſt concerning the articles above mentioned, for which he was troubled by the prieſts of the country about his benefice at Weſt-Kingſton; which he writeth thereof to Mr. Morrice, the copies whereof follow.

ARTICLES *untruly, unjuſtly, falſely, and uncharitably, imputed to me by* Dr. POWEL, *of* Salisbury.

Firſt, *That our* LADY *was a* SINNER.

OCcaſioned of ſome, not only laymen, but alſo prieſts and beneficed men, who gave ſo much to our lady of devotion without judgment, as though ſhe had not needed Chriſt to ſave her. To prove Chriſt her Saviour, to make Chriſt a whole Saviour of all that be, or ſhall be ſaved, I reaſoned after this manner: That either ſhe was a ſinner or no ſinner; there is no mean. If ſhe was a ſinner, then ſhe was redeemed or delivered from ſin by Chriſt, as other ſinners be: if ſhe was no ſinner, then ſhe was preſerved from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that Chriſt ſaved her, and was her neceſſary Saviour, whether ſhe ſinned or no. Now certain authors, ſaid I, as Chryſoſtom, Theophilact, and others, write, as though ſhe had been ſomething faulty in her time. Alſo I ſaid, that certain ſcriptures ſtand to the ſame, unleſs they be the more warily underſtood and taken, (as in Rom. iii. 10, 20.) All have declined, that every mouth be ſtopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the ſame chapter, all have ſinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And ſo death paſſed through into all men and women, foraſmuch as all have ſinned. But to theſe ſcriptures I ſaid it might be anſwered, that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or diminiſh the verity of an univerſal expoſition in ſcriptures.

And as to the doctors, I ſaid, that others ſay otherwiſe; and foraſmuch as now it is univerſally and conſtantly received and applied that ſhe was no ſinner, it becometh every man to ſtand and agree to the ſame; and ſo will I, ſaid I, nor any man that is wiſe, will the contrary: but to my purpoſe it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her ſaved, and Chriſt her Saviour, whether ever ſhe was, &c.

And to that, what need you to ſpeak of this? I anſwered, great need, what man cannot be content that ſhe was a creature ſaved, but as it were a Savioureſs, not needing ſalvation, it is neceſſary to ſet her in degree to the glory of Chriſt, Creator and Saviour of all that be or ſhall be ſaved. Good authors have written that ſhe was not a ſinner: but good authors never wrote that ſhe was not ſaved: for though ſhe never ſinned, yet ſhe was not ſo impeccable, but ſhe might have ſinned, if ſhe had not been preſerved: it was of the goodneſs of God that ſhe never ſinned: it had come of her own illneſs if ſhe had ſinned: there was difference between her and Chriſt. And I will give as little to her as I can (doing her no wrong) rather than Chriſt her Son and Saviour ſhall lack any thing of his glory; and I am ſure that our lady will not be diſpleaſed with me for ſo doing, for our lady ſought his glory here upon earth, ſhe would not defraud him now in heaven: but ſome are ſo ſuperſtitiouſly religious, or ſo irreligiouſly ſuperſtitious, ſo prepoſterouſly devout toward our lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: ſuch are zeals without knowledge and judgment to our lady's diſpleaſure.

No doubt our lady was, through the goodneſs of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, endued with ſingular gifts and graces from above, which through the help of God ſhe uſed to God's pleaſure, according to her duty, ſo giving example to do likewiſe, ſo that all the goodneſs that ſhe had, ſhe had it not of herſelf, but of God the author of all goodneſs: the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteouſly, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man to ſave both man and woman, did chuſe her to be his mother, which love he ſhewed to her alone, and to no other, of his benign goodneſs, by which ſhe was the natural mother of Chriſt: and through faith in Chriſt ſhe was the ſpiritual ſiſter of Chriſt, ſaved by Chriſt, bleſſed by hearing Chriſt's word, and keeping the ſame. It would not have availed to her ſalvation, to have been his natural mother, if ſhe had not done the will of his heavenly Father: by him ſhe was his mother, by him ſhe did the will of his Father: ſhe the hand-maiden, he the Lord. The hand-maiden did magnify the Lord, the hand-maiden would that all ſhould magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

To honour him worthily, is not to diſhonour our lady; he is as able to preſerve from ſin, as to deliver from ſin; he was then ſubject to Joſeph his father-in law, his mother's huſband; Joſeph is now ſubject to him. He never diſhonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preſerved them from all ſin.

To ſay that Peter, and Paul, David, and Mary Magdalen, were ſinners, is not to diſhonour them: for then ſcripture doth diſhonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preſerved them all that he could have preſerved.

For remembrance of that fall and up-riſing keepeth us in our fall from deſpairing: both is of God, to have not ſinned, and to have forſaken and left ſin. And as ſure is this of heaven as that, and this more common than that, and to us that have been ſinners more comfortable.

It hath been ſaid in times paſt, without ſin, that our lady was a ſinner: but it was never ſaid without ſin, that our lady was not ſaved, but a Saviour: I do not go about to make my lady a ſinner, but to have Chriſt her Saviour. When mine adverſaries cannot reprove the thing that I ſay, then they will belie me, to ſay the thing that they can reprove. They will ſin to make our lady no ſinner, to prove that, that no man dieth. So that provers, and ſo cold probations ſaw you never. It were better unproved, than ſo weakly proved. But they be devout towards honouring of our lady, but a ſin to have our lady no ſinner, or to ſay ſhe was no ſinner.

I would be as loth to diſhonour our lady as they, I pray God we may honour her as ſhe would be honoured: for verily ſhe is worthy to be honoured.

To make a pernicious and damnable lie, to have our lady no ſinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleaſure to our lady, but great ſin, to the diſhonour and diſpleaſure both of God and her.

They ſhould both pleaſe and honour our lady much better, to believe their ſinful living, and to keep themſelves from ſinfulneſs, as our lady did, than ſo ſinfully to lie to make our lady no ſinner; which if they do not, they ſhall certainly go to the devil, though they believe ever ſo ſurely that our lady was no ſinner.

And for the Ave Maria they lie falſely, I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly ſalutation or greeting of our lady, ſpoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in the holy ſcripture of St. Luke. But yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater Noſter is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praiſing, is not properly praying. The angel was ſent to greet our lady, and to communicate and to ſhew the will of God towards her, and therefore it is called the Annunciation of our lady, and not to pray to her, or to pray to her properly: ſhall the Father of heaven pray to our lady? When the angel ſpake it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the ſame thing now as it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria; ſo that we may ſalute our lady with Hail Mary! as the angel did, though we be not ſent of God ſo to do, as the angel was. Yet though we may ſo do, we have no plain command for ſo doing, as the angel had; ſo that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unſaid, than we be, foraſmuch as he was appointed of God to ſay it, and not we: but as I deny not, but as we may ſay the Pater Noſter, and the Ave Maria together, that to God, this to our lady, ſo we may ſay them ſeparately, the Pater Noſter by itſelf, and the Ave by itſelf; and the Pater Noſter is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; ſo that it is but a ſuperſtition to think that a Pater Noſter cannot be well ſaid without an Ave Maria at his heel. For Chriſt was no fool, and when he taught the people to ſay a Pater Noſter to God, he taught them not to ſay, neither Pater Noſter, neither Ave Maria to our lady, nor yet Pater Noſter to St. Peter, as Mr. Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to ſay twenty Ave-Marias for one Pater Noſter, is not to ſpeak the word of God as the word of God. And one Ave Maria well ſaid, and devoutly with affection, ſenſe and underſtanding, is better than twenty-five ſaid ſuperſtitiouſly. And it is not like, but our lady ſaid many times the Pater Noſter, foraſmuch as her ſon Chriſt, whom ſhe loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be ſaid; whether ſhe made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater Noſter, I will leave that to learned men, as Hubberdin and Powel, to diſcuſs and determine: ſhe was not ſaved by often ſaying of the Ave Maria, but by conſenting to the will of him that ſent the angel to ſalute her with Hail Mary: wherefore if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the ſight of God, yea, though they ſay the Pater Noſter, I doubt not but the ſalvation of them hath been unpleaſant to our lady in her ſight, for whatſoever pleaſeth not her Son, pleaſeth not her; for ſhe hath delight and pleaſure in nothing, but in him, and in that which delighteth and pleaſeth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by cuſtomable ſinful living, and yet we ſhall think great perfection and holineſs in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our lady, and ſo we think to make her our friend and patroneſs, and then we care not for God; for having our lady on our ſide, we may be bold to take our pleaſure; for we fancy as though the very work and labour of repeating the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not minding how they be ſaid, ſo that they be ſaid; if the Pater Noſter which Chriſt both made, and commanded us to uſe, may be uſed to Chriſt's diſpleaſure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Chriſt nor our lady bid us ſay, may be ſaid to her diſpleaſure: and better never once ſaid, than often ſo ſaid. I would have difference between well ſaying and often ſaying, and between that which Chriſt bid us ſay, and that which he bid us not ſay: and whether Ave Maria be ſaid in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powel? and if it be ſaid always there without a Pater Noſter, why may not Pater Noſter be ſaid here without Ave Maria; and whether doth our lady ſay it in heaven or no? Which thing I ſpeak not to withdraw you from ſaying of it, but to withdraw you from ſuperſtitious and unfruitful ſaying of it. So that by occaſion of falſe faith and truſt that you have in the daily ſaying of it, you ſet not aſide imitation and following of holy living, which will ſerve at length, when ſuperſtitious greeting will neither ſerve nor ſtand in ſtrength: it is meet that every thing be taken, eſteemed, and valued as it is.

We ſalute alſo and greet well the holy croſs, or the image of the holy croſs, ſaying, All hail, holy croſs, which hath deſerved to bear the precious talent of the world: and yet who will ſay that we pray properly to the holy croſs? whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The croſs can neither hear nor ſpeak again, no more than this pulpit: there we do ſalute it, not properly pray to it.

The angel ſpake alſo to Zachary, before he ſpake to our lady. Be not afraid, Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth ſhall bring thee forth a child which ſhall be called John, and great joy and gladneſs ſhall be at his birth, and he ſhall be great and full of the Holy Ghoſt from the womb of his mother, &c.

What if a man ſhould ſay theſe words every day, between the Pater Noſter, and the Ave Maria, in the worſhip of St. Zachary, who I think is a ſaint in heaven, and was ere ever our lady came there to be honoured, I think he might pleaſe and honour St. Zachary, as well ſome other way, and better too, though they were words ſent from God, ſpoken by an angel, and written by St. Luke in the holy Scripture.

And yet if it were once begun and accuſtomed, I warrant ſome men would make it more than ſacrilege to leave it off, though the devil ſhould ſow ever ſo much ſuperſtition by proceſs of time unto it.

Chriſt made the Pater Noſter for a prayer, and bid his people ſay it to his heavenly Father, One God in Trinity of Perſons, one Father and Comforter, one Worker and Doer of all things here in this world, ſaying unto us, After this manner ſhall ye pray, Our Father, &c. God ſent his Son, amongſt other things, to teach his people to pray: God ſent his angel to greet our lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Chriſt nor the angel ſaid to the people, This ſhall you pray, Ave Maria. When the apoſtles ſaid to Chriſt, Teach us to pray; Chriſt ſaid, When you pray, ſay, Our Father: he ſaid not when you pray, ſay, Ave Maria. I ſuppoſe Chriſt could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powel and Mr. Hubberdin. I ſay that the Ave Maria was before the Pater Noſter: Dr. Powel ſaith, it ſhall endure after the Pater Noſter: I can prove my ſaying by ſcripture, which he cannot: yet as it is no good argument, The Ave Maria was before the Pater Noſter: therefore, it is properly a prayer: ſo it is no good argument, The Ave Maria ſhall laſt after the Pater Noſter: therefore it is properly a prayer; without the antecedent be impoſſible, which is not credible to come out of ſuch a fantaſtical brain.

Who was ever ſo mad as to think that words of holy ſcripture could not be well ſaid: and yet we may not be ſo peeviſh as to allow the ſuperſtitious ſaying of holy ſcripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to ſuperſtition and idolatry; God give me grace to worſhip him and his, not after our own curioſity, but according to his ordinance with all humility.

St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wiſe to be diſhonoured: ſo that we may leave unſaid that which the angel ſaid without diſhonouring him.

It is not neceſſary to our ſalvation to make an ordinance of honouring him, with ſaying as the angel did.

It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him to do, than to leave that undone, and to do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not to do: if the other be preſumption, I had rather preſume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to preſume into the office of an angel without God's bidding.

It is a godly preſumption, to preſume to do the bidding of God.

Here I neither ſay, that our lady was a ſinner, nor yet deny the Ave Maria.

SAINTS *are not to be* HONOURED.

I Said this word [Saints] is diverſly taken by the vulgar people; images of ſaints are called ſaints, and inhabiters of heaven are called ſaints. Now by honouring of ſaints, is meant praying to ſaints. Take honouring ſo, and images for ſaints; ſo ſaints are not to be honoured: that is to ſay, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to ſpeak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

They can neither help me nor mine ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I ſhewed the good uſe of them to be laymen's books as they are called, reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are ſignified by them, &c.

And yet I would not have them ſo coſtly and curiouſly gilt and decked, that the quick image of God, (for whom Chriſt ſhed his blood, and to whom whatſoever is done Chriſt reputeth it done to himſelf) lack neceſſaries to be unprovided for by that occaſion, for then the layman doth abuſe his book.

A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiouſly gilded; and in the day-time a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

Now I ſay there be two kinds of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of interceſſion; and I ſaid that theſe ſaints, that is to ſay, images called ſaints, be mediators neither way.

As touching pilgrimages, I ſaid, that all idolatry, ſuperſtition, error, falſe faith, and hope in the images, muſt be pared away, before they can be well done, houſhold looked upon, poor chriſtian people provided for, reſtitutions made, all ordinances of God diſcharged, or ever they can be well done. And when they be at beſt, before they be vowed, they need not to be done: they ſhall never be required of us, though they be never done, and yet we ſhall be blamed when they be all done; wives muſt adviſe with their huſbands, and huſbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, chap. x. where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Chriſt; which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry: and expoſitors add, to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but alſo of all occaſion of that act: which is plain againſt Mr. Hubberdin, and parſon of Chriſt's church, who went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

As touching the ſaints in heaven, I ſaid, They be not our mediators by way of redemption: for ſo Chriſt alone is our Mediator and their's both: ſo that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Chriſt is enough for a thouſand worlds, &c.

But by way of interceſſion, ſo ſaints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do, when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no ſpurs, and we are not openly required of God in ſcripture to call upon them, as we are to call upon God, nor yet may we call upon them without any diffidence or miſtruſt in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all, ſo that though we may deſire the ſaints in heaven to pray to God for us, yet it is not ſo neceſſary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourſelves, without firſt making ſuit to them, and obtain of him whatſoever we need, if we continue in prayer; ſo that whatſoever we aſk the Father in the name of Chriſt, his Son, the Father will give it us: for ſaints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them; ſcripture doth ſet ſaints that be departed before our eyes for our examples, ſo that the chiefeſt and moſt principal worſhip and honouring of them is to know their holy living, an to follow them, as they followed Chriſt, &c.

God biddeth us come to him with prayer, and to follow his advice is no preſumption, it is rather preſuming to leave it undone to do that which he biddeth us not do, &c. We muſt have ſaints in reverent memory, and learn of God's goodneſs towards them, to truſt in God, and mark well their faith towards God and his word, their charity towards their neighbour, their patience in all adverſity, and pray to God who gave them grace ſo to do, that we may do likewiſe, for ſuch like doings we ſhall have like ſpeedings, thay be well honoured when God is well pleaſed; the ſaints were not ſaints by praying to ſaints, but by believing in him that made them ſaints: and as they were ſaints, ſo we may be ſaints; yea, there be many ſaints that never prayed to ſaints, and yet I deny not, but we may pray to ſaints, but rather to him who can make us ſaints who calleth us to him, biddeth us call upon him, promiſeth help, cannot deceive us and break his promiſe; when we pray faithfully to him, we honour him, not after our own fantaſtical imagination, but even after his own wiſe ordinances, whom to honour is not to diſhonour ſaints; therefore they lie that ſay, that I would not have ſaints to be honoured, &c.

There is no FIRE *in* HELL.

I Never knew a man that ſaid ſo. I ſpake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; ſome that it is a ſpiritual fire, or at leaſt way a ſpiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worm, but a ſpiritual and metaphorical worm, ſo they think of the fire. Some that it is a corporal and natural fire; ſome have thought diverſly before the reſurrection without the body, and after with the body; ſome that the ſoul without the body ſuffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; ſome both in and of the fire. The ſcholaſtic authors think, that the ſouls before the reſurrection, becauſe they be of ſpiritual ſubſtance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a ſenſible and corporal quality, ſo that Athanaſius, a Greek author, calleth their pain Triſtitiam, a heavineſs or anguiſh; and this opinion is probable enough: ſome think, though they be always in pain, yet they be not always in fire; but go from waters of ſnow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there; but whether in cold or heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them, for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them, for then they ſhould be known by the heat of the fire.

I am certain, ſaith St. Auguſtine, that there is a fire in hell, but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell but he that is of God's privy council: I would adviſe every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than truſt he ſhall find no fire in hell. Chryſoſtom ſaith, That to be deprived the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than being in hell: there is fire burning, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleaſure, torment without eaſe, anguiſh, heavineſs, ſorrow, and penſiveneſs, which tarrieth and abideth for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

There is no PURGATORY *after this* LIFE.

NOT for ſuch liars as will bear me in hand to ſay that I ſaid not; I ſhewed the ſtate and condition of them that be in purgatory: then I denied it, not that they have charity in ſuch ſurety that they cannot loſe it, ſo that they cannot murmur againſt God, cannot diſhonour God, can neither diſpleaſe God, nor be diſpleaſed with God, cannot be diſſevered from God, cannot die, nor be in peril of death, cannot be damned, nor be danger of damnation; cannot be but in ſurety of ſalvation; they be members of the myſtical body of Chriſt as we be, and in more ſurety than we be: they love us charitably; charity is not idle, that is, it worketh and ſheweth itſelf, and therefore I ſay, they wiſh us well, and pray for us; they need not cry loud to God, they be in Chriſt, and Chriſt in them, they be with Chriſt, and Chriſt with them, they joy with the Lord Chriſt always, taking thankfully whatſoever God doth with them, ever giving thanks to their Lord God, ever lauding and praiſing him in all things that he doth, diſcontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

And foraſmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and ſiſters to our Saviour Chriſt, even in God's favour, even have Chriſt with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son. And we many times for lack of charity, having malice, envy, rancour, and hatred one towards another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adverſaries to Chriſt, hated of God, his angels, and all his ſaints; they in their ſtate may do us more good with their prayers, than we in this ſtate. And they do us always good, unleſs the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer ſaid in charity is more fruitful to him that it is ſaid for, and more acceptable to God, than ſaid out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us, which they will do of their charity, though we deſire them not.

I had rather be in purgatory than in the biſhop of London's priſon; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not. In this I might die ſpiritually for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; in that I could not. In this I might be in extreme neceſſity, in that I could not, if extreme neceſſity be peril of periſhing. And then you know what followeth, if we be not bounden by precept to help, but them that be in extreme neceſſity, we ſee not who needeth in purgatory, but we ſee who needeth in this world. And John ſaith, If thou ſee thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be in extreme neceſſity, both in body and ſoul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be helped ourſelves under pain of damnation. Here for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge againſt God, diſhonour God, undo ourſelves, which inconveniences ſhall not follow, if we do our duty to one another. I am ſure the ſouls in purgatory be ſo charitable, and of charity ſo loth to have God diſhonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be beſtowed upon them which might occaſion the diſhonour of God, &c.

Therefore, howſoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thouſand pounds to beſtow, as long as I ſaw neceſſary occaſion offered to me of God to diſpenſe it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any proviſion of purgatory, as long as I ſaw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, ſick and ſore for lack of ſuccour. I would have difference between that which may be done, and that which ought to be done, and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, mine own devotion moveth me another way, which way ſhould I go? I may by no trentals, no maſſes, no ladders of heaven, make a foundation for myſelf with other men's goods; goods wrongfully gotten muſt needs home again, muſt needs be reſtored to the owners, if they can be known, if not, they be poor men's goods: debts muſt needs be paid, creditors ſatisfied and content, God's ordinance towards my neighbour here in this world diſcharged, all affections and luſts moving to the contrary purged. Or elſe, though our ſoul-prieſts ſing till they be blear-eyed, or ſay maſs till they have worn their tongues to the ſtumps, neither their ſingings nor their ſayings ſhall bring us out of hell, whither we ſhall go for contemning God's prohibitions.

He that purgeth all errors of falſe opinions, all unwillingneſs to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell or purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath ſet aſide reſtitutions, and brought poor chriſtians to extreme beggary, repleniſhed hell, and left heaven almoſt empty.

In Purgatory there is no pain

That can break their charity.
That can break their patience.
That can diſſever them from Chriſt.
That can diſſever Chriſt from them.

That can cauſe them to diſhonour God.
That can cauſe them to diſpleaſe God.
That can cauſe them to be diſpleaſed with God.
That can cauſe them to be diſcontent with God.

That can bring them to peril of death.
That can bring them to peril of damnation.
That can bring them to extreme neceſſity.
That can bring them from ſurety of ſalvation.

And yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

Howbeit, if the biſhop's two fingers can ſhake away a good part, if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or Scala Cœli of a groat, can diſpatch for all together, it is not ſo greatly to be cared for, I have not leiſure to write at large, and I wrote before ſuch things which in this haſte come now to mind.

They that can reclaim at this, that the ſouls in purgatory do pray for us, if they could get as much money for the prayer, that the ſouls in purgatory ſay for us, as they have done for that that they have ſaid for them, they would not reclaim: you know the waſp that doth ſting them, and make them ſo ſwell, they that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this, nor at this following.

Chriſt's blood is not ſufficient without the blood of martyrs.
Magdalen did not know Chriſt to be God before his reſurrection.
There can be no idolatry.
Rome cannot be deſtroyed.
The pope is lord of all the world.
Whatſoever he doeth is well done.
Pater Noſter is to be ſaid to St. Peter.
Pater Noſter is but a beggarly prayer.

Ave Maria is infinitely better.
Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater Noſter.
It was not neceſſary for ſcripture to be written.
He that leaveth father and mother maketh for our pilgrimage.
With many more.

Mr. LATIMER's LETTER *to* Mr. MORRICE, *concerning the* ARTICLES *written, which were falſely laid againſt him.*

RIGHT worſhipful, and mine own good maſter Morrice, health in Chriſt Jeſus. And I thank you for all hearty kindneſs, not only heretofore ſhewed unto me, but alſo that now of late you would vouchſafe to write unto me ſo poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all theſe my troubles. I truſt and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and abundantly ſupply mine inability, &c. Mr. Morrice, you would wonder to know how I have been treated at Briſtol, I mean by ſome of the prieſts, who firſt deſired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I ſaid, and allowed my ſaying in all things while I was with them; when I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me ſo greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Eaſter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the biſhop's licenſe, which they kuew well enough I had not, and ſo craftily defeated maſter mayor's appointment, pretending they were ſorry for it, procuring alſo certain preachers to rail againſt me, as Hubberdin and Powel, with others, whom when I had brought before the mayor, and the wiſe council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they ſo declaimed againſt me, they ſaid they ſpake as they were informed: however no man could be brought forth that could ſtand to any thing: ſo that they had place and time to belie me ſhamefully, but they had no place or time to lay to my charge when I was preſent and ready to make them anſwer. God amend them, and aſſuage their malice, that they have againſt the truth and me, &c.

Our LADY *was a* SINNER.

SO they did belie me to have ſaid, when I had ſaid nothing ſo, but to reprove certain, both prieſts and beneficed men, which do give ſo much to our lady, as though ſhe had not been ſaved by Chriſt, a whole Saviour, both of her, and of all that be, or ſhall be ſaved: I did reaſon after this manner, that either ſhe was a ſinner, or no ſinner; if a ſinner, then ſhe was delivered from ſin by Chriſt; ſo that he ſaved her, either by delivering or preſerving her from ſin, ſo that without him, neither ſhe, nor none other, either be, or could be ſaved. And to avoid all offence, I ſhewed how it might be anſwered, both to certain ſcriptures, which maketh all generally ſinners, and how it might be anſwered unto Chryſoſtom and Theophilact, which makes her namely and ſpecially a ſinner. But all would not ſerve, their malice was ſo great; notwithſtanding that five hundred honeſt men can and will bear record. When they cannot reprove that thing that I do ſay, then will they belie me, to ſay that thing which they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be againſt me.

SAINTS *are not to be* WORSHIPPED.

SO they lied when I had ſhewn certain divers ſignifications of this word (Saints) among the vulgar people: Firſt, images of ſaints are called ſaints, and ſo they are not to be worſhipped: take worſhipping of them for praying to them; for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of interceſſion. And yet they may be well uſed when they be applied to the uſes for which they were ordained, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take ſaints for inhabitants of heaven, and worſhipping of them, for praying to them, I never denied, but that they might be worſhipped, and be our mediators, though not by the way of redemption, (for ſo Chriſt alone is a whole Mediator, both for them and for us) yet by the way of interceſſion.

PILGRIMAGE.

AND I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have ſaid that much ſcurf muſt be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; ſuperſtition, idolatry, falſe faith, and truſt in the image, unjuſt eſtimation of the thing; debts muſt be paid, reſtitution, made, wife and children muſt be provided for, duty to our neighbours diſcharged. And when it is at the beſt, before it be vowed, it need not be done, for it is neither under the command of God nor man to be done. And wives muſt adviſe with huſbands, and huſbands and wives with curates, before it be done.

AVE MARIA.

AS for Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I ſaid it was an heavenly greeting or ſaluting of our bleſſed lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, ſent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and ſhew unto her the good-will of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had choſen her. But I ſaid it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater Noſter, which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf made for a proper prayer, and bid us to ſay it for a prayer, not adding that we ſhould ſay ten or twenty Aves or Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well ſay Ave Marias alſo, but not ſo that we ſhall think that the Pater Noſter is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well ſaid without Ave Maria; ſo that I did not ſpeak againſt the well ſaying of it, but againſt ſuperſtitious ſaying of it, and of the Pater Noſter too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Chriſt made to be ſaid for a prayer.

No FIRE *in* HELL.

WHO ever could ſay or think ſo? However, good authors do make a difference betwixt ſuffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The ſoul without the body is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, which they ſay cannot receive a corporal quality, and ſome make it a ſpiritual fire, and ſome a corporal fire. And as it is called a fire, ſo it is called a worm, and it is thought of ſome not to be a material worm, that is, a living beaſt, but it is a metaphor, but that is nothing to the purpoſe; for a fire it is, a worm it is, pain it is, torment it is, anguiſh it is, a grief, a miſery, a ſorrow, a heavineſs inexplicable, and intolerable, whoſe nature and condition in every point, who can tell, but he that is of God's privy council? ſaith St. Auſtin. God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to diſcuſs the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little eaſe, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth, which be two effects of extreme pain, rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

No PURGATORY.

HE that ſheweth the ſtate and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it than in Lollard's Tower, the biſhop's priſon, for divers reaſons.

Firſt, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might die ſpiritually for fear of pain, or lack of good counſel; there I could not.

Item, In this I might be in extreme neceſſity; in that I could not, if it be peril of periſhing.

Item, In this I might lack charity; there I could not.

Item, In this I might loſe my patience; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be in danger of death; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be without ſurety of ſalvation; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might diſhonour God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might murmur and grudge againſt God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might diſpleaſe God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be diſpleaſed with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual priſon, as they call it; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be craftily handled; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be diſcontented with God; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be ſeparated and diſſevered from Chriſt; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be a member of the devil; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might be an inheritor of hell; in that I could not.

Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain; in that I could not.

Item, In this my lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might ſtrangle me, and ſay that I hanged myſelf; in that they could not.

Item, In this they might have me to the conſiſtory, and judge me after their faſhion; from thence they could not.

Therefore, I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called ever ſo hot, yet if the biſhop's two fingers can ſhake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and Scali Cœli all together, I will never found abbey, college, nor chauntry, for that purpoſe.

For ſeeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cauſe me to diſhonour God, to diſpleaſe God, to be diſpleaſed with God, cauſe me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of deſperation, or from ſurety of ſalvation, that can ſeparate me from Chriſt, or Chriſt from me, I care the leſs for it. John Chryſoſtom ſaith, the greateſt pain that damned ſouls have, is to be ſeparate and cut off from Chriſt for ever; which pains the ſouls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

Conſider, Mr. Morrice, whether proviſion for purgatory hath not brought thouſands to hell. Debts have not been paid; reſtitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; chriſtian people (whoſe neceſſities we ſee, to whom whatſoever we do Chriſt reputeth done to himſelf, to whom we are bound under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourſelves) are neglected and ſuffered to periſh; laſt wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance ſet aſide: and alſo for purgatory, foundations have been taken for ſufficient ſatisfaction; ſo we have trifled away the ordinances of God and reſtitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with maſſes, dirges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pull pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he ſhall be in peril to come in ſuſpicion of hereſy with them? So that they may fleece one with pilgrimage, and ſpoil with purgatory. And verily the abuſe of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and advantage ſhall fall away from them, who had rather have profit with abuſe, than lack the ſame with uſe; and that is the waſp that doth ſting them, and maketh them to ſwell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by ſetting aſide reſtitution, and robbing of Chriſt, it would be but a poor purgatory; ſo poor, that it ſhould not be able to feed ſo fat, and trick up ſo many idle and ſlothful lubbers.

I take God to witneſs, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to ſee ſuch abuſe continue without remedy; I cannot underſtand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of ſuffrage; and as for ſuffrage, unleſs he do his duty, and ſeek not his own, but Chriſt's glory, I had rather have the ſuffrage of Jack in the ſkullery, who in his calling doth exerciſe both faith and charity; but as for his maſs, that is as good of another ſimple prieſt as of him. As for authority of keys, it is too looſe from guiltineſs of ſin and eternal pain, due to the ſame, according to Chriſt's word, and not to his own private will: and as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foſs-way, and you would wonder to ſee how they come by flocks out of the Weſt-country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of the Hailes. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Chriſt's body, ſhed upon the mount of Cavalry for our ſalvation, and that the ſight of it with their bodily eye doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, but they be clean in life, and in a ſtate of ſalvation without ſpot of ſin, which doth embolden them to do many things. For you would wonder if you ſhould commune with them both coming and going, what faith they have. For as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their chriſtian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the ſight of that blood doth quit them for a time.

I read in ſcripture of two certifications; one to the Romans: "We being juſtified by faith have peace with God."

If I ſee the blood of Chriſt with the eye of my ſoul, that is true faith, that his blood was ſhed for me, &c.

Another in the epiſtle of St. John: We know that we are tranſlated from death to life, becauſe we love the brethren." But I read not that I have peace with God, or that I am tranſlated from death to life, becauſe I ſee with my bodily eye the blood of the Hailes. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Chriſt, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof ſhall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Chriſt ſhall have two reſurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriouſly pluck it out of his body when they ſcourged him and nailed him to the croſs, did ſee it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we ſee the ſelf-ſame blood in form of wine, when we have conſecrated, and may both ſee it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do ſee it at Hailes without confeſſion, as they ſay. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

Chriſt hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth ſuffer the devil to uſe his craftineſs, for our trial and probation. It were little thank-worthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing ſhould move us to falſe faith, and to believe ſuperſtitiouſly. It was not in vain that Chriſt, when he had taught truly, by and by ſaid, Beware of falſe prophets, who would bring in error ſlily. But we be ſecure and careleſs as though falſe prophets could not meddle with us, and as if the warning of Chriſt were no more earneſt and effectual, than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware of the bugg, &c.

Lo, ſir, how I run at riot beyond meaſure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forgot myſelf, whenever I write to a truſty friend, who will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

As for Dr. Wilſon, I know not what I ſhould ſay; but I pray God endue him with charity. Neither he nor any of his country-men did ever love me, ſince I did inveigh againſt their factions, and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? This is the bile that may not be touched, &c.

A certain friend ſhewed me, that Dr. Wilſon is gone now into his country, about Beverly, in Holderneſs, and from thence he will go a journey through Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and from thence to Briſtol. What he intendeth by this progreſs, God knoweth, and not I. If he come to Briſtol, I ſhall hear, &c.

As for Hubberdin (no doubt) he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of ſtable wit. He is here Servus Hominum; for he will preach whatſoever the biſhops will bid him preach. Verily in my mind they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Chriſt and chriſtian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miſs the cuſhion in many things. However, they that did ſend him, men think, will defend him; I pray God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter againſt me, intending ſo either to deliver him by me, or elſe to rid us both together, and ſo they would think him well beſtowed, &c.

As touching Dr. Powel, how highly he took upon him in Briſtol, and how little he regarded the ſword, which repreſenteth the king's perſon, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Chriſt's commandment to his prince, and knoweth what the ſword doth ſignify, that would have taken upon him ſo ſtoutly. However Mr. Mayor, as he is a profound wiſe man, did flout him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him, in favour of which he alledged this text: Whoever leaveth father, houſe, wife &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Becauſe I am ſo belied, I could wiſh that it would pleaſe the king's grace to command me to preach before his highneſs a whole year together every Sunday, that he himſelf might perceive how they belie me, ſaying, that I have neither learning nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me, I cannot make an end.

A brief DIGRESSION *concerning the* RAILING *of* Mr. HUBBERDIN *againſt* Mr. LATIMER.

FORASMUCH as mention hath been made in this letter of Mr. Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted phariſee, and a great ſtrayer abroad in all quarters of the realm, to deface and impeach the purity of God's holy goſpel, ſomething will be added more concerning that man, whoſe doings and pageants, if they might be deſcribed at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold. Who in all his life, and in all his actions (in one word to deſcribe him) ſeemeth nothing elſe but a right image or a counterfeit, ſetting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocriſy. But becauſe the man is now gone, to ſpare therefore the dead, (although he little deſerved to be ſpared, who never ſpared to work what villainy he could againſt the true ſervants of the Lord) this ſhall be enough for example's ſake, for all chriſtian men neceſſarily to obſerve, how the ſaid Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places againſt Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tindal, Latimer, and all other like profeſſors, after his hypocritical open alms given out of other men's purſes, his long prayers, devout faſtings, his mean habit, and other his prodigious demeanor, riding in his long gown down to the horſe heels like a phariſee, or rather like a ſloven dirted up to the horſe's belly, after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leaping, with other player-like toys and geſtures uſed in the pulpit, and all againſt heretics; at laſt riding by a church ſide, where the youth of the pariſh were dancing in the church-yard, he ſuddenly alighting from his horſe, by the occaſion of their dancing, came into the church, and there cauſing the bell to toll in the people, thought inſtead of a fit of mirth, to give them a ſermon of dancing. In which ſermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the ſcriptures, and then coming to the doctors, firſt to Auguſtine, then to Ambroſe, ſo to Jerome and Gregory, Chryſoſtom, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to anſwer to his call, and to ſing after his tune for the probation of the ſacrament of the altar againſt John Frith, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Luther, Tindal, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them): at laſt to ſhew a perfect harmony of all theſe doctors together, as he had made them before to ſing after his tune, ſo now to make them dance alſo after his pipe, firſt he calleth out Chriſt and his apoſtles, then the doctors and ancient ſeniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together; with pipe up Hubberdin. Now dance Chriſt, now dance Peter, Paul, now dance Auguſtine, Ambroſe, Jerome; and thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors luſtily in the pulpit againſt the heretics, how he ſtamped and took on I cannot tell, but craſh came the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but ſprawling in the midſt of his audience; where although he brake not his neck, yet he brake ſo his leg at the ſame time, and bruiſed his old bones, that he never came in the pulpit more, and died not long after the ſame. Whereupon when the church-wardens were called, and charged for the pulpit not being ſtronger, they made anſwer again, excuſing themſelves that they had made their pulpit for preaching and not for dancing, &c. But to ſpend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpoſe again.

Amongſt many other accuſers and adverſaries, whereof there was no ſmall ſort which did infeſt this good man in ſermons, ſome alſo there were which attempted the pen againſt him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who upon the ſame occaſion of preaching of the virgin Mary (or as they thought againſt the virgin) did invade him with his pen, writing againſt him in Latin, a long epiſtle, which Mr. Latimer anſwered, obſerving, "I have read your letter through carefully, but it is more worthy of the flames than of my peruſal, it abounds ſo much with ſlanders. What you have truly ſaid you ſhall ſoon ſee. It is now a great while ago ſince ſeveral perſons, who heard the ſermon preached at Marchfield, told me, you being preſent, ſuffered the perſon openly, and with authority, to ſay, that thoſe were unworthy and miſerable wretches who ſaluted the virgin mother of God with the angelic ſalutation, unleſs they could raiſe her up again that ſhe might bear Chriſt."

LETTER

From Mr. LATIMER *to* Sir EDWARD BAYNTON, Knight.

RIGHT worſhipful ſir, I recommend myſelf unto you, with hearty thanks for your friendly, charitable, and mindful remembrance of ſo poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Mr. Bonnam, and perceiving therein who are grieved with me, and what behoveth me to do in caſe I muſt needs come up, for which your goodneſs towards me, whereas I myſelf am not able to recompenſe, I ſhall not ceaſe to pray to my Lord God, who is both able, and alſo doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his ſake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for which every man ſhall anſwer another day. And I deſire favour neither of your maſterſhip, nor of any man elſe, but in the truth and for the truth, I take God to witneſs, which knoweth all.

In very deed Mr. Chancellor did ſhew me, that my lord biſhop of London had ſent letters to him for me; and I made anſwer that he was mine ordinary, and that he might and ſhould reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as ſoon as my lord of London. And I would be very loth (now this deep winter) being ſo weak and ſo feeble, (not only exerciſed with my old diſeaſe in my head and ſide, but alſo with new, both the cholic and ſtone) to take ſuch a journey; and though he might ſo do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound ſo to do. Notwithſtanding I ſaid, if he, to do my lord of London pleaſure, to my great diſpleaſure, would needs command me to go, I would obey his command, yea, though it ſhould be ever ſo great a grievance and painful to me. With which anſwer he was content, ſaying, he would certify my lord of London thereof, truſting his lordſhip would be content with the ſame.

Mr. Chancellor alſo ſaid, that my lord of London ſeemed greatly diſpleaſed with me, becauſe I contemned his authority at my laſt being in London. Forſooth, I preached in Abbey-church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his dioceſe or no, intending nothing leſs than to contemn his authority; and this I did at the requeſt of honeſt merchantmen, as they ſeemed to me, whoſe names I do not know, for they were not of my acquaintance before; and I am glad thereof for their ſakes, leſt if I knew them, I ſhould be compelled to utter them ſo, and their good deſire to hear godly preaching ſhould turn to their trouble: for they required me very earneſtly, and to ſay the truth, very importunately. Whether they were of that pariſh or no, I was not certain: but they ſhewed not only themſelves, but alſo many others, to be very deſirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirſt of the word of God, and ſpiritual doctrine. And upon conſideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refuſed them twice or thrice, till at laſt they brought me word, that the parſon and curate were not only content, but alſo deſired me: notwithſtanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and alſo that I had not the biſhop's ſeal to ſhew for me, but only a licenſe of the univerſity: which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and when I ſhould go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; ſo that I had been not only uncharitable, but alſo churliſhly uncharitable, if I ſhould have ſaid nay. Now all this ſuppoſed to be truth, (as it is) I marvel greatly how my lord of London can alledge any contempt of him in me.

Firſt, He did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, who did neither know thereof, nor yet made any ſuit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely, that the curate would ſo little have regarded my lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth ſo vigilantly, not knowing my lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myſelf, that either the curate was of ſuch acquaintance with my lord, that he might admit whom he would; or elſe (and rather) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my lord himſelf, or ſome pertaining to him, appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my ſermon; which conjecture both occaſioned me ſomewhat to ſuſpect thoſe men which deſired me, though they ſpake ever ſo fair and friendly, and alſo rather to go. For I preach nothing, but if it might be ſo, I would my lord himſelf might hear me every ſermon I preach. So certain I am, that it is truth which I take in hand to preach. If I had with power in my friends (the curate gainſaying and withſtanding me) preſumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been ſomething wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent alſo, at the earneſt requeſt of a curate; yet I do not hear that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

I marvel not a little how my lord biſhop of London, having ſo large and populous a dioceſe committed to his charge, can have leiſure for preaching and teaching the word of God, opportunely and preſſingly, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, publicly and privately, to his own flock, in perſuading, confuting, exhorting, and admoniſhing with all mildneſs and doctrine, have leiſure (I ſay) either to trouble me, or to trouble himſelf with me, ſo poor a wretch, a ſtranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure, ſo intermixing and intermeddling himſelf with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as ſome men ſay my lord doth, gather up riches warily and covetouſly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor elſewhere, peradventure he would deny me nothing. In the very deed I did admoniſh both judges, and ordinaries, to uſe charitable equity in their judgments towards ſuch as be accuſed, namely of ſuch accuſers, who be as like to hear and betray, as others be to ſay amiſs, and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wreſt them in another ſenſe than they were ſpoken in: for all ſuch accuſers and witneſſes do evil before God, as St. Jerome ſaith, upon the 26th chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account thoſe judges well adviſed, who wittingly will give ſentence after ſuch witneſſes, much leſs thoſe who procure ſuch witneſſes againſt any man; nor do I think judges now-a-days ſo deeply confirmed in grace, or ſo impeccable, but that it may become preachers to admoniſh them to do well, as well as other men both great and ſmall. And this I did, occaſioned of the epiſtle which I declared, Rom. vi. wherein is this ſentence: Ye are not under the law but under grace: ye chriſtian men that believe in Chriſt, are not under the law. What a ſaying is this, (ſays I) if it be not rightly underſtood, that is, as St. Paul did underſtand it? for the words ſound as though he would go about to occaſion chriſtian men to break the law, ſeeing they be not under the law: and what if pſeudo-apoſtles, adverſaries to St. Paul, would have ſo taken them, and accuſed St. Paul to my lord of London? If my ſaid lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he ſhould have eſcaped, and the falſe apoſtles put to rebuke; if he would have rigorouſly followed whatſoever was alledged and proved, and have given ſentence after relation of the accuſers, then good St. Paul muſt have borne a faggot at Paul's Croſs, my lord of London being his judge. O, it

had

have been a godly ſight to have ſeen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Croſs, my lord of London, biſhop of the ſame, ſitting under the croſs. Nay, verily I dare ſay, my lord would ſooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that chriſtian men might break the law, and do whatſoever they would, becauſe they were not under the law: but he did mean, that chriſtian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would, becauſe they were not under the law, but under Chriſt, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to ſay, able to fulfil the law, to the pleaſure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own ſtrength, and without Chriſt: ſo that to be under the law, after St. Peter's meaning, is to be weak to ſatisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do with all, though his adverſaries would ſo take it? But peradventure my lord would ſay, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwiſe than they mean therein. Well ſaid; as though St. Paul's words were not otherwiſe taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter of the Romans, where he ſaith, Our unrighteouſneſs commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteouſneſs of God, which foundeth to many as though they ſhould be evil, that good ſhould come of it, and by unrighteouſneſs to make the righteouſneſs of God more excellent. So that St. Paul was reported to mean: yet he did mean nothing ſo, but ſhewed the ineſtimable wiſdom of God, who can uſe our naughtineſs to the manifeſtation of his unſpeakable goodneſs; not that we ſhould do naughtily to that end and purpoſe.

Now I think it were no reproach to my lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Chriſt be preached, in whatever manner, yea, though it were for envy, that is to ſay, in diſdain, deſpight, and contempt of his lordſhip, (which thing no man well adviſed will attempt) than when the preaching cannot be reproved juſtly, to demand of the preacher auſterely, as the phariſees did of Chriſt, By what authority do you theſe things, and who gave you this authority? As my authority is good enough, and as good as any my lord can give me, yet I would be glad to have his alſo, if it would pleaſe his lordſhip to be ſo good unto me. As for my preaching itſelf, I truſt in God, my lord of London cannot juſtly blame, nor reprove it; if it be taken with the circumſtance thereof, and as I ſpake it, or elſe it is not my preaching, but his that falſely reporteth it, as the poet Martial ſaid, to one that depraved his book,

To me ('tis true) you ſay thoſe lines belong,
But they're your own, whilſt you repeat them wrong.

I have thought in times paſt, that the pope could have ſpoiled purgatory at his pleaſure with a word of his mouth; now learning might perſuade me otherwiſe, or elſe I would marvel why he ſhould ſuffer ſo much money to be beſtowed that way, which is ſo needful to be beſtowed otherwiſe, and to deprive us of ſo many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death, and by occaſion of the ſame I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was ſore ſick, and diſeaſed: now I abhor my ſuperſtitious fooliſhneſs, &c. I have thought in times paſt, that divers images of ſaints could have helped me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diſeaſes: now I know that one can help as well as another. And it grieves my heart that my lord, and ſuch as my lord is, can ſuffer the people to be ſo craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindneſs I have been in, and how long it was ere I could forſake ſuch folly, it was ſo incorporated in me: but by continual prayer, continual ſtudy of ſcripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think my lord himſelf hath thought in times paſt, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now both dare think and ſay the contrary; and yet this his boldneſs might have chanced, in pope Julius's days, to ſtand him either in a fire, or elſe in a faggot. Which thing deeply conſidered and pondered by my lord, might ſomething ſtir him to charitable equity, and to be ſomething remiſs towards men, which labour to do good as their power ſerveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater diſtance than between God's law, and not God's law.

LETTER

From Sir EDWARD BAYNTON, Knight, *in Anſwer to* Bishop LATIMER.

MASTER LATIMER, after hearty recommendations, I have communicated the effect of your leters to divers of my friends, ſuch as for chriſtian charity (as they ſay) rather deſire in you a reformation, either in your opinion (if it ſwerve from the truth), or at leaſt in your manner of behaviour, inaſmuch as it giveth occaſion of ſlander and trouble, to the hindrance of your good purpoſes, than any other inconvenience to your perſon or good name. And foraſmuch as your ſaid letter miſliketh them in ſome part, and that I have ſuch confidence in your chriſtian breaſt, as in my judgment you will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and alſo (as it is worthy) ſo acknowledge and confeſs the ſame: I have therefore deſired them to take the pains to note their mind in this letter which I ſend to you, as the ſum of their ſayings, and ſent from me your aſſured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word: wherein neverthleſs, as I truſt you will temper your own judgment, and in ſoberneſs affirm no truth of yourſelf, which ſhould divide the unity of the congregation in Chriſt, and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, conſonant to the ſcripture of God, even ſo whatſoever you will do therein, (as I think you will not do otherwiſe than you ſhould do) I being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give ſentence in this altercation and contention, muſt rather of good congruence ſhew myſelf in that you diſagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth than your's, unleſs it may pleaſe Almighty God to inſpire and confirm the hearts of ſuch people to teſtify the ſame in ſome honeſt number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may underſtand it by faith, but that is through a glaſs darkly. And there have been thoſe who have had a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. Among whom I repute not you, but to this purpoſe I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, conſidering that to me unlearned, what I take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having a ſenſe exerciſed enough, as St. Paul ſaith, to diſcern good and evil: and it is ſhewed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a chriſtian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epiſtle, where he ſaith, All who confeſs that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, &c. are of God. And like as the word of God hath always cauſed diſſention among men unchriſtened, whereupon hath enſued and followed martyrdom to the preacher; ſo in Chriſt's congregation, among them that profeſs Chriſt's name in one Lord, one baptiſm, and one faith, they that preach and ſtir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their ſaying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of chriſtian charity, and maketh diviſion in the people, congregate and called by God into an unity of faith and baptiſm. But for this point I would pray to

God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but alſo ſuch ſoberneſs and uniform behaviour uſed in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly expreſs (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and ſalvation of our ſouls.

EDWARD BAYNTON.

LETTER

From Bishop LATIMER, *in Anſwer to* Sir EDWARD BAYNTON.

RIGHT worſhipful ſir, and my ſingular good maſter, &c. Whereas you have communicated my laſt letters to ſome of your friends, which rather deſire this or that in me, &c. what I think therein I will not now ſay; not that there could be any peril or danger in the ſaid letters (well taken) as far as I can judge, but for that they were raſhly and unadviſedly ſcribbled, as you might well know both by my excuſe, and by themſelves alſo, though no excuſe had been made.

But as to my preſumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may I not ſay ſo, to encourage my hearers to receive the ſame more ardently, and purſue it more ſtudiouſly? if it be uncertain, why dare I be ſo bold as to preach it? And if your friends, in whom you truſt ſo greatly, be preachers themſelves, after their ſermon, I pray you aſk them whether they be certain and ſure that they have taught you the truth or no, and ſend me word what they ſay, that I may learn to ſpeak after them. If they ſay they be ſure, you know what followeth; if they ſay they be unſure, when ſhall you be ſure, that have ſo doubtful and unſure teachers? And you yourſelf, whether are you certain or uncertain that Chriſt is your Saviour, and ſo forth of other articles that you are bound to believe? Or whether are you ſure or unſure, that civil ordinances are the good works of God, and that you do God ſervice in doing of them, if you do them for a good intent? If you are uncertain, take heed he is your ſure friend that heareth you ſay ſo, and then with what conſcience do you doubt, ſeeing, Whatſoever is not of faith is ſin? But contrary ſay you, God alone knoweth certain truth, and you have it but through a glaſs darkly; and there are ſome who have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge: and to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, conſidering that to you unlearned, what you take for truth may be otherwiſe, not having a ſenſe exerciſed to diſcern good and evil, as you reaſon againſt me, and ſo you do beſt to know ſurely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly here and there, with every wind of doctrine, &c. Our knowledge here, you ſay, is but through a glaſs darkly: what then? Therefore, it is not certain and ſure.

I deny your argument by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as you ſay, it is more ſure, becauſe the certainty of faith is the ſureſt certainty, as Duns and other ſchool-doctors ſay: that there is a great diſagreement between certain knowledge and clear knowledge, for that may be of things abſent that appear not, this requireth the preſence of the object, I mean of the thing known; ſo that I certainly and ſurely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your ſchool ſubtleties as well as you, which diſpute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to ſay, dark and obſcure knowledge, might not be certain and ſure knowledge, becauſe it is not clear, manifeſt, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been (ſay they) which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is there have been ſuch, and yet are too many to the great hindrance of Chriſt's glory, which nothing doth more obſcure, than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment.

And ſuch manner of arguments might well ſerve the devil againſt cowards, to occaſion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or elſe it may appear to make and ſerve againſt ſuch preachers as will define great ſubtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and ſure of by God's word to be truth, unleſs a man had a ſuperlative ſenſe to diſcern good and evil; as whether, if Adam had not ſinned, we ſhould have had ſtock-fiſh out of Iceland; how many larks for a penny if every ſtar in the element were a flickering hobby: how many years a man ſhall lie in purgatory for one ſin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to ſlake the ſin with, and ſo forget hell which cannot be ſlaked, to provide for purgatory.

Such argumentation (I ſay) might appear to make well againſt ſuch preachers, not againſt me, which ſimply and plainly utter true faith and the fruits of the ſame, which be the good works of God, which he hath prepared for us to walk in, every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word appointeth; which thing a man may do with ſoberneſs, having a ſenſe but indifferently exerciſed to diſcern good and evil. For it is but fooliſh humility, willingly to continue always an infant in Chriſt and in infirmity. In reproof of which it was ſaid, Ye have need of milk and not of ſtrong meat. For St. Paul ſaith not, Be ye humble, that ye be not deceived. For though he would not that we ſhould think arrogantly of ourſelves, and above what it becometh us to think of ourſelves, but ſo to think of ourſelves that we may be ſober and modeſt; yet he biddeth us ſo to think of ourſelves, as God hath diſtributed to every one the meaſure of faith. For he that may not with meekneſs think in himſelf what God hath done for him, and of himſelf as God hath done for him, how ſhall he, or when ſhall he give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the ſame, I pray you enquire of them whether they may with ſobriety and modeſty follow St. Paul's advice, where he ſaith unto us all, Be not children in underſtanding, but in malicuouſneſs be ye infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourſelves neither too high nor too low, but ſo that we may reſtore unto him who hath ſent abroad his gifts again, with good uſe of the ſame, ſo that we do our part with the ſame, to the glory of God, Amen.

For my life, I truſt in God that I neither (by God's grace) ſhall, neither in ſoberneſs, nor yet in drunkenneſs, affirm any truth of myſelf, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Chriſt, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church, conſonant to the ſcripture of God, though it be ſhewed you ever ſo often, that an opinion or manner of teaching, which cauſeth diſſention in a chriſtian congregation is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his epiſtle, where he ſaith, Every one that confeſſeth Chriſt in the fleſh, is of God. Firſt, Not every thing whereupon followeth diſſention, cauſeth diſſention, as I would that they ſhewed you, that would alſo ſhew you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men; if it be of men, then as Gamaliel ſaid, diſſolve it; if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends alſo, who can diſſolve it, but ſhall ſeem to repugn againſt God.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the falſe apoſtles, by whoſe teaching they were degenerate from the ſweet liberty of the goſpel into the ſour bond of ceremonies, thought themſelves, peradventure, a chriſtian congregation, when St. Paul did write his epiſtle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of maſterly curates, ſo that the falſe apoſtles might have objected to St. Paul, that his apoſtleſhip was not of God, foraſmuch as there was a diſſention in a chriſtian congregation by occaſion thereof, whilſt ſome would renew their opinions by the occaſion of the epiſtle, ſome would judge, as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and maſters the falſe apoſtles, which were not heathen and unchriſtened, but chriſtened and high prelates of the profeſſors of Chriſt. For your friends, I know right well what Eraſmus hath ſaid in an epiſtle ſet before the phariſees of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, which Eraſmus hath cauſed no ſmall diſſention with his pen in a chriſtian congregation, inaſmuch as many have diſſented from him, not only in cloiſters (men more than chriſtened men) of high perfection, but alſo at Paul's Croſs, and St. Mary Spittle, beſides many that with no ſmall zeal have written againſt him, but not without anſwer.

And I would fain learn of your friends, whether St. Jerome's writings were of God, which cauſed diſſention in a chriſtian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epiſtles, which be theſe: And whilſt that you, Euſtochium, virgin of Chriſt, inquire ſo earneſtly of me the truth of the ſcripture, you ſeem in ſome meaſure to put off my old age, corroded with teeth and bites of the envious, who ſtyle me a falſiter and corrupter of ſcriptures; but I am not affrighted at their envy in ſuch a work, nor will deny the truth of the ſcriptures to thoſe that require it. I pray you, what were they that called St. Jerome a falſiter and corrupter of ſcripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth; unchriſtian or chriſtian? What had the unchriſtian to do with the chriſtian doctrine? They were worſhipful fathers of a chriſtian congregation, men of much hotter ſtomachs than right judgments, of a greater authority than good charity. But St. Jerome would not ceaſe to do good for the evil ſpeaking of them that were naught, giving in that an example to us of the ſame: and if this diſſention were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? From ill to worſe.

And I pray you what mean your friends by a chriſtian congregation? All thoſe (think you) that have been baptized? But many of thoſe be in a worſe condition, and ſhall have greater damnation than many unbaptized. For it is not enough to a chriſtian congregation that it is of God, to have been baptized: but it is to be conſidered what we promiſe when we are baptized, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps. Which things if we buſy not ourſelves to do, let us not boaſt that we profeſs Chriſt's name in a chriſtian congregation.

And where they add, in one Lord; I read in Mat. xvii. Not every one that ſaith, Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke, the Lord himſelf complaineth and rebuketh ſuch profeſſors and confeſſors, ſaying to them, Why call ye me Lord, and do not that I bid you? But I would your friends would take the pains to read over Chryſoſtom upon Matt. Hom. xlix. cap. xxiv. to learn to know a chriſtian congregation, if it will pleaſe them to learn of him. And where they add, in one faith, St. James ſaith boldly, Shew me thy faith by thy works. And St. Jerome, if we believe, we ſhew the truth in working. And the ſcripture ſaith, He that believeth God, attendeth to his commandments. And the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to ſave you and your friend, from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company.

I do marvel why our chriſtian congregations be ſo greatly grieved that lay-people would read the ſcripture, ſeeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth of the ſame, which compareth not here the unchriſtened to the chriſtened, but the lay-people chriſtened to their curates chriſtened, under which they have been rocked and locked aſleep in a ſubtle trade a great while full ſoundly, though now of late they have been awaked, but to their pain, at leaſt to the pain of thoſe that awakened them with the word of God; and it is properly ſaid of St. Jerome to call themſelves maſters and not ſervants, meaning that ſervants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their maſter Chriſt, to his glory. Maſters teach not Chriſt's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which maſterly curates cannot be quiet, till they have brought the people aſleep again: but Chriſt the very true maſter ſaith, Watch and pray, leſt ye enter into temptation.

And where your friends think that I made a lie, when I ſaid, that I have thought in times paſt that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends are much better learned than I, yet I am ſure that they know not what either I think or have thought better than I, according to that, No man knoweth the things of a man, &c. as though better men than I have not thought ſo, as Bonifacius Octavus (as I remember) the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, Preſbyter Cardinalis in his book where he proveth the pope to be above the council general and ſpecial; and where he ſaith that the pope is king of kings, and lord of lords, and that he is the true lord of the whole world by good right, although in fact he is not ſo; and that Conſtantine did but reſtore his own unto him when he gave unto him Rome; ſo that, as St. John ſaith Chriſt did, He came unto his own, and his own received him not; and yet I hear not that any of our chriſtian congregations have declaimed againſt him, until now of late diſſention began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I wiſh you would deſire them to be my good maſters, and if they will do me no good, at leaſt do me no harm; and though they can do you more good than I, yet I am ſure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine own opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Maruphus in London, an Italian, and in paſt times a merchant of diſpenſations, which I ſuppoſe would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight and true martyr. As touching purgatory, and worſhipping of ſaints, I ſhewed to you my mind before my ordinary: and yet I marvelled ſomething, that after private communication had with him, you would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, ſaying I cannot interpret your evil doings towards me; and yet neither my ordinary nor you diſallowed the thing that I ſaid, and I looked not to eſcape better than Dr. Crome: but when I have opened my mind ever ſo much, yet I ſhall be reported to deny my preaching, by them that have belied it, as he was: I ſhall have need of great patience to bear the falſe report of the malignant church.

Sir, I had juſt made an end of this ſcribbling, and was beginning to tranſcribe it more correctly, but there came a man of my lord of Farley's, with a citation to appear before my lord of London in haſte, to be puniſhed for ſuch exceſſes as I committed at my laſt being there, ſo that I could not perform my purpoſe; I doubt whether you can read it as it is. If you can, well be it; if not, I pray you ſend it me again, and that ſo do, whether you can read it or not.

The Ungodly and Erroneous SAYING *contained in an* ENGLISH WORK, *inſcribed, An* EXPOSITION *upon the 7th Chapter of the Firſt* EPISTLE *to the* CORINTHIANS.

WHOSOEVER in himſelf doth not feel this godly thing, this gift of chaſtity, but doth feel incontinency, to him, I ſay, a commandment is given that he may be married.

Hereof doth follow, that no perſon may make a vow, or promiſe to live chaſte or ſingle, and that none are bound to keep any ſuch vows, but rather to break them: and he that ſhall obſerve them, it is damnable, and by the law of God already condemned.

The touching of women, ſome perſons have compaſſed too ſtraightly, ſo that they dare not touch a woman's hand or ſkin; moreover they imagined many, both ſtatutes and ceremonies, to keep them from company of women, as they thought that built abbies, but how fortunately that hath come to paſs, what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be ſpoken of.

He that is compelled outwardly to abſtain from women, and is inwardly full of luſt, is a diſſembler, and it is double letchery.

Mark what. ſoul-ſlayers they be that provoke fooliſh youth to a vow of chaſtity, compelling them to nouriſh inwardly hidden malice.

All other evils may be ſuffered with a mean conſcience.

This cannot ſo be endured, this can be helped by no medicine but by marriage.

It is good for a man not to touch a woman; this word good is not underſtood of merit and deſerving before God, as though an unmarried man were better before him, than the married, like as St. Jerome hath expounded this text; for it concerneth only faith, and no deed or work, but it is ſpoken of temporal quietneſs of this life, ſo that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquillity.

Chaſtity is a good thing, if luſt and incontinency make it not ſo common a thing as we have hitherto uſed to do, and yet do, but all amiſs; but the apoſtle willeth, that all men univerſally be conjugal: but all the biſhops ſince his time have deſtroyed this godly ordinance, when they babble and rail in pulpits, changing this word every into certain.

Men ought to ſtint of their ſtatutes-making, for a better ſtatute can none be than this, that men without any reſpect of time uſe their wife, not to exempt certain days as they have which they call vigils, and women conceived.

Faſting is a meaſurable uſage of meats and drinks; prayer is a crying, ſighing, deſiring, and mourning.

No man ought to enforce and compel men to faſting and prayer, as they hitherto by laws have done.

Before God, all things are alike and equal.

Abominably they do ſin who make nuns ſwell in pride, when they babble, that their religion is more precious than matrimony, and then feign that they ſhall have a crown or garland of gold, ſo making them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful; chaſtity is a gift of God, and therefore can no man neither promiſe, nor vow, nor keep it.

The ſects of all them that are called religious, and of all manner of ſhavelings, are falſely called the ſpiritual orders: for matrimony like as in very deed, ſo it ought to be called the ſpiritual ſtate before other orders worldly and ſecular; matrimony is of all other the higheſt religion, and moſt ſpiritual eſtate.

By teſtimony of ſcriptures, all the apoſtles and all the biſhops' ſucceſſors were married.

St. Paul ſaith, That he ought to be choſen to be a biſhop, that is the huſband of one wife.

Seeing you chuſe not married men to be biſhops, either Chriſt muſt be a fool and unrighteous, who did not ſo chuſe, or you Antichriſts and deceivers.

You put away univerſal marriage from prieſts, contrary unto God, to nature, to reaſon, to right, only of preſumption, without any manner of cauſe.

There is no ſin nor miſchief in all the world ſo great, that can hinder a man from prieſt-hood, but godly matrimony.

What other thing is it to ſay, that a prieſt ſhould not marry, than to ſay, that a man ſhould not be a man?

This I dare be bold to ſay, that where one is chaſte, there ought to be more than an hundred thouſand to live married.

To keep a young man in a cloiſter to live chaſte, is as much as to offer a child to Moloch there to be burnt.

All which great errors and peſtilent hereſies being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the ſame, with the tranſlation of ſcripture corrupted by William Tindal, as well in the Old Teſtament as in the New, and all other books in Engliſh containing ſuch errors were in the reign of king Henry VIII, 1531, by the advice and aſſent of the prelates and clerks, as well of the univerſities, as of all other aſſembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be ſuffered to go abroad among his ſubjects: and his highneſs further willed that his pleaſure and determination ſhould be notified by preachers abroad unto the people, as well for putting away of all ſuch books, as reading, retaining, or having hereafter of any other like, delivering unto certain preachers the form of a writing to be publiſhed in effect unto the people in their ſermons, whereof the form here followeth, willing them in all his realm to publiſh the ſame.

The BILL *in* ENGLISH, *to be publiſhed by the* PREACHER.

IT is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to ſhew and declare unto his audience that which might be profitable and wholeſome for the wealth of their ſouls, to be followed and taken, but alſo to note and ſignify unto them ſuch things as may be dangerous and contagious, to the intent they might be avoided and eſchewed, and alſo as near as they can judge who be teachers and authors of the ſame; this example we have of our Saviour Chriſt where he ſaith, Beware of falſe prophets, &c. St. Paul likewiſe many times giveth warning to ſuch as he wrote unto, that they ſhould beware of the falſe apoſtles, that in his abſence went about to corrupt the doctrine that he had taught them being preſent. Wherefore conſidering that it hath pleaſed the king's highneſs, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the preſent bodily wealth and tranquillity of all his ſubjects, for his and their worldly benefit and advantage, but moſt chiefly regarding the wealth of their ſouls and their due order towards God, thereby to deſerve and attain immortal glory, to aſſemble and call together the chief perſonages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both univerſities, charging and commanding them for the diſcharge and exoneration of his conſcience, to find, read, examine and diſcuſs, the contents of ſuch books as are now ſpread abroad within this his grace's realm in the Engliſh tongue, concerning the points and articles of our faith, and after their learning and conſcience to make relation unto his highneſs, whether the ſame books be expedient and profitable for his people, to the direction and ordering of their conſcience and ſoul, or elſe contagious and peſtiferous for the ſame: and whether the opinions contained in them, were agreeable to God's word and doctrine or no, foraſmuch as the ſaid congregation and aſſembly had free liberty and licence granted unto every man to ſay as his conſcience and learning ſerved him, without any reproof or blame to be imputed, or arreſted for any thing to be ſpoken there, whoſe perſon ſoever it touched, or any neceſſity to agree to the greater part, but only to ſay that his own learning and conſcience could maintain and juſtify; after mature deliberation and conſultation had, it was there, by a whole conſent, no man repugning or gain-ſaying, determined and agreed that the books now being abroad in the Engliſh tongue contain falſe traditions and corrupt doctrine, far different from the true ſenſe of the goſpel and catholic underſtanding of the ſcripture, only perſuading pernicious hereſies to the deſtruction of the ſouls of good chriſtian men, and that the certainty hereof, I can report unto you of mine own knowledge, being one of the ſaid aſſembly, and hearing and ſeeing the ſaid opinions read, declared and examined, and by the true ſenſe and meaning of God's learning reproved and rejected: I think therefore my duty is, taking upon me the office of preacher, following the example of our maſter Chriſt and St. Paul, as is aforeſaid, to warn and admoniſh you by the words of Chriſt, as I ſpake before; Beware of falſe prophets, &c. and take heed yourſelf that you be not infected by the contagion and infection of ſuch falſe apoſtles, as have in our Engliſh tongue ſet forth books to ſeduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their falſe interpretations of ſcripture into deteſtable and abominable hereſies, to the deſtruction of our ſouls: wherefore you that have the books called, The obedience of a chriſtian man; The ſum of ſcripture; The revelation of Antichriſt; The ſupplication of beggars; The mammon of unrighteouſneſs; The matrimony of Tindal; The New Teſtament in Engliſh, of the tranſlation which is now printed, and ſuch other books in Engliſh, the authors whereof either dare not, or do not put to their names, be pernicious books: deteſt them, abhor them, keep them not in your hands, deliver them to the ſuperiors ſuch as call for them: and if by reading them heretofore, any thing remaineth in your breaſts of that teaching, either forget it, or by information of the truth expel and purge it, to the intent that you being ſo purified and cleanſed of that contagious doctrine and peſtiferous traditions, may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and underſtanding of Chriſt's laws, to the comfort and edification of your ſouls; thus I move and exhort you in God to do, this is your duty to do.

The prelates of the church having the cure and charge of your ſouls ought to compel you, and your prince to puniſh and correct your not doing of the ſame, unto whom, as St. Paul ſaith, the ſword is given by God's ordinance for that purpoſe: you ſhall alſo farther underſtand that the king's highneſs, foraſmuch as it was reported unto him that there is engendered in divers of his ſubjects, an opinion, that it is his grace's duty to cauſe the ſcripture of God to be tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue to be communicated unto the people, and that the prelates and alſo his highneſs, do wrong in hindering of the ſame, his highneſs willed therefore every man there preſent in the ſaid aſſembly, freely and frankly to ſhew and open unto him what might be proved, and conferred by ſcripture, and holy doctors in that behalf, to the intent that his highneſs (as he there openly proteſted) might conform himſelf thereunto, minding to do his duty towards his people, as he would they ſhould do their duties towards him: in which matter, after the ſcripture declared, holy doctors and authors alledged and read, and all things ſaid, which might be on both ſides, and for both parts ſpoken, deduced, and brought forth, finally it appeared, that the having of the whole ſcripture in Engliſh, is not neceſſary to chriſtian men; but that without having any ſuch ſcripture, endeavouring themſelves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow ſuch leſſons as the preacher teacheth them, and ſo learned by his mouth, may as well edify ſpiritually in their ſouls, as if they had the ſame ſcriptures in Engliſh. And like as the having the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, hath been by both holy fathers of the church heretofore in ſome times thought meet and convenient, ſo at another time it hath been thought to holy fathers not expedient to be communicated amongſt them; wherein foraſmuch as the king's highneſs, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinketh in his conſcience, that the divulging of the ſcripture at this time in the Engliſh tongue, to be committed to the people, conſidering ſuch peſtilent books, and ſuch evil opinions, as be now ſpread amongſt them, ſhould rather be to their further confuſion and deſtruction, than the edification of their ſouls, and that as holy doctors teſtify, upon ſuch-like conſiderations, the ſame hath been done in times paſt, it was thought there in that aſſembly to all and ſingular in that congregation, that the king's highneſs and prelates, in ſo doing and not ſuffering the ſcripture to be divulged and communicated in the Engliſh tongue unto the people, at this time doth well. And alſo I think and judge the ſame, exhorting and moving you, that in conſideration his highneſs did there openly ſay and proteſt that he would cauſe the New Teſtament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue, to the intent that he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, as he might ſee their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the ſame, that you will ſo deteſt thoſe pernicious books, ſo abhor theſe hereſies and new opinions, ſo decline from arrogancy of knowledge and underſtanding of ſcripture after your fancies, and ſhew yourſelf in cunning and reaſoning, ſo ſober, quiet, meek, and temperate, as all fear of miſuſing the gift of ſcripture taken away, you may appear ſuch in your prince's eyes, and eyes of your prelates, as they ſhall have no juſt cauſe to fear any ſuch danger; perſuading unto yourſelf in the mean time, without grudging or murmuring, the very truth, which is this, that we cannot require or demand ſcripture to be divulged in the Engliſh tongue, otherwiſe than upon the diſcretion of our ſuperiors, ſo as whenſoever they think in their conſcience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you: and whenſoever it ſhall be ſeen otherwiſe unto them, they do amiſs in ſuffering you to have it. Of and upon which decree, order, and determination above recited, his gracious highneſs being in perſon in the chapel, called the old chapel, which ſometime was called St. Edward's chamber, ſat on the eaſt ſide of the parliament chamber, within his grace's palace at Weſtminſter, upon the 24th day of May in the year of our Lord God 1530, and in the two and twentieth year of his reign, called before his grace the three notaries hereunder written, and then and there in the preſence of all the perſonages there aſſembled and gathered together, willed and required the ſaid three notaries to make public and authentic inſtruments, and us to ſet thereunto our ſeal accordingly in and for witneſs, and perpetual memory and monument of this his grace's deſire, order, and determination, and of all and ſingular the premiſes, and all the perſonages then and there being preſent, to teſtify the ſame, and bear record and teſtimony thereupon: in witneſs of all and ſingular the premiſes, We William. archbiſhop, primate and legate, aforeſaid, have commanded and obtained theſe preſent letters teſtimonial, or preſent public or authentic inſtrument, containing therein the order, decree, and determination aboveſaid, to be made and to be ſubſcribed, and conſigned by the hands of the notaries hereafter named, and to be ſealed with our own ſeal. All which premiſes have been done in manner and form above ſpecified, then and there being preſent the noble perſonage of Thomas Moor, knight, great chancellor of England; our reverend brother in Chriſt, Cuthbert, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of Durham; and worſhipful perſonages, Mr. Stephen Gardiner, ſecretary; Mr. Richard Samſon, dean of the chapel, doctor of law; Mr. Richard Wolman, maſter of the requeſts; Mr. John Bell, counſellor, doctors of holy decrees; Mr. Nicholas Wilſon, the king's counſellor, Mr. Richard Duck, archdeacon of Wiltſhire, doctors of divinity; Mr. John Oliver, Mr. Edmund Steward, doctors of the law, chaplains to our ſovereign lord the king's grace; Mr. Richard Mawdley, Mr. William Mortimer, Mr. Edward Crome, Mr. Edward Wiggin, doctors alſo of divinity; Mr. Robert Carter, Mr. Edward Leighton, Mr. Hugh Latimer, and Roger Tilſon, maſters of arts in both the univerſities aboveſaid, with many more learned men of both univerſities, in a great number aſſembled then and there together, witneſs to the premiſes required and exhibited. Theſe being premiſed, now let us ſee the anſwer of biſhop Latimer again to this aforeſaid propoſal or inſtrument of the biſhops, in a letter which the ſaid Latimer wrote to king Henry the ſame time in that behalf.

Here followeth a letter of biſhop Latimer's written to king Henry the eighth upon this occaſion. You heard before of two proclamations ſet out by the biſhops in the name of king Henry, one in the year 1531, and the other in the year 1546; in which proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, were inhibited all Engliſh books, either containing or tending to any matter of the ſcripture. Where alſo we have expreſſed a catalogue of ſome of the errors which the ſaid biſhops have falſely picked out, and maliciouſly imputed to godly writers. Now biſhop Latimer growing in ſome favour with the king, and ſeeing the great decay of Chriſt's religion by reaſon of theſe two proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of conſcience, directed unto king Henry this letter here enſuing, thereby intending by all means poſſible, to perſuade the king's mind to ſet open again the freedom of God's holy word amongſt his ſubjects. The copy of which lettere followeth.

LETTER

From Bishop LATIMER *to* KING HENRY *the* EIGHTH, *for reſtoring again of the free* LIBERTY *of Reading the* HOLY SCRIPTURES.

To the moſt mighty Prince, King of England, Henry the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

THE holy doctor St. Auguſtine, in an epiſtle which he wrote to Caſalanus, ſaith, That he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him, for he feareth men more than God. And according to the ſame, the holy man St. John Chryſoſtom ſaith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he alſo which doth not freely pronounce and ſhew the truth that he knoweth. Theſe ſentences (moſt redoubted king) when I read now of late, and marked them earneſtly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me ſore afraid, troubled and vexed me grievouſly in my conſcience, and at laſt drove me to this ſtrait, that either I muſt ſhew forth ſuch things as I have read and learned in ſcripture, or elſe be of that ſort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: which thing, rather than it ſhould happen, I had rather ſuffer extreme puniſhment.

For what other thing is it to be a ſtranger unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Chriſt, who is the very truth, and cauſe of all truth? Who ſaith that whoſoever denieth him before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. Which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loſs of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, priſon, ſlander, hurts, baniſhments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea and death itſelf, be it ever ſo painful and ſhameful. But alas? how little do men regard thoſe ſharp ſayings of theſe two holy men? And how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! And eſpecially they which boaſt themſelves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themſelves the knowledge of holy ſcripture, yet will neither ſhew the truth themſelves, (as they be bound) or ſuffer them that would. So that unto them it may be ſaid, that which our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to the phariſees, Matth. xiii. Woe be unto you, ſcribes and phariſees, who ſhut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourſelves, neither ſuffer them that would to enter in. And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar not only the word of God, which David calleth a light to direct and ſhew every man how to order his affections and luſts, according to the commandments of God, but alſo by their ſubtle wilineſs they inſtruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Chriſtendom, to aid, ſuccour, and help them in this their miſchief: and eſpecially in this your realm they have ſo blinded your liege people and ſubjects with their laws, cuſtoms, ceremonies, and Banbury gloſſes, and puniſhed them with curſings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would ſay) and now at the laſt, when they ſee they cannot prevail againſt the open truth (which the more it is perſecuted, the more it increaſeth by their tyranny) they have made it treaſon to your noble grace, to have the ſcripture in Engliſh.

Here I beſeech your grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be ſo that as concerning your high majeſty and regal power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your ſubjects, in God's ſtead, to defend, aid, and ſuccour us in our right, and ſo I ſhould tremble and quake to ſpeak to your grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of ſin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which we are all both conceived and born: ſo have you no leſs need of the merits of Chriſt's paſſion for your ſalvation, than I and other of your ſubjects have, which be all members of the myſtical body of Chriſt. And though you be an higher member, yet you muſt not diſdain the leſſer. For as St. Paul ſaith, Thoſe members that are taken to be moſt vile, and had in leaſt reputation, be as neceſſary as the other, for the preſervation and keeping of the body. This, moſt gracious king, when I conſidered, and alſo your favourable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and ſimple letter to your grace, truſting that you will accept my true and faithful mind, even as it is.

Firſt, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and proceſs of our Saviour Chriſt, and his apoſtles, in preaching and ſetting forth of the goſpel; and to note alſo the words of our maſter Chriſt, which he ſaid to his diſciples when he ſent them forth to preach his goſpel, and to theſe have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Saviour Chriſt, The tree is known by it's fruit. For by the diligent marking of theſe, your grace ſhall clearly know and perceive who are the true followers of Chriſt, and teachers of his goſpel, and who are not. And concerning the firſt, all ſcripture ſheweth plainly that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's life was very poor.

Begin at his birth, and I beſeech you, who ever heard of a poorer, or ſo poor as he was? It were too tedious to write how poor Joſeph and the bleſſed virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and froſty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both maſter and man, and ſhe both miſtreſs and maid. How vilely, thinks your grace, were they treated in the inns and lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject a place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing neceſſary for a woman in that condition? Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the proceſs and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treaſures of this world at his pleaſure when and where he would.

But this he did to ſhew us, that his followers and vicars ſhould not regard and ſet by the riches and treaſures of this world, but after the ſaying of David we ought to take them, which ſaith thus; If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not ſet his affiance, pleaſure, truſt, and heart upon them. So that it is not againſt the poverty in ſpirit, which Chriſt preacheth in the goſpel of St. Matthew, chap. v. to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, ſo that their hearts be not fixed and ſet upon them ſo much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in ſpirit, have they ever ſo little, that have greedy and deſirous minds to the goods of this world, only becauſe they would live after their own pleaſures and luſts. And they alſo be private enemies (and ſo much the worſe) which have profeſſed, as they ſay, wilful poverty, and will not be called wordly men, as they have lord's lands, and king's riches; yea, rather than they would loſe one jot of that which they have, they will ſet debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his ſubjects, and cauſe rebellion againſt the temporal power, to which our Saviour Chriſt himſelf was obedient, and paid tribute as the goſpel declareth; unto whom the holy apoſtle St. Paul teacheth every chriſtian man to obey. Yea, and beſide all this, they will curſe and cenſure, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainſay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities ſhould decay.

Your grace may ſee what means and craft the ſpirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withſtand the acts which were made in your grace's laſt parliament againſt their ſuperfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Chriſt. And although I named the ſpirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be ſome good of them. Neither will I that your grace ſhould take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil perſons from their goods, and ſet better in their ſtead.

I name nor appoint no perſon nor perſons, but remit your grace to the rule of our Saviour Chriſt, as in Matthew the 7th chapter, By their fruits you ſhall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake to his diſciples when he ſent them to preach his goſpel, they be read in Matthew, the fifteenth chapter, where he ſheweth, That here they ſhall be hated and deſpiſed of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil ſhould be ſaid of them for their preaching ſake; but he exhorteth them to take patiently ſuch perſecution by his own example, ſaying, It becometh not the ſervant to be above his maſter. And ſeeing they call me Belzebub, what marvel is it if they call you deviliſh perſons and heretics. Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel, and there your grace ſhall ſee that he promiſed to the true preachers no worldly promotions or dignity, but perſecution and all kinds of puniſhment, and that they ſhould be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John alſo he ſaith, In the world ye ſhall have oppreſſion, and the world ſhall hate you; but in me you ſhall have peace. And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's goſpel, ſaith our Saviour Chriſt alſo, Lo I ſend you forth as ſheep, among wolves. So that the true preachers go like ſheep, harmleſs, and be perſecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrongs, but remit all to God; ſo far is it off that they will perſecute any other but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And ſo this is the moſt evident token that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt would that his goſpel and the preachers of it ſhould be known by, that it ſhould be deſpiſed among thoſe worldly wiſe men, and that they ſhould repute it but fooliſhneſs and deceivable doctrine, and the true preachers ſhould be perſecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the laſt loſe both goods and life.

And yet they that did this perſecution, ſhould think that they did well, and a great pleaſure to God. And the apoſtles remembering this leſſon of our Saviour Chriſt, were content to ſuffer ſuch perſecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the epiſtles. But we never read that they ever perſecuted any man. The holy apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, That every man that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhould ſuffer perſecution. And alſo he ſaith further, in the epiſtle to the Philippians, in the firſt chapter, That is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but alſo to ſuffer perſecution for his ſake.

Wherefore take this for a ſure concluſion, that there where the word of God is truly preached, there is perſecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers; and where is quietneſs and reſt in worldly pleaſure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are contrary to it. And, to be ſhort, St. Paul calleth the goſpel the word of the croſs, that word of puniſhment. And the holy ſcripture doth promiſe nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation and perſecution, which theſe worldly men cannot ſuffer, nor away withal.

Therefore pleaſeth it your good grace, to return to this golden rule of our maſter and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which is this, By their fruits you ſhall know them. For where you ſee perſecution, there is the goſpel, and there is the truth: and they that do perſecute, be void without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, in the third chapter of St. John's goſpel) is come into the world, and which ſhall utter and ſhew forth every man's works. And they whoſe works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to ſtop and hinder it, endeavouring to prevent, as much as poſſible, the reading of the holy ſcripture in our mother tongue, ſaying, that it would cauſe hereſy and inſurrection, and ſo they perſuade, at leaſt they would fain perſuade your grace to keep it back. But here mark their ſhameleſs boldneſs, who be not aſhamed, contrary to Chriſt's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of thiſtles, and to call light darkneſs and darkneſs light, ſweet bitter and bitter ſweet, good evil and evil good; and to ſay, that that which teacheth all obedience ſhould cauſe diſſention and ſtrife; but ſuch is their belly-wiſdom, wherewith they judge and meaſure every thing, to hold and keep ſtill this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath ſo blinded the eyes of their hearts that they cannot ſee the clear light of the ſacred ſcripture, though they babble ever ſo much of it.

But, as concerning this matter, other men have ſhewed your grace their minds, how neceſſary it is to have the ſcripture in Engliſh. Which thing alſo your grace hath promiſed by your laſt proclamation: which promiſe I pray God that your gracious highneſs may ſhortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedneſs of theſe worldly men detain you from your godly purpoſe and promiſe. Remember the ſubtle worldly wiſe counſellors of Hanun the ſon of Naas, king of the Ammonites, whom, when David ſent his ſervants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counſelled Hanun, not only not to receive them gently, but to treat them moſt ſhamefully and cruelly, ſaying, "That they came not to comfort him, but to eſpy and ſearch his land, ſo that afterward, they bringing David word how every thing ſtood, David might come and conquer it. And he cauſed the young king to ſhear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and ſent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have treated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards: O wretched counſellors. But ſee what followed of this carnal and worldly wiſdom: truly nothing but deſtruction of all the whole realm, and alſo of them that took their parts.

Therefore, good king, ſeeing that the right David, that is to ſay our ſaviour Chriſt, hath ſent his ſervants, that is to ſay, his true preachers, and his own word alſo to comfort our weak and ſick ſouls, let not theſe worldly men make your grace believe, that they will cauſe inſurrections and hereſies, and ſuch miſchiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, leſt that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obſtinately withſtood and gainſaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this againſt me, and ſay that experience doth ſhew, how that ſuch men as call themſelves followers of the goſpel, regard not your grace's commandment, neither obey your proclamation; and that was well proved by thoſe perſons which of late were puniſhed in London for keeping ſuch books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation: and ſo like as they regarded not this, ſo they will not regard or eſteem other your grace's laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty perſuaſion. For your grace knoweth, that there is no man living, eſpecially that loveth worldly promotion, that is ſo fooliſh to ſet forth, promote, or advance his enemies, whereby he ſhould be hindered of his worldly pleaſures and fleſhly deſires; but rather he will ſeek all the ways poſſible that he can, utterly to confound, deſtroy, and put him out of the way. And ſo as concerning your laſt proclamation, prohibiting ſuch books, the very true cauſe of it, and chief counſellors (as men ſay, and of likelihood it ſhould be) were they whoſe evil living and cloaked hypocriſy theſe books uttered and diſcloſed. And howbeit that there were three or four that would have had the ſcripture to go forth in Engliſh, yet it happened there, as it is always ſeen, that the moſt part overcometh the better, and ſo it might be that theſe men did not take this proclamation as your's, but as their's ſet forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury; and more would have done, if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to knowledge of the falſhood and privy treaſon, which their head and captain was about: and be you ſure not without adherents, if the matter be duly ſearched. For what marvel is it, that they being ſo nigh of your counſel, and ſo familiar with your lords, ſhould provoke both your grace and them to prohibit theſe books, which before by their own authority have forbidden the New Teſtament under pain of everlaſting damnation: for ſuch is their manner to ſend a thouſand men to hell, ere they ſend one to God, and yet the New Teſtament (and ſo I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will aſk them the cauſe of all inſurrections, which have heretofore been in this realm. And whence is it that there be ſo many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not only break your grace's laws, ordinances, and ſtatutes, but alſo the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not ſay theſe books, but rather their pardons, which cauſe many a man to ſin in truſt of them. For as for thoſe malefactors which I now rehearſed, you ſhall not find one among a hundred, but he will cry out, both of theſe books, and alſo of them that have them, yea and will be glad to ſpend the goods which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots, to burn both the books, and them that have them.

And as touching theſe men that were lately puniſhed for theſe books, there is no man, I hear ſay, that can lay any word or deed againſt them that ſhould ſound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, this only except, if it be your's, and not rather their's. And be it ſo that there be ſome that have theſe books, that be evil, unruly, and ſelf-willed perſons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet theſe books be not the cauſe thereof, no more than was the bodily preſence of Chriſt and his words the cauſe that Judas fell, but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which ſhould be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true expoſition of the ſcripture. If the lay-people had ſuch curates that would thus do their office, neither theſe books, nor the devil himſelf, could hurt or put them out of order, ſo that the lack of good curates is the deſtruction and cauſe of all miſchief. Neither do I write theſe things becauſe that I will either excuſe theſe men lately puniſhed, or to affirm all to be true written in theſe books, which I have not all read, but to ſhew that there cannot ſuch inconvenience follow of them, and eſpecially of the ſcripture, as they would make men believe ſhould follow.

And though it be ſo that your grace may by other books, and namely by the ſcripture itſelf, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in ſheep's cloathing, yet I think myſelf bound in conſcience to utter unto your grace ſuch things as God puts in my mind to write. And this I do (God ſo judge me,) not for hate of any perſon or perſons living, nor for that I think the word of God ſhould go forth without perſecution, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm ſhould have it in his mother's tongue. For the goſpel muſt needs have perſecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the laſt ſign that Chriſt ſhewed to his diſciples ſhould come before the day of judgment; ſo that if your grace had once commanded that the ſcripture ſhould be put forth, the devil would ſet forth ſome wile or other to perſecute the truth. But my purpoſe is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me by God, and to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increaſe to the pleaſure of God, to exhort your grace to avoid and beware of theſe miſchievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counſels.

And take heed whoſe counſels your grace doth take in this matter; for there be ſome that for fear of loſing of their worldly worſhip and honour, will not leave off their opinion, which raſhly, and that to pleaſe men withal by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, ſo that now they think that all their felicity which they put in this life ſhould be marred, and their wiſdom not ſo greatly regarded, if that which they have ſo ſlanderouſly oppreſſed ſhould be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let theſe men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was againſt the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called; he thought no ſhame to ſuffer puniſhment and great perſecutions for that which before he deſpiſed and called hereſy. And I am ſure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

Alſo the king and prophet David was not aſhamed to forſake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had ſhewed him that it was not the pleaſure of God that he ſhould build any houſe for him; and notwithſtanding that Nathan had before allowed and praiſed the purpoſe of David, yet he was not aſhamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleaſure.

Wherefore they be ſore drowned in worldly wiſdom, that think it againſt their worſhip to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your grace may eſpy, and take heed of their worldly wiſdom, which is fooliſhneſs before God, that you may do what God commandeth, and not what ſeemeth good in your own ſight without the word of God, that your grace may be found acceptable in his ſight, and one of the members of his church; and according to the office that he hath called your grace unto, you may be found a faithful miniſter of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by which he hath ever-more defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reaſon, as all the ſtories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourſelf, have pity upon your ſoul, and think that the day is even at hand when you ſhall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been ſhed with your ſword. In which day that your grace may ſtand ſtedfaſtly, and not be aſhamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have, as they ſay, your diſcharge ſealed with the blood of our Saviour Chriſt, which only ſerveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that ſuffered death for our ſins, who alſo prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praiſe for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preſerve your grace.

December 1, 1530,

In this letter of Biſhop Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to conſider: Firſt, his good conſcience to God, his good will to the king, the duty of a right paſtor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and eſpecially to the church of Chriſt. Further, we have to conſider the abuſe of prince's courts, how kings may be abuſed with flatterers and wicked counſellers about them; and eſpecially we may note the ſubtle practices of prelates, in abuſing the name and authority of kings, to ſet forth their own malignant proceedings. We may ſee moreover, and rather marvel at in the ſaid letter, the great boldneſs and divine ſtoutneſs in this man, who as yet being no biſhop, ſo freely and plainly without any fear of death, adventuring his own life to diſcharge his conſcience, durſt ſo boldly, to ſo mighty a prince, in ſuch a dangerous caſe, againſt the king's law and proclamation ſet out in ſuch a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admoniſh that which no counſellor durſt ſo much as once mention unto him in defence of Chriſt's goſpel. Whoſe example, if the biſhops and prelates of this realm, for their parts likewiſe, in like caſes would follow (as indeed they ought to do), it is very probable that many things would not be ſo out of frame as they be.

Finally, this moreover in the ſaid letter is to be noted, how bleſſedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful ſervant's bold adventure, and wholeſome counſel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet God ſo wrought with his ſervant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet diſpleaſure roſe to him thereby, but rather thanks and good will of the prince; for not long after the ſame he was advanced by the king to the biſhopric of Worceſter, as is above declared.

Seeing biſhop Latimer was ſo bold and plain with the king (as is before ſpecified) no great marvel if he did uſe the like freedom and plainneſs towards other meaner perſons, in admoniſhing them of their miſorder, eſpecially if any ſuch occaſion were given, where truth and equity required his defence againſt injury and oppreſſion. Accordingly he wrote another letter to a certain juſtice of the peace in Warwickſhire, who as he is long ſince departed, ſo he ſhall be here unnamed.

In this epiſtle, which is very long, he ſays, Ah, maſter N. what manner of man do you ſhew yourſelf to be? or what manner of conſcience do you ſhew yourſelf to have? For, firſt, as touching your brother, you know well that ſir Thomas Coking, with a letter of his own hand writing, hath witneſſed unto your brother's agreement; which letter he ſent to me unſealed, and I ſhewed the ſame to my neighbour, and others before I ſealed it, and perchance have a copy of the ſame yet to ſhew. With what conſcience then can you ſay that I ſhall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a ſufficient proof, think you? The Lord himſelf ſays, in the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare ſay, in your conſcience, if you have any conſcience, though I were in my grave, and ſo unable to prove any thing. As for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I truſt to ſee them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive, that dare ſwear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what ſhould we look for at ſuch men's hands, when you yourſelf play the part you do? But God is yet alive, and ſeeth all, and judgeth juſtly.

Worthy juſtices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, (of which ſort we have fewer amongſt us than I wiſh we had) will have no reſpect at all in their judgments and proceedings, to vicinity of blood, but altogether to the worth and juſtice of the cauſe, judging that to be juſt which is ſo in the ſight of God, though not of men; of which number I pray God make you one. He is juſt that doth juſtice. But he that ſinneth (as they all do which do unjuſtly for favour and pleaſure of men) is of the devil, ſaith he, of which ſort all our partaking and natural juſtices be with all their partiality and naturality. Wherefore it would be right and juſt that as many as be ſuch juſtices, be juſtly deprived of their offices, and further alſo to be puniſhed, according to the quantity or quality of their crime, ſo that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the common-wealth, which trouble us when they ought to help us, Amen.

During the time that Biſhop Latimer was priſoner at Oxford, we read not much of what he did write, beſides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his proteſtation at the time of his diſputation. There are very few or none of letters to his friends abroad, ſave theſe few lines, which he ſent to one Mrs. Wilkinſon of London, a pious woman, and afterwards an exile for the goſpel's ſake.

LETTER

From Mr. HUGH LATIMER *to* Mrs. WILKINSON, Widow, *in* London.

If the gift of a pot of water ſhall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he ſhall ſay to you, I was in priſon and you viſited me? God grant us all to do and ſuffer while we are here, as may be to his will and pleaſure, Amen.

Your's in Bocardo,
HUGH LATIMER.

Touching the memorable actions of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprize he attempted, in ſending to king Henry a preſent, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth ſtill an old cuſtom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the firſt day of January, every biſhop with ſome handſome new-year's gift ſhould gratify the king; and ſo they did, ſome with gold, ſome with ſilver, ſome with a purſe full of money, and ſome one thing, ſome another: but biſhop Latimer being then biſhop of Worceſter, among the reſt, preſented a New Teſtament for his new-year's gift, with a napkin having this poſey about it, Fornicators and adulterers God will judge.

And thus haſt thou (gentle reader) the whole life, both of Dr. Ridley and biſhop Latimer, two worthy fathers in the church of Chriſt, their writings, diſputations, ſufferings, their painful travels, and faithful preachings, ſtudious ſervice in Chriſt's church, their patient impriſonment, and conſtant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, ſince their firſt ſpringing years to this preſent month of queen Mary, being the month of October, Anno 1555. In which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore as we have heretofore declared both their lives ſeverally and diſtinctly one from another; ſo now jointly to couple them both together, as they were both together joined in one ſociety or cauſe of martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Chriſt, proſecute the reſt that remaineth concerning their laſt examination, degrading and conſtant ſuffering, with the order and manner alſo of the commiſſioners, and what were their words, their objections, their orations there uſed, and what again were the anſwers of thoſe men to the ſame, as in the proceſs here followeth to be ſeen.

The ORDER *and* MANNER *of the* EXAMINATION *of* Dr. RIDLEY, *and* Bishop LATIMER, *in* Sept. 1555.

First, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate, and the queen's commiſſioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September, whereof more ſhall be ſaid (by God's grace) when we come to the death of the ſaid archbiſhop; ſhortly after, on the 28th of the ſaid month, another commiſſion was ſent down to Oxford from cardinal Poole, to John White, biſhop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Dr. Holyman, biſhop of Briſtol. The contents and virtue of which commiſſion was, that the ſaid biſhops of Lincoln, Glouceſter, and Briſtol, or two of them, ſhould have full power and authority to cite, examine and judge, Mr. Hugh Latimer and Dr. Ridley, for divers and ſundry erroneous opinions, which the ſaid Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open diſputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554, as long before in the time of perdition, and ſince. Which opinions, if the named perſons would now recant, giving and yielding themſelves to the determination of the univerſal and catholic church planted by Peter in the bleſſed ſee of Rome, that then the deputed judges, by the ſaid authority of their commiſſion, ſhould have power to receive the ſaid penitent perſons, and forthwith adminiſter unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope; but if the ſaid Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, would ſtoutly and ſtubbornly maintain theſe their erroneous opinions and aſſertions, that then the ſaid lords by their commiſſion ſhould proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics; that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of biſhops, prieſts, and all other eccleſiaſtical orders, ſhould pronounce them as heretics, and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and ſo yield them to receive puniſhments due to all ſuch hereſy and ſchiſm.

Wherefore the laſt of September the ſaid two perſons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were cited to appear before the ſaid lords in the divinity ſchool at Oxford at eight of the clock. At which time the lords repaired thither, placing themſelves in the high ſeat made for public lectures and diſputations, according to the uſage of that ſchool, being then fair ſet and trimmed with cloth of tiſſue, and cuſhions of velvet: and after the ſaid lords were placed and ſet, the ſaid Latimer and Ridley were ſent for. And firſt Dr. Ridley appeared, and by and by biſhop Latimer. But becauſe it ſeemed good ſeverally to examine them, biſhop Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore ſoon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the ſchool, the commiſſion was publiſhed by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley ſtanding bareheaded, humbly expecting the cauſe of that his appearance, as ſoon as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holineſs, put on his cap. Wherefore after the commiſſion was publiſhed, the biſhop of London ſpake as followeth.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, although neither I, nor yet my lords here, in reſpect of our own perſons do look for cap or knee, yet becauſe we bear and repreſent ſuch perſons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate a latere to the pope's holineſs, as well in that he is of a noble parentage (and there Dr. Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeiſance) deſcending from the royal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues and godly life, and eſpecially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holineſs, it ſhould have becomed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore except you will of your ownſelf take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the ſaid cardinal, as of the pope's holineſs, uncover the ſame, leſt that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, ſhould be prejudicial to the ſaid moſt reverend perſons, (which thing we may in no caſe ſuffer) you ſhall cauſe us to take the pains to oblige ſome man to pluck off your cap from you. To whom Dr. Ridley (deſiring licence) anſwered:

Ridley. As touching what you ſaid, my lord, that you of your own perſons deſire no cap or knee, but only require the ſame in conſideration that you repreſent the cardinal's grace's perſon, I would have you know, and thereupon make my proteſtation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own perſons, neither for any derogation of honour towards the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence and honour, in that he came of the moſt regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue; and as touching theſe virtues and points, I, with all humility (therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee) and obeiſance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace; but in that he is legate to the biſhop of Rome (and therewith put on his cap) whoſe uſurped ſupremacy and abuſed authority I utterly refuſe and renounce, I may in no wiſe give any obeiſance or honour unto him, leſt that my ſo doing might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word: and therefore that I might not only by confeſſion profeſs the verity, in not reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but alſo in geſture, in behaviour, and all my doings, expreſs the ſame, I have put on my cap, and for this conſideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordſhips, neither contempt of this worſhipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal's grace, both for his noble parentage, and alſo his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, you excuſe yourſelf of that with which we preſſed you not, in that you proteſt you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (who look for no ſuch homage from you) neither for any contempt of this audience: which although juſtly they may, yet (as I ſuppoſe) in this caſe do not require any ſuch obeiſance of you, neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal deſcent (at which word Dr. Ridley moved his cap) and excellent qualities; for although in all the premiſes honour be due, yet in theſe reſpects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is here in England, deputy of the pope's holineſs (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Dr. Ridley put on his) and therefore we ſay unto you the ſecond time, that except you take the pains yourſelf, to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you ſhall put us to the pains to cauſe ſome man to take it from you, except you alledge ſome infirmity and ſickneſs, or other more reaſonable cauſe, upon the conſideration whereof we may do as we think good.

Ridley. The premiſes I ſaid only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordſhips, as to this worſhipful audience, why and for what conſideration I uſed ſuch kind of behaviour, in not humbling myſelf to your lordſhips with cap and knee: and as for my ſickneſs, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at eaſe as I have been this long time; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that uſurped ſupremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly deſpiſe all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhips, and I ſhall be content.

Then the biſhop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is, an officer of the univerſity) to pluck his cap from his head; Dr. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take it away.

After this, the biſhop of Lincoln, in a long oration, exhorted Dr. Ridley to recant, and ſubmit himſelf to the univerſal faith of Chriſt, in this manner.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, I am ſure you have ſufficiently pondered with yourſelf the effect of this our commiſſion with good advice, conſidering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you ſhall receive the true doctrine of the church, which firſt was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Chriſt, and from him by lineal ſucceſſion hath been brought to this our time, if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and ſeditious opinions, content to yield yourſelf to the undoubted faith and truth of the goſpel, received and always taught by the catholic and apoſtolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the ſame, all chriſtian people have and do confeſs, you only ſtanding alone by yourſelf: you underſtand and perceive, I am ſure, that authority is given to us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to join and aſſociate you again into the number of the catholics and Chriſt's church, from which you have ſo long ſtrayed, without which no man can be ſaved; which thing I and my lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, moſt heartily deſire, and I, for my part, (here he put off his cap) moſt earneſtly exhort you to do.

Remember, Mr. Ridley, it is no ſtrange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us, you have taken degrees in the ſchool. You were made a prieſt, and became a preacher, ſetting forth the ſame doctrine which we now do. You were made biſhop according to our laws; and, to be ſhort, it is not ſo long ago ſince you ſeparated yourſelf from us, and in the time of hereſy, became a ſetter forth of that deviliſh and ſeditious doctrine which in theſe latter days was preached amongſt us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to ſpring, the council, willing to win my lord chancellor, ſent you to him (I then being in my lord's houſe, unknown, as I ſuppoſe, to you); and after you had talked with my lord ſecretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your perſuaſion, and amongſt others this was one, that you ſhould ſay, Tuſh, my lord, this matter of juſtification is but a trifle, let us not ſtick to condeſcend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, ſtand ſtoutly in the verity of the ſacrament: for I ſee they will aſſault thee alſo. If this be true, (as my lord is a man credible enough in ſuch a matter) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the bleſſed ſacrament.

Alſo in a ſermon of your's at Paul's Croſs, you as effectually and catholicly ſpake of that bleſſed ſacrament as any man might have done, whereby it appeareth that is no ſtrange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wiſh you to return thither from whence you came, that is, with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the ſupremacy of our moſt reverend father in God the pope's holineſs, which (as I ſaid) lineally taketh his deſcent from Peter, upon whom Chriſt promiſed before his death, to build his church; which ſupremacy or prerogative the moſt ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge: and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but eſpecially fixed upon a place of St. Auguſtine, who writeth after this manner: All the chriſtian countries beyond the ſea are ſubject to the church of Rome. Here you ſee, Mr. Ridley, that all Chriſtendom is ſubject to the church of Rome. What ſhould hinder you therefore to confeſs the ſame as St. Auguſtine and other fathers?

Then Dr. Ridley deſired his patience to ſuffer him to ſpeak ſomewhat of the premiſes, leſt the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having leave granted him, he ſaid in this manner:

Ridley. My lord, I moſt heartily thank your lordſhip, as well for your gentleneſs, as alſo for your ſobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked eſpecially three points, which you uſed to perſuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly perſuaded to be grounded, not upon man's imaginations and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Chriſt's goſpel, and not to look back and to return to the Romiſh ſee, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and eſpecially (which moveth me moſt) contrary to the expreſs word of God.

The firſt point in this, that the ſee of Rome taking his beginning from Peter, upon whom you ſay Chriſt hath built his church, hath in all ages, lineally from biſhop to biſhop, been brought to this time.

Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have confeſſed the ſame.

Thirdly, That in that I was once of the ſame opinion, and together with you I did acknowledge the ſame.

Firſt, As touching the ſaying of Chriſt, from whence your lordſhip gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not to be underſtood as you take it, as the circumſtance of the place will declare. For after that Chriſt had aſked his diſciples whom men judged him to be, and they anſwered, that ſome had ſaid he was a prophet, ſome Elias, ſome one thing, ſome another; then he ſaid, Whom ſay ye that I am? Then Peter ſaid, I ſay that thou art Chriſt the Son of God. To whom Chriſt anſwered, I ſay, Thou art Peter, and upon this ſtone I will build my church; that is to ſay, Upon this ſtone, not meaning Peter himſelf, as though he would have conſtituted a mortal man, ſo frail and brittle a foundation of his ſtable and infallible church; but upon this rock-ſtone, that is, this confeſſion of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all chriſtianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confeſs that Chriſt is the Son of God. Whoſoever believeth not this, Chriſt is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Chriſt printed in his forehead, which confeſſeth not that Chriſt is the Son of God.

Therefore Chriſt ſaid unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this confeſſion, that he was Chriſt the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Chriſt: ſo that this belief, that Chriſt is the Son of God, is the foundation of our chriſtianity, and the ſupport of our church. Here you ſee upon what foundation Chriſt's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the ſtable and infallible word of God.

Now as touching the lineal deſcent of the biſhops in the ſee of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apoſtles time, and long after, were great maintainers and ſetters-forth of Chriſt's glory, in which, above all other countries and regions, there eſpecially was preached the true goſpel, the ſacraments were moſt duly adminiſtered; and as, before Chriſt's coming, it was a city ſo valiant in power, and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner ſubject to it, and after Chriſt's paſſion divers of the apoſtles there ſuffered perſecution for the goſpel's ſake: ſo after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the goſpel, and became chriſtians, the goſpel there, as well for the fame of the place, flouriſhed moſt, whereby the biſhops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, moſt eſteemed in all councils and aſſemblies, not becauſe they acknowledged them to be their head, but becauſe the place was moſt reverenced and ſpoken of, for the great power and ſtrength of the ſame. As now here in England, the biſhop of Lincoln, in ſeſſions and ſittings, hath the pre-eminence of other biſhops, not that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the biſhopric (and therewith the people ſmiled.) Wherefore the doctors in their writings have ſpoken moſt reverently of this ſee of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordſhip did rehearſe the ancient doctors to give to the ſee of Rome.

In like manner, I cannot, nor dare but commend, reverence, and honour the ſee of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and ſetting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the goſpel, as it did many years after Chriſt. But after that the biſhops of that ſee, ſeeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to ſet themſelves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and ſupremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a biſhop of Rome alſo, confeſs that place is the very true Antichriſt, whereof St. John ſpeaketh by name of the whore of Babylon; and ſay, with the ſaid St. Gregory, He that maketh himſelf a biſhop over all the world, is worſe than Antichriſt.

Now whereas you ſay St. Auguſtine ſhould ſeem not only to give ſuch a prerogative, but alſo ſupremacy to the ſee of Rome, in that he ſaith all the chriſtian world is ſubject to the church of Rome, and therefore ſhould give to that ſee a certain kind of ſubjection; I am ſure that your lordſhip knoweth, that in St. Auſtin's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbiſhop of Canterbury hath under him certain biſhoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be ſaid to be their patriarch. Alſo your lordſhip knoweth right well, that at the time St. Auſtin wrote that book he was then biſhop in Africa. Farther, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the ſea called the Mediterranean ſea, ſo that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa, may be called countries beyond the ſea. Hereof St. Auſtin ſaith, All the chriſtian countries beyond the ſeas and remote regions, are ſubject to the ſee of Rome. If I ſhould ſay all countries beyond the ſea, I do except England, which to me now being in England, is not beyond the ſea. In this ſenſe, St. Auſtin ſaith, All the countries beyond the ſea are ſubject to the ſee of Rome; declaring thereby, that Rome was one of the ſees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe, by what ſubjection I pray you? Only for a pre-eminence; as we here in England ſay, that all the biſhoprics in England are ſubject to the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

For this pre-eminence alſo the other doctors (as you recited) ſay, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the biſhopric of Lincoln is mother to the biſhopric of Oxford, becauſe the biſhopric of Oxford came from the biſhopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one; and ſo is the archbiſhopric of Canterbury mother to the other biſhoprics which are in her province. In like manner the archbiſhopric of

York, is mother to the North biſhoprics; and yet no man will ſay, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is ſupreme head to the other biſhoprics; neither then ought we to confeſs the ſee of Rome to be ſupreme head, becauſe the doctors in their writings confeſs the ſee of Rome to be the mother of churches.

Now were you ſay, I was once of the ſame religion which you are of, the truth is I cannot but confeſs the ſame. Yet ſo was St. Paul a perſecutor of Chriſt. But in that you ſay, I was one of you not long ago, in that I in doing my meſſage to my lord of Wincheſter, ſhould deſire him to ſtand ſtout in that groſs opinion of the ſupper of the Lord: in very deed I was ſent (as your lordſhip ſaid) from the council to my lord of Wincheſter, to exhort him alſo to receive the true confeſſion of juſtification; and becauſe he was very refractory, I ſaid to him, What make you ſo great a matter herein? You ſee many anabaptiſts riſe againſt the ſacrament of the altar; I pray you my lord, be diligent in confounding of them: for at that time my lord of Wincheſter and I had to do with two anabaptiſts in Kent. In this ſenſe I willed my lord to be ſtiff in the defence of the ſacraments againſt the deteſtable errors of anabaptiſts, and not in the confirmation of that groſs and carnal opinion now maintained.

In like ſort, as touching the ſermon which I made at St. Paul's Croſs, you ſhall underſtand, that there were at St. Paul's, and divers others places, fixed railing bills againſt the ſacrament, terming it Jack of the Box, The Sacrament of the Haltar, Round Robin, with ſuch unſeemly terms; for which cauſes, I, to to rebuke irreverent behaviour of certain evil-diſpoſed perſons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what eſtimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger enſued the miſhandling thereof, affirming in that ſacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Chriſt, effectually by grace and ſpirit; which words the unlearned underſtanding not, ſuppoſed that I had meant of the groſs and carnal being which the Romiſh decrees ſet forth, that a body having life and motion, ſhould be indeed under the ſhapes of bread and wine.

With that the biſhop of Lincoln interrupting him, ſaid:

You muſt conſider that the church of Chriſt lieth not hid, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle in the candleſtick. Ponder with yourſelf, that the church of Chriſt is catholic, and univerſally ſpread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compaſs of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

Then Dr. Ridley, with often interruption, at length ſpake.

Ridley. My lord, I acknowledge an unſpotted church of Chriſt, in which no man can err, without which no man can be ſaved, which is ſpread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the ſame to any one place as you ſaid, but confeſs the ſame to be ſpread throughout all the world; and where Chriſt's ſacraments are duly adminiſtered, his goſpel truly preached and followed, there doth Chriſt's church ſhine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candleſtick: but rather it is ſuch as you that would have the church of Chriſt bound to a place, who appoint the ſame to Rome, that there and no where elſe is the foundation of Chriſt's church. But I am fully perſuaded that Chriſt's church is every where founded, in every place where his goſpel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I uſe herein the counſel of Vicentius Lyrinenſis, whom I am ſure you will allow, who giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all ſchiſms and hereſies known, writeth in this manner: When (ſaith he) one part is corrupted with hereſies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greateſt part be infected, then prefer antiquity.

In like manner now when I perceive the greateſt part of chriſtianity to be infected with the poiſon of the ſee of Rome, I repair to the uſage of the primitive church, which I find quite contrary to the pope's decrees: as in that the prieſt receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and ſuch like: wherefore it requireth, that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romiſh church.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, theſe faults which you charge the ſee of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For firſt, it was never forbid the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know alſo, that Chriſt after his reſurrection, at the time he went with his apoſtles to Galilee, opened himſelf by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul after his long ſailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apoſtles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to adminiſter the ſacrament under the form of bread only. And yet the church had juſt occaſion to decree, that the laity ſhould receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Chriſt was not wholly both fleſh and blood, under the form of bread. Therefore to take away their opinion, and to eſtabliſh better the people's faith, the Holy Ghoſt in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity ſhould receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon juſt conſideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, that St. Paul writing to certain of the Gentiles, who had received the goſpel, biddeth them to abſtain from things ſtifled, and from blood, ſo that this ſeemeth to be an expreſs commandment: yet who will ſay but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? How is it lawful but by the permiſſion of the church?

Ridley. My lord, ſuch things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a ſufferance, by a little to win the Jews to Chriſt, were only commandments of time, and reſpected not the ſucceſſors.

After further diſputation the following articles were read, and anſwers required the ſucceeding day in St. Mary's church:

The ARTICLES.

IN the name of God, Amen. We John of Lincoln, James of Glouceſter, and John of Briſtol, biſhops, &c.

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and ſeverally, firſt, that thou Nicholas Ridley in this high univerſity of Oxford, in the year 1554, haſt affirmed and openly defended and maintained, that the true and natural body of Chriſt, after the conſecration of the prieſt, is not really preſent in the ſacrament of the altar.

2. Item. That in the year aforeſaid thou haſt publicly affirmed and defended, that in the ſacrament of the altar remaineth ſtill the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

3. Item. That in the ſaid year thou haſt openly affirmed, and obſtinately maintained, that in the maſs is no propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item. That in the year and place aforeſaid, theſe the aforeſaid aſſertions ſolemnly had been condemned by the ſcholaſtical cenſure of this ſchool, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith.

5. Item. That all and ſingular the premiſes be true, notorious, and openly known by the public fame.

BISHOP LATIMER *appeareth before the* COMMISSIONERS.

BISHOP Latimer being brought in by the bailiffs according to orders, thus ſpoke to the lords:

Latimer. My lords, If I appear again, I pray you not to ſend for me until you be ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry ſo long gazing upon the cold walls. Then ſaid the biſhop of Lincoln:

Lincoln. Mr. Latimer, you ſhall underſtand, that I and my lords here have a commiſſion from my lord cardinal Poole's grace, legate a latere to this realm of England, from our moſt reverend father in God, the pope's holineſs, to examine you upon certain opinions and aſſertions of your's, which you, as well here openly in diſputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at ſundry and at divers other times, did affirm, maintain, and obſtinately defend. In which commiſſion be ſpecially two points; the one which we muſt deſire you is, that if you ſhall now recant, revoke, and diſannul theſe your errors, and together with all this realm, yea, all the world, confeſs the truth, we, upon due repentance on your part, ſhall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a ſtrayed ſheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Chriſt's church, from which you, in the time of ſchiſm, fell. So that it is no new place to which I exhort you; I deſire you to return thither from whence you went.

Conſider, Mr. Latimer, that without unity of the church there is no ſalvation, and in the church there be no errors. Therefore what ſhould hinder you to confeſs that which all the realm confeſſeth, to forſake that which their majeſties the king and queen have renounced, and all the realm recanted: it was a common error, and it is now of all confeſſed: it will be no more ſhame to you than it was to us all. Conſider, Mr. Latimer, that within theſe twenty years this realm alſo with all the world confeſſed one church, acknowledged in Chriſt's church an head, and by what means, and for what occaſion it cut off itſelf from the reſt of chriſtianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confeſſed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the ſee of Rome was forſaken, ſave that we muſt ſpare them that are dead, to whom the rehearſal would be opprobrious; it is no uſurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Chriſt, a ſure foundation, a perfect builder; as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the expreſs word of God, may be proved.

For Chriſt ſpake expreſly to Peter, ſaying, Feed my ſheep, and rule my ſheep, which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Chriſt's flock, but includeth alſo a certain pre-eminence and government; and therefore is the king called a King from ruling: ſo that in ſaying, Rule, Chriſt declared a power which he gave to Peter, which juriſdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and ſo in all ages it hath remained in the ſee of Rome. This, if you will confeſs with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and falſe aſſertions, then will you do what we moſt deſire, then ſhall we reſt upon the firſt part of our commiſſion, then ſhall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and according to the authority given unto us, miniſter unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of abſolution. But if you ſhall ſtubbornly perſevere in your blindneſs, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you ſtand alone, will be ſingular in your opinions, if by ſchiſms and hereſy you will divide yourſelf from the church, then muſt we proceed to the ſecond part of the commiſſion, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (that the temporal ſword of the realm, and not we, will do), but to ſeparate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are the ſon of perdition, a loſt child, and as you are a rotten member of the church, ſo to cut you off from the church, and ſo to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed againſt you, according to the tenor of their laws.

Therefore, Mr. Latimer, for God's love conſider your eſtate, remember you are a learned man, you have taken degrees in the ſchools, borne the office of a biſhop; remember you are an old man, ſpare your body, accelerate not your death, and eſpecially remember your ſoul's health, and the peace of your conſcience; conſider that if you ſhould die in this ſtate, you ſhall be a ſtinking ſacrifice to God; for it is the cauſe that maketh the martyr, and not the death: conſider that if you die in this ſtate, you die without grace, for without the church can be no ſalvation.

After the biſhop had ſomewhat pauſed, then Mr. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow) and aſked whether his lordſhip had done ſpeaking; and the biſhop anſwered, Yea.

Latimer. Then will your lordſhip give me leave to ſpeak a word or two?

Lincoln. Yea, Mr. Latimer, ſo that you uſe a modeſt kind of talk, without railing or taunts.

Latimer. Your lordſhip gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confeſs (my lord) a catholic church, ſpread throughout all the world, in which no man may err, without which unity of the church no man can be ſaved, but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you ſay; and methought your lordſhip brought a place out of the ſcriptures to confirm the ſame, that there was a juriſdiction given to Peter, in that Chriſt bade him govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well and truly, in that he was bid to govern; but ſince the biſhops of Rome have taken a new kind of government. Indeed they ought to govern, but how, my lord? not as they will themſelves; but this government muſt be hedged in and ditched in. They muſt rule, but according to the word of God.

The biſhop of Lincoln now ſaid, that they came not to diſpute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his determinate anſwers to their articles, and ſo began to propoſe the ſame articles which were propoſed to Dr. Ridley, requiring biſhop Latimer's anſwers to the firſt.

Latimer. I do not deny, my lord, that in the ſacrament by ſpirit and grace is the very body and blood of Chriſt, becauſe that every man by receiving bodily that bread and wine, ſpiritually receiveth the body and blood of Chriſt, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Chriſt's paſſion: but I deny that the body and blood of Chriſt is in ſuch manner in the ſacrament as you would have it.

The notaries took his anſwer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you, Mr. Latimer, to the ſecond article? and recited the ſame.

Latimer. There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and ſuch a change as no power, but the omnipotency of God can make, in that which before was bread, ſhould now have the dignity to exhibit Chriſt's body, and yet the bread is ſtill bread, and the wine ſtill wine; for the change is not in the nature, but the dignity, becauſe now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Chriſt's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be ſo taken, but as holy bread ſanctified by God's word.

So the notaries penned his anſwer in the affirmative.

Lincoln. What ſay you to the third queſtion? and recited the ſame.

Latimer. No, no, my lord, Chriſt made one perfect ſacrifice for all the world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the prieſt offer up Chriſt again for the ſins of man, which he took away by offering himſelf once for all (as St. Paul ſaith) upon the croſs, neither is there any propitiation for our ſins ſaving his croſs only.

So the notaries penned his anſwer to this article alſo affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you to the fourth, Mr. Latimer? and then recited it. After the recital whereof, when Mr. Latimer anſwered not, the biſhop aſked whether he heard him or no?

Latimer. Yes, but I do not underſtand what you mean thereby.

Lincoln. Marry, only this, that theſe your aſſertions were condemned by Dr. Weſton, as hereſies; is it no ſo, Mr. Latimer?

Latimer. Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjuſtly, he that is a judge of all, knoweth.

The notaries alſo took this anſwer affirmatively.

Lincoln. What ſay you, Mr. Latimer, to the fifth article? and then recited it.

Latimer. I know not what you mean by theſe terms. I am no lawyer, I wiſh you would propoſe the matter plainly.

Lincoln. In that we proceed according to the law, we muſt uſe their terms alſo. The meaning only is this, that theſe your aſſertions are notorious, evil ſpoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the people.

Latimer. I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not ſo much among them, in that I have been ſecluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, and care not.

This anſwer taken, the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, Mr. Latimer, we mean not that theſe your anſwers ſhall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you ſhall appear before us again, and then it ſhall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you reſpite till to-morrow, truſting that after you have pondered well all things againſt that time, you will not be aſhamed to confeſs the truth.

The SECOND SESSION.

THE next day following (which was the firſt of October) ſomewhat after eight o'clock, the ſaid lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were ſet in a high throne, well trimmed with cloth of tiſſue and ſilk, then appeared Dr. Ridley, who was ſet at a framed table a good ſpace from the biſhop's feet, which table had a ſilk cloak caſt over it, and the place was encompaſſed about in a quadrate form, partly for gentlemen who repaired thither, (for this was the ſeſſions-day of goal-delivery) and the heads of the univerſity to ſit, and partly to keep off the preſs of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the univerſity, as of the town, came hither to ſee the end of theſe two perſons. After Dr. Ridley's appearance, and the ſilence of the audience, the biſhop of Lincoln ſpake in manner following.

Lincoln. Mr. Ridley, yeſterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excuſed yourſelf of that whereof no man accuſed you, in ſaying you did not put on your cap for any obſtinacy towards us, who as touching our own perſons deſired no ſuch obedience of you, but only in reſpect of thoſe whoſe perſons we bear; neither (you ſaid) for any contempt that you bear to this worſhipful audience, which, although juſtly, may yet, in this caſe, require no ſuch humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is deſcended from the royal blood, in that he is a man moſt noble, both for his excellent qualities and ſingular learning; for as touching thoſe points, you ſaid, you would with all humility, honour, reverence, and worſhip his grace; but in that he is legate to the moſt reverend father in God, the pope's holineſs, (with that the biſhop, with all then preſent, put off their caps, but Dr. Ridley moved not his) you ſaid you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but foraſmuch as this is the point, as we told you yeſterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, unleſs you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take care to cauſe your bonnet to be taken from you, unleſs you pretend ſickneſs, as yeſterday you did not.

Ridley. I pretend now no other cauſe than I did yeſterday, that is, only that hereby it may appear, that not only in word and confeſſion, but alſo by all my geſture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority from the pope, and not for any pride of mind, (as God is my judge) neither for contempt of your lordſhips, or of this worſhipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, as concerning thoſe points which your lordſhip ſpake of, that is, his noble parentage, and ſingular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordſhip may do as it ſhall pleaſe you, it ſhall not offend me, but I ſhall be content with your ordinance in that behalf.

Lincoln. Foraſmuch as you do now anſwer as you did yeſterday, we muſt do alſo as we did then, and forthwith one of the beadles very haſtily ſnatched his cap from his head.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln began the examination.

Lincoln. Now, Mr. Ridley, what ſay you to the firſt article? If you have brought your anſwer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.

Then Dr. Ridley took a ſheet of paper out of his boſom, and began to read that which he had written; but the biſhop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he deſired licenſe to read it, ſaying, that it was nothing but his anſwers, but the biſhop would in no wiſe ſuffer him.

With that Dr. Ridley, ſeeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the biſhop of Lincoln, who after he had ſecretly communicated it to the other two biſhops, declared the ſenſe, but would not read it as it was written, ſaying, that it contained words of blaſphemy.

Then the biſhop of Lincoln recited the firſt article, and required Dr. Ridley's anſwer to it. Then Dr. Ridley ſaid, that his anſwer was there in writing, and deſired that it might be publiſhed; but the biſhop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his anſwer, that he referred him to his anſwer in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation, Dr. Weſton being prolocutor.

In like manner the biſhop of Lincoln recited the ſecond article, and required an anſwer, and Dr. Ridley referred to him his anſwer in writing exhibited now, and alſo before at the time of diſputation: and like anſwers were taken to all the reſt of the articles.

Their anſwers in this manner rehearſed, taken and penned by the notaries, the biſhop of Glouceſter began an exhortation to move Dr. Ridley to turn.

Glouceſter. If you would once empty your ſtomach, captivate your ſenſes, ſubdue your reaſon, and together with us conſider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might eaſily be brought to acknowledge one church with us, to confeſs one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble ſtay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the ſingularity of his own wit: ſo that if you overthrow the ſingularity of Ridley's wit, then muſt needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall alſo. You remember well, Mr. Ridley, that the prophet ſpeaketh moſt truly, ſaying, Woe, woe be to them which are ſingular and wiſe in their own conceits.

But you will ſay here, it is true that the prophet ſaith: but how know you, that I am wiſe in mine own conceit? Yes, Mr. Ridley, you refuſe the determination of the catholic church; you muſt needs be ſingular and wiſe in your own conceit, for you bring ſcripture for the proof of your aſſertions, and we alſo bring ſcriptures: you underſtand them in one ſenſe, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own interpretation, then you are ſingular in your own conceit: but if you ſay you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, likely you underſtand them in one meaning, and we take them in another: how will you know the truth herein? If you ſtand to your own judgment, then are you ſingular in your own conceit, then can you not avoid the woe which the prophet ſpeaketh of.

Wherefore if you have no ſtay but the catholic church in matters of controverſy, except you will reſt upon the ſingularity and wiſdom of your own brain, if the prophet moſt truly ſaith, Woe, woe be to them that are wiſe in their own conceit: then for God's love, Dr.

Ridley, ſtand not ſingular, be not you wiſe in your own conceit, pleaſe not yourſelf overmuch. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with divers other heretics which have been in the church, how, I pray you, were they ſuppreſſed and convinced? By reaſoning in diſputations? No truly, the Arians had no more places for the confirmation of their hereſy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed except we do conſtitute the church our foundation, ſtay, and judge, we can have no end of controverſies, no end of diſputations. For in that we all bring ſcriptures and doctors for the proof of our aſſertions, who ſhould be judge of this our controverſy? If we ourſelves then be ſingular and wiſe in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet ſpeaketh of.

It remaineth therefore that we ſubmit ourſelves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promiſed to remain to the world's end, to whom he promiſed to ſend the Holy Ghoſt which ſhould teach it the truth. Wherefore, Mr. Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet ſpeaketh of, be not wiſe in your own judgment: if you will not be wiſe and ſingular in your own judgment, captivate your own underſtanding, ſubdue your reaſon, and ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the church.

This is briefly the ſum of the oration of the biſhop of Glouceſter, by which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifyng and enlarging the matter eloquently with ſundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to perſuade Dr. Ridley to turn and forſake his religion.

To whom Dr. Ridley anſwered in few words, That he ſaid moſt truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wiſe in his own conceit; but that he acknowledgeth no ſuch ſingularity in him, nor knew any cauſe why he ſhould attribute ſo much to himſelf. And whereas he ſaid biſhop Cranmer leaned to him, that was moſt untrue, in that he was but a young ſcholar in compariſon of Dr. Cranmer; for when he was but a young ſcholar, Mr. Cranmer was then a doctor; ſo that he confeſſed Mr. Cranmer might have been his ſchoolmaſter for many years. It ſeemed that he would have ſpoke more, but the biſhop of Glouceſter interrupted him, ſaying:

Why, Mr. Ridley, it is your own confeſſion, for Mr. Latimer, at the time of his diſputation, confeſſed his learning to lie in Mr. Cranmer's books, and Mr. Cranmer alſo ſaid that it was your doing.

The biſhop of Lincoln likewiſe with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, deſired him to turn. But Dr. Ridley made an abſolute anſwer, That he was fully perſuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word, and therefore without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his ſoul, he could not forſake his maſter and Lord God; but deſired the biſhop to perform his grant, in that his lordſhip ſaid the day before, that he ſhould have licenſe to ſhew his cauſe, why he could not with a ſafe conſcience admit the authority of the pope. But the biſhop of Lincoln ſaid, that whereas then he had demanded licenſe to ſpeak three words, he was contented then that he ſhould ſpeak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then ſtepped forth Dr. Weſton, who ſat by, and ſaid, Why, my lord, he hath ſpoken four hundred already.

Dr. Ridley confeſſed he had, but they were not of his preſcribed number, neither of that matter. The biſhop of Lincoln bade him take his licenſe: but he ſhould ſpeak but forty, and then he would tell them upon his fingers: and preſently Dr. Ridley began to ſpeak: but before he had ended half a ſentence, the doctors ſitting by, cried out, and ſaid, that his number was out: and with that he was put to ſilence.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln, who ſat in the midſt, did judge and condemn the ſaid Nicholas Ridley as an heretic, and ſo adjudged him preſently, to be degraded from the degree of a biſhop, from prieſthood, and all eccleſiaſtical order; declaring moreover the ſaid Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore committed him to the ſecular powers, of them to receive due puniſhment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication.

The laſt APPEARANCE *and* EXAMINATION *of* Bishop LATIMER *before the* COMMISSIONERS.

THIS ſentence being publiſhed by the biſhop of Lincoln, Dr. Ridley was committed as a priſoner to the mayor, and immediately Mr. Latimer was ſent for: but in the mean time the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Dr. Ridley ſtood, was removed, becauſe (as men reported) Mr. Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as Dr. Ridley had. But as ſoon as Mr Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately ſpoke to the commiſſioners, ſaying:

Latimer. My lords, I beſeech your lordſhips to ſet a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very ſore back, ſo that the preſs of the multitude doth me much harm.

Lincoln. I am ſorry, Mr. Latimer, for your hurt. With that Mr. Latimer thanked his lordſhip.

Mr. Latimer, although yeſterday, after we had taken your anſwers to thoſe articles which we propoſed, we might have juſtly proceeded to judgment againſt you, eſpecially in that you required the ſame; yet we having a good hope of your returning, deſiring not your deſtruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred farther proceſs till this day; and now according to the appointment, we have called you before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical aſſertions, and ſubmit yourſelf to the determination of the church, as we moſt heartily deſire, and I for my part, as I did yeſterday, moſt earneſtly do exhort you, or to know whether you perſevere ſtill the man that you were, for which we would be ſorry.

It ſeemed that the biſhop would have farther proceeded, if Mr. Latimer had not interrupted him by ſaying:

Your lordſhip doth often repeat the catholic church, as though I ſhould deny the ſame. No, my lord, I confeſs there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will ſtand, but not the church which you call catholic, which ought rather to be termed diabolic.

To the firſt article I anſwer now as I did yeſterday, that in the ſacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Chriſt, and drinketh his blood by the ſpirit and grace. But after a corporal being, which the Romiſh church preſcribeth, Chriſt's body and blood is not in the ſacrament under the forms of bread and wine.

The notaries took his anſwer affirmatively. For the ſecond article he referred himſelf to his anſwers made before.

After this the biſhop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate anſwer.

Latimer. Chriſt made one oblation and ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, and that a perfect ſacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory ſacrifice.

In like manner did he anſwer to the other articles, not varying from his anſwers made the day before.

After his anſwers were penned by the notaries, and the biſhop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like manner to recant as he did Dr. Ridley, and revoke his errors and falſe aſſertions, and Mr. Latimer had anſwered that he neither would nor could deny his maſter Chriſt and his verity, the biſhop of Lincoln deſired Mr. Latimer to hearken to him: and then Mr. Latimer hearkening for ſome new matter and other talk, the biſhop of Lincoln read his condemnation, after which the ſaid three biſhops brake up their ſeſſions, and diſmiſſed the audience. And ſo Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer continued in cuſtody till the 16th day of the ſaid month of October.

A COPY *of* Dr. RIDLEY's SUPPLICATION *written to the* QUEEN *and given to his Brother to be preſented.*

MAY it pleaſe your majeſty, for Chriſt our Saviour's ſake, in a matter of conſcience (and not for myſelf, but for other poor men) to vouchſafe to hear and underſtand this humble ſupplication. It is ſo (honourable princeſs) that in the time while I was in the miniſtry of the ſee of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leaſes of their tenantries and holding: and ſome have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines and ſums of money, both to me and to the chapter of St. Paul's, for the confirmation of the ſame.

Now I ſay, that the biſhop, who at preſent occupieth the ſame room, will not allow the aforeſaid leaſes, which muſt redound to many a poor man's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble ſupplication unto your honourable grace, that it may pleaſe the ſame, for Chriſt's ſake, to be unto the aforeſaid poor men their gracious patroneſs and defender, either that they may enjoy their aforeſaid leaſes and years renewed, as I ſuppoſe when their matter ſhall be heard with conſcience, both juſtice, conſcience, and equity ſhall require, for that their leaſes ſhall be found (I truſt) made without fraud or cunning, either on their part, or of mine, and always alſo the old rents reſerved to the ſee, without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may pleaſe your gracious highneſs, to command that the poor men may be reſtored to their former leaſes and years, and to have rendered to them again ſuch ſums of money as they paid to me and to the Chapter-houſe for their leaſes and years, ſo now taken from them. Which thing, concerning the fines paid to me, may be eaſily done, if it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to command ſome portion of thoſe goods which I left in my houſe, when I fled in hope of pardon for my treſpaſs towards your grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reſerved in the ſame houſe. I ſuppoſe that half the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and eſpecially in an iron-cheſt in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to reſtore all ſuch fines received, the true ſums and parcels whereof are not ſet in their leaſes: and therefore if that way ſhall pleaſe your highneſs, they muſt be known by ſuch ways and means, as your majeſty, by the advice of men of wiſdom and conſcience, ſhall appoint: but yet, for Chriſt's ſake, I crave and humbly beſeech your majeſty, of your gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

I have alſo a poor ſiſter that came to me out of the north, with three fatherleſs children, whom I married after to a ſervant of mine own houſe: ſhe is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beſeech your honourable grace, that her caſe may be mercifully conſidered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which ſuffered indurance at my entrance into the ſee of London, not one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almoſt half a year after his depoſition before I entered into that place; yea, and alſo if any were left, known to be his, he had licenſe to carry it away, or there for his uſe it did lie ſafe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the houſe. And moreover, I had not only no part of his moveable goods, but alſo (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Mr. Stanton, can teſtify) I paid for them towards his ſervants common liveries and wages, after his depoſition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell which.

In all theſe matters I beſeech your honourable majeſty to hear the advice of men of conſcience, and eſpecially the archbiſhop of York; which for that he was continually in my houſe a year and more, before mine impriſonment, I ſuppoſe he is not altogether ignorant of ſome part of theſe things; and alſo his grace doth know my ſiſter, for whoſe ſuccour, and ſome relief, now unto your highneſs I make humble ſuit.

N. R.

October 16, 1555.

The degradation being paſt, and all things finiſhed, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him ſafely from any man ſpeaking with him, and that he ſhould be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praiſing God, burſt out in theſe words, and ſaid, God, I thank thee, and to thy praiſe be it ſpoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it would ſurely be laid in my lap, I ſee very well. Whereunto Brooks ſaid, he played the part of a proud phariſee, exalting and praiſing himſelf.

But Dr. Ridley ſaid, No, no, no, as I have ſaid before, to God's glory be it ſpoken. I confeſs myſelf to be a miſerable wretched ſinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the ſame: therefore I pray you have no ſuch opinion of me. Then in going away, a certain warden of a college, adviſed Dr. Ridley to repent and forſake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Dr. Ridley ſaid, Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and, I pray God (if it be his bleſſed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the underſtanding of his word.

The BEHAVIOUR *of* Dr. RIDLEY *at his* SUPPER, *the Night before his Suffering.*

THE night before he ſuffered, his beard was waſhed and his legs; and as he ſat at ſupper, the ſame night, at the houſe of Mr. Iriſh, (who was his keeper) he aſked his hoſteſs, and the reſt at the table, to his marriage: for, ſaid he, to-morrow I muſt be married, and ſo ſhewed himſelf to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wiſhing his ſiſter at his marriage, he aſked his brother, ſitting at the table, whether ſhe could find in her heart to be there or no: and he anſwered, Yea, I dare ſay, with all her heart. At which word he ſaid, He was glad to hear of her ſo much therein. At this diſcourſe Mrs. Iriſh wept.

But Dr. Ridley comforted her, and ſaid, O Mrs. Iriſh, you love me not now, I ſee well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not ſo much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourſelf, though my breakfaſt ſhall be ſomewhat ſharp and painful, yet I am ſure my ſupper ſhall be more pleaſant and ſweet.

When they aroſe from the table, his brother offered to ſtay all night with him. But he ſaid, No, no, that you ſhall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to ſleep as quietly to night, as ever I did in my life. So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his croſs quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

The BEHAVIOUR *of* Dr. RIDLEY *and* Mr. LATIMER, *at the* TIME *of their* DEATH, October 16, 1555.

UPON the north ſide of the town, in the ditch over-againſt Baliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might ariſe to hinder the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the houſeholders of the city to be there aſſiſtant, ſufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readineſs, the priſoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

Dr. Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, ſuch as he was wont to wear being biſhop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewiſe about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap upon the ſame, going in a pair of ſlippers to the ſtake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Briſtow freeze frock much torn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long ſhroud hanging over his hoſe down to the feet: which at the firſt ſight ſtirred men's hearts to pity them, beholding on the one ſide the honour they ſometime had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Dr. Ridley, as he paſſed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping belike to have ſeen him at the glaſs window, and to have ſpoke unto him: But Dr. Cranmer was then buſy with friar Soto and his fellows diſputing together, ſo that he could not ſee him through that occaſion. Then Dr. Ridley looking back, eſpied Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he ſaid, Oh, be you there? Yea, ſaid Mr. Latimer, have after as faſt as I can follow. So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the ſtake, the one after the other, where firſt Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellouſly and earneſtly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven: then ſhortly after ſeeing Mr. Latimer with a wondrous chearful look he ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and as they that ſtood near reported, comforted him, ſaying, Be of good heart, brother, for God will either aſſuage the fury of the flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it.

With that he went to the ſtake, kneeled down by it, and earneſtly prayed, and behind him Mr. Latimer kneeled, as earneſtly calling upon God as he. After they aroſe, the one talked with the other a little while, till thoſe who were appointed to ſee the execution removed themſelves out of the ſun. What they ſaid I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith began his ſermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians: "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I ſhall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alledged, that the goodneſs of the cauſe, and not the order of death, maketh the holineſs of the perſon: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herſelf, for that they and ſuch like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which deſperately ſeparated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that thoſe men that ſtood before him would do. But he cried ſtill to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other ſide, he declared their diverſities in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which ſect they were he ſaid, and that was the worſt: but the old church of Chriſt, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwiſe. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witneſs of the truth. Which countenance they made in many other places of his ſermon, where they thought he ſpake amiſs. He ended with a very ſhort exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and ſave their lives and ſouls, which elſe were condemned. His ſermon was ſcarce in all a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley ſaid to Mr. Latimer, Will you begin to anſwer the ſermon, or ſhall I? Mr. Latimer ſaid, Begin you firſt, I pray you. I will, ſaid Dr. Ridley.

Then the wicked ſermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer kneeled down on their knees to my lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, who ſat upon a form thereby. Unto whom Dr. Ridley ſaid, I beſeech you, my lord, even for Chriſt's ſake, that I may ſpeak but two or three words: and whilſt my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might have leave to ſpeak, the bailiffs, and Dr. Marſhal, the vice-chancellor, ran haſtily unto him, and with their hands ſtopped his mouth, and ſaid, Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the ſame, you ſhall not only have liberty ſo to do, but alſo the benefit of a ſubject, that is, have your life. Not otherwiſe? ſaid Dr. Ridley. No, quoth Dr. Marſhal: therefore if you will not do ſo, then there is no remedy but you muſt ſuffer for your deſerts. Well, ſays Dr. Ridley, ſo long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Chriſt, and his known truth: God's will be done in me. And with that he roſe up, and ſaid with a loud voice, Well then I commit our cauſe to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.

To which Mr. Latimer added his old poſey, Well, there is nothing hid but it ſhall be opened: and he ſaid he could anſwer Smith well enough, if he might be ſuffered. Incontinently they were commanded to make themſelves ready, which they with all meekneſs obeyed. Dr. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Mr. Shipſide, who all the time of his impriſonment, although he might not be ſuffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him neceſſaries, which from time to time he ſent him by the ſerjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth he gave away, the others the bailiffs took away.

He gave away divers other ſmall things to gentlemen ſtanding by, and divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat, and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen, ſome napkins, ſome nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and ſuch other things as he had about him, to every one that ſtood next him. Some plucked the points off his hoſe. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Mr. Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly ſuffered his keeper to pull off his hoſe, and his other array which to look unto was very ſimple; and being ſtripped into his ſhroud, he ſeemed as comely a perſon to them that were there preſent, as one could well ſee; and whereas in his cloaths he appeared a withered and ſilly old man, he now ſtood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might behold.

Then Dr. Ridley ſtanding as yet in his truſs, ſaid to his brother, It were beſt for me to go in my truſs ſtill. No, ſays his brother, it will put you to more pain: and the truſs will do a poor man good. Whereunto Dr. Ridley ſaid, Be it in the name of God, and ſo unlaced himſelf. Then being in his ſhirt, he ſtood upon the aforeſaid ſtone, and held up his hand and ſaid, O heavenly Father, I give unto thee moſt hearty thanks, for that thou haſt called me to be a profeſſor of thee, even unto death; I beſeech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver the ſame from all her enemies.

Then the ſmith took a chain of iron, and brought the ſame about both their middles: and as he was knocking in the ſtaple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand and ſhaked it, for it did gird in his belly; and looking aſide to the ſmith, ſaid, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the fleſh will have it's courſe. Then his brother brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley aſked him what it was, his brother ſaid gunpowder. Then, ſaid he, I will take it to be ſent of God, therefore I will receive it as ſent from him. And have you any, ſaid he, for my brother? (meaning Mr. Latimer.) Yea, ſir, that I have, ſays his brother. Then give it unto him, ſaid he, betime, leſt you come too late. So his brother went and carried ſome gunpowder to Mr. Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley ſpake unto my lord Williams, and ſaid, My lord, I muſt be a ſuitor unto your lordſhip in the behalf of divers poor men, and eſpecially in the cauſe of my poor ſiſter: I have made a ſupplication to the queen's majeſty in their behalf. I beſeech your lordſhip, for Chriſt's ſake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the ſupplication, and will reſort to your lordſhip to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conſcience, (I praiſe God) this only excepted. Whilſt I was in the ſee of London, divers poor men took leaſes of me, and agreed with me for the ſame. Now I hear ſay the biſhop that now occupieth the ſame room, will not allow my grants to them made, but contrary to all law and conſcience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not ſuffer them to enjoy the ſame. I beſeech you, my lord, be a means for them: you ſhall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

Then they brought a lighted faggot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley's feet. Thereupon Mr. Latimer ſaid, Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man, we ſhall this day light ſuch a candle by God's grace in England, as I truſt never ſhall be put out. When Dr. Ridley ſaw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my ſpirit: Lord, receive my ſpirit; and after repeated this often, Lord, Lord, receive my ſpirit. Mr. Latimer cried as vehemently on the other ſide, O Father of heaven receive my ſoul: who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After he had ſtroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he ſoon died, (as it appeareth) with very little or no pain. And thus much concerning this old and faithful ſervant of God, Bp. Latimer, for whoſe laborious travels, fruitful life, and conſtant death, the whole realm hath cauſe to give thanks to Almighty God.

But Dr. Ridley, by the ill making of the fire, the faggots being green, and built too high about the goſs, ſo that the fire being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, which put him to ſuch exquiſite pain, that he deſired them for God's ſake to let the fire come unto him; which his brother-in-law heard, but not well underſtood, intending him to rid him of his pain, (for which cauſe he gave attendance) as one in ſuch ſorrow, not well adviſed what he did, heaped faggots upon him, ſo that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often deſire them to let the fire come to him, ſaying, I cannot burn. Which indeed plainly appeared: for after his legs were conſumed by reaſon of his ſtruggling through the pain, (whereof he had no releaſe, but only the comfort he had from God) he ſhewed that ſide towards us clean, ſhirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all his torment he forgot not to call upon God ſtill, having in his mouth, Lord have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry, Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the ſtanders by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above, and where he ſaw the fire flame up, he wreſted himſelf to that ſide. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was ſeen to ſtir no more, but burned on the other ſide, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet: which ſome ſaid, happened by reaſon that the chain looſed, others ſaid, that he fell over the chain, by reaſon of the poiſe of his body, and the weakneſs of the nether limbs.

In a farewell letter written to all true friends in God, Dr. Ridley concluded with this ſharp admonition to Papiſts.

Inſtead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people with much ſolemn diſguiſing a thing which they call their maſs, but indeed and in truth, it is a very maſking and mockery of the true ſupper of the Lord; or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby theſe falſe thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the ſimple people, that they have brought them from the true worſhip of God unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itſelf, but in ſubſtances is the creature of bread and wine, and in uſe of the Lord's table is the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood: and for this holy uſe, for which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to repreſent unto us his bleſſed body torn upon the croſs for us, and his blood there ſhed, it pleaſed him to call them his body and blood: which underſtanding Chriſt declareth to be his true meaning, when he ſaith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewiſe doth ſet out the ſame more plainly, ſpeaking of the ſame ſacrament, after the words of conſecration, ſaying, As often as ye ſhall eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſet forth (he meaneth with the ſame) the Lord's death until his coming again. And here again theſe thieves have alſo robbed the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Chriſt written in his goſpel.

Although the cauſe of the true man ſlain of the thief, helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cauſe for which I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one (as I ſaid before); yet know ye that there is no ſmall difference. Theſe thieves againſt whom I do ſtand, are much worſe than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they ſteal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far different. Theſe thieves are worſe (I ſay) for they are cruel, more wicked, more falſe, more deceitful, and crafty: for thoſe will but kill the body, but theſe will kill both body and ſoul. Thoſe, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but theſe for their ſpiritual kind of robbery, are called Sacrilegi, as you would ſay, Church-robbers. They are more wicked: for thoſe go about to ſpoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and ſilver, and worldly ſubſtance; theſe go about in the ways of the devil their ſpiritual father, to ſteal from the univerſal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treaſure, true faith, true charity, and hope of ſalvation in the blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, yea, to ſpoil us of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, of his goſpel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, ſo dearly purchaſed unto us, with the death of our Maſter and Saviour Chriſt.

Theſe church-robbers be alſo much more falſe, crafty, and deceitful, than the thieves upon the borders; for theſe have not the craft ſo to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themſelves to be evil, they ſteal commonly in the night, they dare not appear in judgments and ſeſſions, where juſtice is executed, and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oftentimes hanged for their faults. But theſe church-robbers can ſo cloak and colour their ſpiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falſhood to be truth, and truth falſhood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkneſs, and darkneſs light; ſuperſtition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worſhip of God; and that which is in ſubſtance the creature of bread and wine, to be no other ſubſtance but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt the living Lord, both God and man.

The kind of fight againſt theſe church-robbers is alſo of another ſort and kind, than that is which is againſt the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth againſt them with ſpear and lance, with bow and bill, and all ſuch kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here as the enemies be of another nature, ſo the watchmen of Chriſt's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, muſt be armed, and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the ſoldiers of Antichriſt, although the battle is ſet forth againſt the church by mortal men, being fleſh and blood, and neverthleſs members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand maſter is the power of darkneſs, their members are ſpiritual wickedneſs, wicked ſpirits, ſpirits of errors, of hereſies, of all deceit and ungodlineſs, ſpirits of idolatry, ſuperſtition and hypocriſy, which are called by St. Paul, principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkneſs of this world, and ſpiritual ſubtilties concerning heavenly things; therefore our weapons muſt be fit and meet to fight againſt ſuch, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as ſpear and lance, but ſpiritual and heavenly: we muſt fight againſt ſuch with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their falſe craft and hereſies, their idolatry, ſuperſtition, and hypocriſy, and to ſave (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their ſouls.

And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, "We fight not againſt fleſh and blood," that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to ſave both body and ſoul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteouſneſs, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our ſword wherewith we ſmite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falſhood, is the Word of God. With theſe weapons, under the banner of the croſs of Chriſt, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand maſter and captain, Chriſt; and then we reckon ourſelves to triumph and to win the crown of everlaſting bliſs, when enduring in this battle without any ſhrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain Chriſt, our maſter, after the example of his holy prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs, when (I ſay) we are ſlain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are moſt cruelly and without all mercy murdered down like a flock of ſheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and ſpiteful the kind of death is whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more bleſſed and happy we reckon (without all doubts) our martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have ſpoke for your comfort, leſt at my death ye might be abaſhed, or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cauſe to rejoice (if ye love me indeed) that it hath pleaſed God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rocheſter, or in the ſee of London, or ever ſhould have had in the ſee of Durham, whereunto I was laſt of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cauſe (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cauſe to be God's, to be Chriſt's quarrel, and of his goſpel, to be the common weal of all the elect and choſen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he (I ſay) that knoweth this aſſuredly by God's word, and the teſtimony of his own conſcience (as I through the infinite goodneſs of God, not of myſelf, but by his grace acknowledge myſelf to do;) who is he, I ſay, that knoweth this and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his maſter Chriſt, and his bleſſed goſpel; loveth his brotherhood, the choſen children of God, and alſo luſteth and longeth for everlaſting life: who is he, I ſay again, that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cauſe to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any ſuch ſhould be that ſhould forſake this grace of God. I truſt in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and Father of all comfort through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to ſtand againſt the face of the enemy in his cauſe, and to chuſe rather the loſs of all my worldly ſubſtance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his own truth: that he will comfort me, aid me, and ſtrengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my ſpirit and ſoul into his holy hands, whereof I moſt heartily beſeech his moſt holy ſacred Majeſty of his infinite goodneſs and mercy. through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

Farewel therefore (Cambridge) my loving mother and tender nurſe. If I ſhould not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I ſhould not for thy benefits at leaſt love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What benefits hadſt thou ever, that thou uſedſt to give and beſtow upon thy beſt beloved children, that thou thoughteſt too good for me? Thou didſt beſtow on me all thy ſchool-degrees, the common offices, the chaplainſhip of the univerſity, the office of the proctorſhip, and of a common reader; and of thy private advantages and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madeſt me not partner of? Firſt to be a ſcholar, then to be a fellow, and after my departure from thee, thou calledſt me again to a maſterſhip of a right worſhipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all thy kindneſs, and I pray God that his laws, and the ſincere goſpel of Chriſt may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewel, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure, and my charge: what caſe thou art in now God knoweth, I know not well. Thou waſt ever named ſince I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be ſtudious, well learned, and a greater promoter of goſpel, and of God's true word; ſo I found thee, and, bleſſed be God, ſo I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee mine own dear college, if ever thou ſuffer thyſelf by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, buts, and trees, if they could ſpeak, would bear me witneſs) I learned without book almoſt all St. Paul's epiſtles, yea, and I think all the canonical epiſtles, ſave only the Apocalypſe. Of which ſtudy, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the ſweet ſmell thereof I truſt I ſhall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after, and I think of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there were others that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy ſcripture, may ever abide in that college ſo long as the world ſhall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that moſt reverend father, and of him preferred to be vicar of Herne, in Eaſt Kent. Wherefore, farewel, Herne, thou worſhipful and wealthy pariſh, the firſt cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou haſt heard of my mouth oftentimes the word of God preached, not after the popiſh trade, but after Chriſt's goſpel: O that the fruit had anſwered to the ſeed. And yet I muſt acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's ſupper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but I bleſs God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifeſtly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, lady Phines; the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others.

Farewel, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolic ſee, whereof I once was a member. To ſpeak things pleaſant unto thee I dare not for danger of conſcience, and diſpleaſure of my Lord God, and to ſay what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheleſs, for the friendſhip I have found in ſome there, and for charity's ſake, I wiſh thee to be waſhed clean of all worldlineſs and ungodlineſs, that thou mayeſt be found of God after thy name Chriſt's church, in deed and in truth.

Farewel, Rocheſter, ſome time my cathedral ſee, in whom (to ſay the truth) I did find much gentleneſs and obedience; and I truſt thou wilt not ſay the contrary, but I did uſe it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God. O that thou hadſt and mighteſt have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law wherein I did leave thee: then thy charge and burden ſhould not have been ſo terrible and dangerous, as I ſuppoſe verily it is like to be (alas) in the latter day.

O London, London, to whom now may I ſpeak in thee, or whom ſhall I bid farewel? Shall I ſpeak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas, all that loved God's word, and were the true ſetters-forth thereof, are now, (as I hear ſay) ſome burnt and ſlain, ſome exiled and baniſhed, and ſome confined in hard priſon, and appointed to be put to the moſt cruel death for Chriſt's goſpel ſake. As for the reſt of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

Shall I ſpeak to the ſee whereof, wherein of late I was placed almoſt, and not fully the ſpace of three years? But what may I ſay to it, being (as I hear ſay I am) depoſed and expulſed by judgment as an unjuſt uſurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be juſt judgment to condemn the chief miniſter of God's word, the paſtor and biſhop of the dioceſe, and never bring him into judgment that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor even ſuffer him to have any place or time to anſwer for himſelf? Thinkeſt thou hereafter, when true juſtice ſhall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well, as for the cauſe or whole matter of my depoſition, and the ſpoil of my goods which thou poſſeſſeſt yet, I refer it unto God, who is a juſt judge; and I beſeech God, if it be his pleaſure, that that which is but my perſonal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day, this only I can pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody ſee, why doſt thou ſet up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were juſtly taken away? Why doſt thou daily delude thy people, maſking in thy maſſes inſtead of the Lord's holy ſupper, which ought to be common as well (ſaith Chryſoſtom, yea, the Lord himſelf) to the people as to the prieſt? How dareſt thou deny to the people of Chriſt, contrary to his expreſs commandment in the goſpel, his holy cup? Why babbleſt thou to the people the Common-prayer in a ſtrange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man ſhould ſpeak before the congregation, except it ſhould be preſently declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whoriſh bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of Antichriſt, thou bloody wolf, why ſlayeſt thou down, and makeſt havoc of the prophets of God? Why murdereſt thou ſo cruelly Chriſt's poor ſilly ſheep, which will not hear thy voice, becauſe thou art a ſtranger, and will follow no other but their own paſtor Chriſt's voice? Thinkeſt thou to eſcape, or that the Lord will not require their blood at thy hands? Thy God, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou ſayeſt thou haſt power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god, I ſay, will not indeed, nor can, (although thou art not aſhamed to call him thy Maker) make thee to eſcape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou aſſured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, who ſitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he ſeeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands (O thou whoriſh drab) ſhalt thou never eſcape. Inſtead of my farewel to thee, now I ſay, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy falſe prophets.

Yet (O London) I may not leave thee thus. Although thy epiſcopal ſee, now being joined in league with the ſeat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the ſaints of God, yet I do not doubt, but in that great city there be many private mourners, who do daily mourn for that miſchief, who never did nor ſhall conſent to that wickedneſs, but do deteſt and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But theſe privy mourners here I will paſs by, and bid them farewel with their fellows hereafter, when place and occaſion ſhall more conveniently require. Among the worſhipful of the city, and eſpecially which were in office of mayoralty, yea, and in other cities alſo (whom now to name is not neceſſary) in the time of my miniſtry, which was from the latter part of ſir Rowland Hill's year, unto ſir Georges Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no ſmall humanity and gentleneſs, as I thought: but to (ſay the truth) that I do eſteem above all other for true chriſtian kindneſs, which is ſhewed in God's cauſe, and done for his ſake. Whereas, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didſt win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that moſt bleſſed work of God, of the erection and ſetting up of Chriſt's holy hoſpitals, and truly religious houſes, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Chriſt's poor ſilly members to be holpen from extreme miſery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I ſay, was moved with pity, and as Chriſt's high honourable officer in that cauſe, yea, and not only in thine own perſon thou didſt ſet forth Chriſt's cauſe, but to further the matter, thou broughteſt me into the council-chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadſt aſſembled there together to hear me ſpeak what I could ſay, as an advocate by office and duty, in the poor men's cauſe. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the conſent of thy brethren; whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and ſo to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform conſent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and deviſed by a certain number of the moſt witty citizens and politic, endued alſo with godlineſs, and with ready hearts to ſet forward ſuch a noble act, as could be choſe in all the whole city; and, like true and faithful miniſters, both to their city, and their maſter Chriſt, ſo ordered, deviſed, and brought forth the matter, that thouſands of poor ſilly members of Chriſt, which elſe for extreme hunger and miſery ſhould have famiſhed and periſhed, ſhall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and ſhall have cauſe to bleſs the aldermen of that time, the common-council, and the whole body of the city; but eſpecially thee, O Dobs, and thoſe choſen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that ſo long throughout all ages, as that godly work ſhall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end, Amen.

Another FAREWEL *to the* Priſoners *in the Cauſe of* Chriſt's Goſpel, *and to all them who for the ſame Cauſe are baniſhed from their own* Country, *chuſing rather to leave all worldly* Goods *than their* Maſter Chriſt.

FAREWEL, my dearly beloved brethren in Chriſt, both you my fellow-priſoners, and you alſo that be exiled and baniſhed out of your countries, becauſe you will rather forſake all worldly advantages, than the goſpel of Chriſt.

Farewel all you together in Chriſt; farewel and be merry, for you know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience ſhall make us perfect, whole, and ſound on every ſide, and ſuch, after trial (ye know) ſhall receive the crown of life, according to the promiſe of the Lord made to his dearly beloved; let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the huſbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increaſe of his crop, ſo let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, who likewiſe ſpake God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord ſuffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even ſo our faith is therefore tried likewiſe in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord ſhall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Chriſt's cauſe do ſuffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our ſtate and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Chriſt, we know, ſuffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his foot-ſteps; for he committed no ſin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again: when he was evil intreated, he did not threaten, but committed the puniſhment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in freſh remembrance thoſe wonderful comfortable ſentences ſpoken by the mouth of our Saviour Chriſt; bleſſed are they which ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs' ſake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, perſecute you, and ſpeak evil againſt you for my ſake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for ſo did they perſecute the prophets that were before you. Chriſt our maſter hath told us beforehand, that the brother ſhould put the brother to death, and the father the ſon, and the children ſhould riſe againſt their parents and kill them, and that Chriſt's true apoſtles ſhould be hated of all men for his name's ſake; but he that ſhall abide patiently unto the end, ſhall be ſaved.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our maſter Chriſt, and be contented therewith, for he ſuffered, being our Maſter and Lord: how doth it then become us to ſuffer? For the diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant above his Lord. It may ſuffice the diſciple to be as his maſter, and the ſervant to be as his lord. If they have called the Father of the family, the Maſter of the houſehold, Beelzebub, how much more ſhall they call them ſo of his houſehold? Fear them not (ſaith our Saviour) for all hidden things ſhall be made plain; there is now nothing ſecret, but it ſhall be ſhewed in light. Of Chriſt's words let us neither be aſhamed nor afraid to ſpeak them; for ſo Chriſt commandeth us, ſaying, What I tell you privily, ſpeak openly abroad, and what I tell you in your ear, preach upon the houſe top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the ſoul they cannot kill; but fear him which can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire.

Know ye that our heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and reſpect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you, ſo that without his knowledge and permiſſion nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore caſt all our care upon him, he ſhall provide that which ſhall be beſt for us. For if two ſmall ſparrows, which both are ſold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them (ſaith our maſter Chriſt) for you are more worthy than many ſmall ſparrows. And let us not ſtick to confeſs our maſter Chriſt for fear of danger, whatſoever it ſhall be, remembering the promiſe that Chriſt maketh, ſaying, Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him ſhall I confeſs before my Father which is in heaven: but whoſoever ſhall deny me, him ſhall I likewiſe deny before my Father which is in heaven. Chriſt came not to give us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in eaſe and peace, but rather to ſeparate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himſelf: in whoſe cauſe we muſt, if we will be his, forſake father and mother, and ſtick unto him. If we forſake him or ſhrink from him for trouble or death ſake, which he calleth his croſs; he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cauſe we ſhall loſe our temporal lives here, we ſhall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in this cauſe, we will not be contented to leave nor loſe them here, then ſhall we loſe them ſo, that we ſhall never find them again, but in everlaſting death. What though our troubles here are painful for the time, and the ſting of death bitter and unpleaſant; yet we know that they ſhall not laſt, in compariſon of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye, and that they patiently taken in Chriſt's cauſe, ſhall procure and get us unmeaſurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto which theſe temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be eſteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. If ye ſuffer rebukes in Chriſt's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God reſteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and diſhonoured, but of you he is glorified.

Let no man be aſhamed of that which he ſuffereth as a chriſtian, and in Chriſt's cauſe; for now is the time that judgment and correction muſt begin at the houſe of God: and if it begin firſt at us, what ſhall be the end of thoſe, think ye, which believe not the goſpel? And if the righteous ſhall be hardly ſaved, the wicked and the ſinner, where ſhall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their ſouls unto him by well doing, as to a truſty and faithful maſter. This, as I ſaid, may not ſeem ſtrange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Chriſt's congregation in this world is ſerved with the like, and by the ſame is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apoſtles had unto their maſter Chriſt, and for the great advantages and increaſe of all godlineſs which they felt by their faith to inſue of afflictions in Chriſt's cauſe, and alſo for the heaps of heavenly joys which the ſame do get unto the godly, which ſhall endure in heaven for evermore; for theſe cauſes (I ſay) the apoſtles did joy of their afflictions, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to ſuffer contumelies and rebukes for Chriſt's name. And St. Paul, as he glorieth in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and ſtood in by faith; ſo he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and ſpiritual profits which he numbered to riſe upon them: yea, he was ſo far in love with what the carnal man loatheth ſo much, that is, with Chriſt's croſs, that he judged himſelf to know nothing elſe but Chriſt crucified: he will glory, he ſaith, in nothing elſe but in Chriſt's croſs, yea, and he bleſſeth all thoſe as the only true Iſraelites, and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule, and after no other.

Therefore ſeeing we have ſo much occaſion to ſuffer, and to take afflictions for Chriſt's name's ſake patiently, ſo many advantages thereby, ſo weighty cauſes, ſo many good examples, ſo great neceſſity, ſo pure promiſes of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: let us throw away whatever might hinder us, all burden of ſin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and conſtantly let us run for the beſt game in this race that is ſet before us, ever having our eyes upon Jeſus Chriſt, the captain and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was ſet before him endured the croſs, not minding the ſhame and ignominy thereof, and is ſet now at the right hand of the throne of God. Conſider this, that he ſuffered ſuch ſtrife of ſinners againſt himſelf, that ye ſhould not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withſtood unto death fighting againſt ſin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Chriſt's ſake, that fatherly exhortation of the wiſe man that ſpeaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wiſdom of God, ſaying thus; My ſon, deſpiſe not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and ſcourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chaſten? If ye be free from chaſtiſement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye baſtards, and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chaſtened us, we reverenced them, ſhall not we much more be ſubject unto our ſpiritual Father that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind, but this Father teacheth us to our advantage, to give unto us his holineſs. All chaſtiſement for the preſent time appeareth not pleaſant but painful; but afterwards it rendereth the fruit of righteouſneſs on them which are exerciſed in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or begun to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the reſt, and let us walk upright and ſtraight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us not look upon the things that be preſent, but with the eyes of our faith let us ſtedfaſtly behold the things that be everlaſting in heaven, and ſo chuſe rather in reſpect of that which is to come, with the choſen members of Chriſt to bear Chriſt's croſs, than for his ſhort life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleaſures of the broad world. Why ſhould we Chriſtians fear death? Can death deprive us of Chriſt which is all our comfort, our joy and our life? Nay forſooth. But contrary, death ſhall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the ſpirit, that it cannot ſo well perceive heavenly things; in which ſo long as we dwell, we are abſent from God.

Bishop RIDLEY's *Lamentation for the Change of* Religion *in* England; *alſo a Compariſon between the Doctrine of the* Goſpel, *and Romiſh Religion, with wholeſome Inſtructions to all* Christians, *how to behave themſelves in Time of Trial.*

ALAS, what miſery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every village, yea, and almoſt in every honeſt man's houſe, alas, now it is exiled and baniſhed out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the ſame! And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance towards it, but ſuch as are content in Chriſt's cauſe, and for his word's ſake to ſtand to the danger and loſs of all they have!

Of late there were to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, ſome that gave their diligence to learn (as they could) out of God's word, the articles of the chriſtian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught theſe things by their parents, their maſters, and weekly by their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindneſs, and in ignorance of thoſe things which every chriſtian is bound to know, when otherwiſe they could not, yet they learned the ſame by often hearing their children and ſervants repeat the ſame: but now (alas and alas again) the falſe prophets of Antichriſt, which are paſt all ſhame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechiſm is to be accounted hereſy; whereby their old blindneſs is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abaſhed and aſhamed, even of that which they have learned, even though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every congregation throughout all England, prayer and petition was made unto God to be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities, from all falſe doctrine and hereſy; and now alas, Satan hath perſuaded England by his falſhood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the ſame, and draw down the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

Of late by ſtrict laws and ordinances, with the conſent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counſel of the prelates and clergy, the beaſt of Babylon was baniſhed hence, with laws, I ſay, and with oaths, and all means that then could be deviſed for ſo godly a purpoſe: but now, (alas) all theſe laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy are quite changed, and all thoſe oaths, though they were made in judgment, juſtice, and truth, and the matter ever ſo good, do no more hold than a bond of ruſhes, or a barley ſtraw, and a public perjury no more terrifieth them, than a ſhadow upon a wall.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to St. Paul's doctrine, and Chriſt's commandment, that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could underſtand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common-prayer, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, or any other thing belonging to the public miniſtry of God's holy and wholeſome word: but, alas, all is turned upſide down, Paul's doctrine is put apart, Chriſt's commandment is not regarded. For nothing is heard commonly in the church but a ſtrange tongue, that the people do not underſtand.

Of late all men and women were taught after Chriſt's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could underſtand, that they might pray with heart that which they ſhould ſpeak with their tongue: now, alas, the unlearned people are brought into that blindneſs again, to think that they pray, when they ſpeak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their hearts are nothing mindful at all, for that it cannot underſtand a whit thereof.

Of late the Lord's ſupper was duly adminiſtered, and taught to be made common to all that are true chriſtians with thankſgiving and ſetting forth of the Lord's death and paſſion until his returning again, to judge both quick and dead: but, now alas, the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to few ungodly, without any kind of thankſgiving, or any ſetting forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to underſtand.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of underſtanding God's holy myſteries, did bleſs God, who had brought them out of that horrible blindneſs and ignorance, whereby in times paſt being ſeduced by Satan's ſubtilities, they believed that the ſacrament was not the ſacrament, but the thing itſelf whereof it is a ſacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which had neither life nor ſenſe, (alas, ſuch was the horrible blindneſs) was the Lord himſelf, which made the eye to ſee, and hath given all ſenſes and underſtanding unto man: but now, alas, England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and ſpewing, and is in worſe caſe than ever ſhe was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forſake the truth once received and known: and not only that light is turned into darkneſs, and God's grace is received in vain, but alſo laws of death are made by the high court of parliament, maſterfully to maintain by ſword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeleſs and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they ſay they can, and do make of bread both man and God, by their tranſubſtantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table diſtributed according to his own commandment, by his expreſs words in the goſpel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Chriſt's church obſerved ſo many hundred years after, as all the ancient eccleſiaſtical writers do teſtify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be ſhewed unto this day: but now, alas, not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup denied to his ſervants, to whom he commandeth it ſhould be diſtributed, but alſo with the ſame is ſet up a new blaſphemous kind of ſacrifice to ſatisfy and pay the price of ſins both of the quick and the dead, to the great and intolerable reproach of Chriſt our Saviour's death and paſſion, which was and is the one only ſufficient and everlaſting available ſacrifice, ſatisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the firſt, to the laſt that ſhall be born in the world.

Of late the commandment of God, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, nor any ſimilitude nor likeneſs of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip thrm:" this commandment of God, I ſay, was graven almoſt every where in churches, was learned by every body both old and young; whereupon images that provoked the ſimple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wiſe man ſaith, were taken out of the churches, and ſtrictly forbidden that none ſhould any where either bow down to them, or worſhip them: but now, alas, God's holy word is blotted and razed out of churches, and ſtocks and ſtones are ſet up in the place thereof. God commanded his word ſo to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other ſide, he forbid images and idols ſo to be either made or ſet in any place, where any ſhould bow or worſhip them: but now (alas) that which God commanded is not minded, and that which he forbiddeth, is powerfully maintained by falſhood and craft, and wickedly upheld.

Of late all miniſters that were admitted to the public office and miniſtry of God's holy word, in their admiſſion made a ſolemn profeſſion before the congregation, that they ſhould teach the people nothing as doctrine neceſſary to eternal ſalvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vaniſhed and melted away of themſelves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope alſo to return again in as great ſtrength as ever they have been. And now can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you muſt alſo receive the whole body, or elſe how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all miſchief, is Antichriſt and his brood, the ſame is he which is the Babylonical beaſt. The beaſt is he, whereupon the whore ſitteth. The whore is that city, ſaith John in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof ſhe maketh to drink the kings of the earth, and of the wine of this harlot have all nations drank, yea and kings of the earth have lain by this whore, and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleaſant merchandize, have been made rich.

Alas, England, alas, that this heavy plague of God ſhould fall upon thee. Alas, my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is ſo great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomleſs mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas, my dear country, what haſt thou done that thou haſt provoked the wrath of God, and cauſed him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deſerts? Canſt thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas, thou haſt heard oft, and would never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees, and ſorts of men, of magiſtrates, of the miniſters, and of the common people, were never more plainly told ſince thou bore that name, then thou didſt hear them of late, even before the magiſtrates in king Edward's days; but thou heardſt them only, and didſt amend never a whit. For even of thy greateſt magiſtrates ſome (the king's highneſs then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerleſs young chriſtian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, againſt thoſe that went about moſt buſily and moſt wholeſomely to cure their ſore backs, ſpurned privily, and would not ſpare to ſpeak evil of them, even unto the prince himſelf, and yet would they towards the ſame preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high diſpleaſure, the one for ſhewing his conſcience ſecretly, but plainly and fully in the duke of Somerſet's cauſe, and both of late, but eſpecially Cranmer, for repugning as they might, againſt the late ſpoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of juſtice, and without any requeſt or conſent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were ſo ſharp, they ripped in ſo deep in their galled backs, to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was feſtered in their hearts, of inſatiable covetouſneſs, of filthy carnality, and voluptuouſneſs, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathſomeneſs to hear poor men's cauſes, and to hear God's word, that theſe men of all others theſe magiſtrates could never abide. Others that were very godly men, and well learned, that went about by the wholeſome plaiſters of God's word, howbeit after a more ſoft manner of handling the matter, but alas all ſpeed alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their diſeaſe did not diminiſh, but daily did increaſe, which, no doubt, is no ſmall occaſion in that ſtate of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common lawyers, it may be truly ſaid of them, as of the moſt part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parſons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may ſay of biſhops alſo, I fear, for the moſt part, (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every ſtate knew and knoweth to be his) but for the moſt part, I ſay, they were never perſuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's ſake, in the truth of God's word, and yet all theſe did diſſemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been ſound within.

Hypocriſy and diſſimulation St. Jerome doth well call a double wickedneſs: for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil) and alſo falſely it pretendeth to deceive the ſimple for another thing. This hypocriſy and diſſimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly alſo provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they well and diligently taught; yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have ſeen in many places the people ſo loathſomely and irreligiouſly to come to the holy communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine ſervice, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points ſo godly and wholeſomely ſet forth, in compariſon of that blind zeal, and undiſcreet devotion which they had aforetimes to thoſe things, whereof they underſtood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And again, as for our alms-deeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleaſed with them, and doth and will require ſuch at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James ſaith, and ſuch as he ſaith himſelf he ſetteth more by than by ſacrifice; to provide for the fatherleſs, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public proviſion that the poor that might labour, ſhould have wherewith to labour upon, and ſo be kept from ſhameful beggary and ſtealing in theſe works: I ſay, how wayward were many, in compariſon (I mean) of that great prodigality whereby in times paſt they ſpared not to ſpend upon flattering friars, falſe pardoners, painting and gilding of ſtocks and ſtones, to be ſet up and honoured in churches, plainly againſt God's word? And yet becauſe no place is to be defrauded of their juſt commendation, London, I muſt confeſs, for ſuch godly works in ſir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year being marvellous well: the Lord grant the ſame may ſo likewiſe perſevere, continue, yea and increaſe, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpleſs, that was ſo godly begun, Amen.

All theſe things do adminiſter more matter of mourning and bewailing the miſerable ſtate that now is: for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deſerved this juſt plague of God. And alſo it is greatly to be feared, that thoſe good things, whatſoever they were that had their beginning in the time when God's word was ſo freely preached, now with the exile and baniſhment of the ſame, will depart again.

But to return again to the conſideration of this miſerable ſtate of Chriſt's church in England, and to leave farther and more exquiſite ſearching of the cauſes thereof unto God's ſecret and unſearchable judgments, let us ſee what is beſt now to be done for Chriſt's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Chriſt's law; He that denieth Chriſt before men, him ſhall Chriſt deny before his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Chriſt our Saviour everlaſting life, let him prepare himſelf ſo, that he deny not his maſter Chriſt, or elſe he is but a caſt-away, and a wretch, howſoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

Now then ſeeing the doctrine of Antichriſt is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers (alas) are ſo deceived and bewitched, that they are perſuaded it is the truth, and Chriſt's true doctrine to be error and hereſy, and the old laws of Antichriſt are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for, by reaſon, to the man of God, and true chriſtian, abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or elſe to deny his Maſter? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whitherſoever he will he can make them bow; and alſo that chriſtian kings in old times uſed a more gentle kind of puniſhment, even to them which were heretics indeed; as degradation, and depoſition out of their rooms and offices, exile and baniſhment out of their dominions and countries; and alſo (as it is read) the true biſhops of Chriſt's church were ſometime interceſſors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Auguſtine. But as yet Antichriſt's kingdom was not ſo erected at that time, nor is now accuſtomed ſo to order them that will not fall down and worſhip the beaſt and his image (but even as all the world knoweth (after the ſame manner that both John and Daniel hath propheſied before, that is, by violence of death; and Daniel declareth farther, that the kind of death accuſtomably ſhould be by ſword, fire, and impriſonment.

Therefore, if thou, O man of God, doſt purpoſe to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyſelf to die; for both by Antichriſt's accuſtomable laws, and theſe propheſies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy maſter Chriſt, which is the loſs at the laſt both of body and ſoul unto everlaſting death. Therefore my good brother or ſiſter in Chriſt, whatſoever thou be, to thee that canſt and mayſt ſo do, that counſel that I think is the beſt ſafeguard for thee, both for thy body, and moſt ſurely for thy ſoul's health, is that which I ſhall ſhew thee hereafter. But firſt I warn thee to underſtood me to ſpeak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already to confeſs Chriſt, but are at liberty abroad.

My counſel, I ſay, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I conſider not only the ſubtilities of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his falſe perſuaſions (if it were poſſible) even the choſen of God, and alſo the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man than he doth know in himſelf, which in the time of temptation then will utter itſelf: I do not only conſider theſe things, I ſay, but that our maſter Chriſt, whoſe life was and is a perfect rule of the chriſtian man's life, that he himſelf avoided oftentimes the fury and madneſs of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Paul likewiſe, when he was ſought in Damaſcus, and the gates of the city was laid in wait for him, he was conveyed by night, being let down in a baſket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the perſecution of wicked Jezabel: and Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in the goſpel, "When they perſecute you in one city, flee unto another:" and ſo did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, who were great and ſtout champions nevertheleſs, and ſtout counſellors and maintainers of Chriſt and his truth, in due time and place. Of ſuch was the great clerk Athanaſius. But this is ſo plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to ſtand in it.

Having this for my ground, I ſay to thee, O man of God, this ſeemeth to me to be the moſt ſure way for thy ſafeguard, to depart and flee far from the plague, and that ſwiftly alſo: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel propheſied of ſo long before, is now ſet up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of Antichriſt, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Chriſt, and ſo to the true ſerving and worſhipping of God, I underſtand to be that abomination: therefore now is the time in England for thoſe words of Chriſt, "Then they that be in Judea, let them flee into the mountains." Then (ſaith he) mark this Chriſt's (Then) for truly I am perſuaded, and I truſt, by the Spirit of God, that this (Then) is commanded: "Then (ſaith Chriſt) they that be in Jewry, let them fly unto the mountains, and he that is on the houſe top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his houſe, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his cloaths. Woe be to the great-bellied women, and to them that give ſuck; but pray (ſaith Chriſt) that your flight be not in winter, or on the ſabbath-day."

Theſe words of Chriſt are myſtical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I underſtand all thoſe to be in Jewry ſpiritually, which truly confeſs one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the goſpel of Chriſt. Such as they whom Chriſt here biddeth, in the time of the reign of Antichriſt's abominations, to fly unto the mountains; which ſignifieth places of ſafeguard, and all ſuch things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the houſe top, not to come down, and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his cloaths; he meaneth that they ſhould ſpeed them to get them away betime, leſt in their tarrying and trifling about working proviſion, they may be trapped in the ſnare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of ſmall worldly things, endanger and caſt themſelves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he ſaith, Woe be to the great-bellied women, and to them that give ſuck; women great with child, and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and alſo thoſe women which are brought to bed, and now give their babes ſuck: by theſe therefore Chriſt ſpiritually underſtandeth all ſuch to be in extreme danger, which this word (Woe) ſignifieth: all ſuch, I ſay, as are ſo hindered by any manner of means that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And where Chriſt ſaith, Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the ſabbath day: in winter, the common courſe of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the ſabbath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Chriſt therefore meaning that we ſhould have need, both to ſpeed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in the winter, for the badneſs of the ways, and alſo to go far, which cannot be done on the ſabbath-day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the ſabbath-day; that is, to pray that we fly in time, and alſo far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the cauſes why we ſhould fly, follow in the ſame of St. Matthew's goſpel, which I now paſs over; thou mayſt read them there.

And in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelation, the angel is ſaid to have cried mightily with a loud voice, "Flee, my people out of Babylon, leſt you be infected with her faults, and ſo be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and ſins are grown ſo great, that they ſwell, and are come unto the heavens." Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beſeech you, alſo holy Paul, that bleſſed apoſtle, he plainly forbiddeth us, "To join or couple ourſelves with the unfaithful; for what fellowſhip can there be, ſaith he, of righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs, what company hath light with darkneſs, or what agreement hath Chriſt with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? For you are the temple of the living God: as God hath ſaid, I will talk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people: wherefore depart from amongſt them, and get you from them, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you, and be to you in the ſtead of your father, and you ſhall be unto me as my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Almighty God.

This counſel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth ſeem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to Godward) diverſly. Many (I truſt) that be learned ſhall think the counſel good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counſelled to be done, for they will peradventure ſay, we ſhould counſel a man always to do that which is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection: but boldly in Chriſt's cauſe to ſpend a man's life, is beſt of all, and of moſt perfection, and to fly it may ſeem to ſmell of cowardice. In many things, that which is beſt for one at ſometimes, is not beſt for all at all times, and it is not moſt perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run before he can go. I will not here make a diſcourſe in this matter, what might be here objected, and what might be anſwered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

This is my mind, which I would thou ſhouldeſt know, O man of God, as I would wiſh, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true chriſtian, either brother or ſiſter (after they be called, and brought into the wreſtling place, to ſtrive in Chriſt's cauſe for the beſt game, that is, to confeſs the truth of the goſpel, and of the chriſtian faith, in hope of everlaſting life) ſhould not ſhrink nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatſoever ſhall befal, but to ſtand to their tackle, and ſtick by it even unto death, as they will Chriſt ſhall ſtick by them at the latter day: ſo likewiſe I dare not wiſh nor counſel any, either brother or ſiſter, of their own accord, to ſtart up into the ſtage, or to caſt themſelves, either before, and farther in danger than time and need ſhall require: for undoubtedly when God ſeeth his time, and his pleaſure is, that his glory ſhall be ſet forth, and his church edified by thy death and confeſſion, means ſhall be found by his fatherly univerſal providence, that thou, without thine own preſumptuous provocation, ſhalt be lawfully called, to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miſerable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of preſumption and raſhneſs in ſuch things (as Euſebius writeth in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, lib. 4. cap. 15) forever.

But a third ſort of men there be, who alſo will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worſe to be perſuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of ſuch as will peradventure ſay or think, that my former counſel, which was to fly the infection of the antichriſtian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and alſo to be clear out of danger of the aforeſaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide, and alſo to be clear out of danger of the aforeſaid plague, truly agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witneſs as any other man. Yes, peradventure, will ſome ſay, thus it may be: thou mayſt keep thyſelf, thy faith, and thy religion cloſe to thyſelf, and inwardly and privily worſhip God in ſpirit and truth, and outwardly ſee thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor tranſgreſſor of common order: ſo mayſt thou be ſuffered in the commonwealth, and yet uſe thy religion without offence of thy conſcience. In other countries ſomewhere this peradventure might be uſed, but in England what ſhall be, God knoweth: but it was never yet, ſo far as ever I have known or heard. And alſo how can it be, but either thou muſt tranſgreſs the common order, and the Romiſh laws and cuſtoms, which have been uſed in England, in times paſt of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I ſay, thou muſt either be a breaker of theſe rites, laws, and cuſtoms, and ſo bewray thyſelf, or elſe, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou ſhalt offend thy conſcience; for in obſerving of them thou ſhalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conſcience to the man of God. For how canſt thou reſort every holy-day to the church, and bear a face to worſhip the creature inſtead of the Creator, as thou muſt do, and peradventure confeſs it too with thy mouth, and to ſprinkle thyſelf with the conjured water.

Thou muſt be contributor alſo to the charges of all their popery, as of books of Antichriſt's ſervice, of lights of the rood-loft, of the ſepulchre, for ſetting up and painting images (nay, indeed of idols), and thou muſt bear a face to worſhip them alſo, or elſe thou muſt be had by the back. Thou muſt ſerve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call them, which is nothing elſe but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou muſt be contributor to the charges of all the diſguiſed apparel, that the popiſh ſacrificing prieſt, like unto Aaron, muſt play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar to beg for the maintenance of ſuperſtition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live at reſt. If any of thy family die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and ſinging, for requiem, maſſes, dirige, and commendations, and ſuch like trumpery of the antichriſtian religion, thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for Cæſar's friend? An hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident ſuperſtition and idolatry, than ſome of theſe which I have now rehearſed, which, God knoweth, be ill enough: but theſe are enough to declare, and to ſet before thine eyes, the thing that I intend, that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou muſt either do theſe, and many other more contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but alſo ſaith, Abſtain from all things that have any appearance of evil: or elſe if thou wilt not do them, how thou canſt live in England in reſt, ſafe from the ſtake, truly I cannot tell.

But peradventure (as man is ready to find, and invent ſome colour to cloak his conſcience, to do that thing that his heart deſireth) thou wilt ſay, though at any time I ſhall be forced to do any of theſe things, and ſuch-like, yet I will have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body; I will keep my heart unto God, and will not do that of my own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I truſt therefore God will hold me excuſed, for he ſhall have my heart: what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for God's ſake, and know that the ſubtilties of Satan are very deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David; Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuſes to cloak my ſin: examine, my dear friend, theſe wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayeſt uſe them: if not, know, though they may ſeem ever ſo fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's wrath is certain, that forbiddeth to worſhip the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and againſt the firſt commandment of God; and it is alſo againſt the ſecond commandment of the firſt table to bow down, or to worſhip unto any images of God, or of any other thing; and God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but alſo the confeſſion of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly; what is that, but in thy ſo doing, a conſent to the thing done? Now conſenters and the doers, God's word accounteth to be guilty both. And it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inſpired by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Thy heart, thou ſayeſt, God ſhall have, and yet wilt ſuffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man, take heed what thou ſayeſt; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called, and is truly, the ſearcher of the heart. Now to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to truſt in him above all other things. "He that hath my commandments, ſaith Chriſt, and obſerveth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me:" and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his bleſſed will and commandment: and to truſt in him above all things, is aſſuredly to truſt to his promiſe of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodneſs and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, ſeem they ever ſo ſtrong, ſo wiſe, or ſo good. Now, how canſt thou ſay truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of ſort, when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy ſoul is: he made them both, and Chriſt with his blood redeemed them both, for he hath bought them both dearly: and dareſt thou ſuffer any part of either of them to do ſervice to Satan? Surely in ſo doing thou committeſt ſacrilege, and doſt rob God; thou defileſt the living temple of the living God, if thou ſuffer thy body to do Satan ſervice. "Do you not know, ſaith St. Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God?" And may a man then take and uſe any part thereof but in the ſervice of God? No, ſurely, it is not lawful ſo to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every chriſtian ſoul? "As you have in times paſt, ſaith he, given your members to do ſervice unto uncleanneſs and wickedneſs, from one wickedneſs to another; ſo now give your members to do ſervice unto righteouſneſs, that you may be ſanctified." And I pray thee, good brother, what doſt thou think it is to bear the mark of the beaſt in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John ſpeaketh of? I know we ought warily to ſpeak of God's myſteries, which he ſhewed by the ſpirit of propheſying to his ſervant John, yet to read them with reverence; and to pray for the ſame ſo much as God knoweth is neceſſary for our time to know, I think it neceſſary and good. Wherefore what I ſuppoſe is to bear the beaſt's mark, I will tell thee and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the ſpiritual man. I ſuppoſe he beareth the beaſt of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not aſhamed of the beaſt's ways, but will profeſs them openly to ſet forth his maſter the beaſt of Abaddon. And likewiſe he beareth his mark in his hand, that will and doth practiſe the works of the beaſt with his power and hand. And likewiſe I will not forbear to tell thee, what I think to be ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God is, whereof John alſo ſpeaketh, reckoning up many thouſands ſo to have been ſigned of every tribe. I ſuppoſe he is ſigned in the forehead for the ſervant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodneſs, and hath given him grace and ſtrength ſtoutly to confeſs him, and his truth before the world. And to have grace and ſtrength to confeſs Chriſt, and the doctrine of the croſs, and to lament and mourn for the abomination of Antichriſt, I ſuppoſe is to be ſigned with Tau, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth ſpeak. Thus, I ſuppoſe, theſe prophecies are ſpiritually to be underſtood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be ſeen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing elſe but to look that there ſhould come ſome brute beaſt out of Babylon, or ſome elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or ſome other ſuch monſtrous beaſt with ten horns, that ſhould do all the wonderful things ſpoken in John: and yet of a beaſt ſpeaketh John, but I underſtand him ſo to be called, not for that he ſhall be any ſuch brute beaſt, but for that he is and ſhall be the child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beaſtly manners is well called a beaſt.

The carnal Jews knew there was a promiſe made, that Elias ſhould come before Chriſt the Meſſiah, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways: they knew alſo there was a promiſe of Meſſiah, that he ſhould come, and be a king, and reign in the houſe of David for evermore: but they underſtood all ſo groſly, and ſo carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Meſſiah, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own perſon, and for Meſſiah to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory, whereas the propheciesof both were ſpiritually to have been underſtood:

of Elias, that he ſhould not come in perſon, but in ſpirit; that is, one that ſhould be endowed with the ſpirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptiſt, as Chriſt himſelf did declare to his apoſtles: and of Meſſiah's reign, all the prophets were to be underſtood of the reign of his ſpiritual kingdom over the houſe of Jacob, and the true Iſraelites for evermore. And ſo by that their groſs and carnal underſtanding, they miſtook both Elias and the true Meſſiah, and when they came, knew neither of them. So likewiſe, I fear, nay, it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, ſaith John) neither doth, nor ſhall know the beaſt, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live ever ſo beaſtly, and though his marked men be in number like the ſand of the ſea. The Lord therefore vouchſafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may ſee and perceive, and underſtand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remain two queſtions, which may ſeem weighty, and which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counſel. The former reaſon is, A man will ſay, O ſir, it is no ſmall matter you ſpeak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a ſtrange realm. Many men have ſo great hindrances, as how is it poſſible that they can, or may do ſo? Some have lands and poſſeſſions, which they cannot carry with them: ſome have, father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almoſt) as to ſuffer death, and to go to a ſtrange country that thou knoweſt not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayſt away either with the people, or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a ſtrange people, whoſe language thou doſt not underſtand, &c.

I grant here thou mayſt heap a number of worldly diſadvantages, which are ſurely very likely to enſue the departure out of a man's native country, I mean out of the whole realm, into a ſtrange land: but what of all theſe, and a thouſand more of the like ſort? I will ſet unto them one ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true chriſtian, is able to countervail all theſe, yea, and to weigh them down. Chriſt our Saviour ſaith in Luke, "If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother, [he meaneth, and will not in his cauſe forſake his father and mother] his wife, children, and brethren, yea and his life too, he cannot be my diſciple: and whoſoever doth not bear my croſs, and come after me, he cannot be my diſciple." And, in the ſame place, he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not, in Chriſt's cauſe, forſake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his diſciple. Look the places who will; the matter is ſo plainly ſet forth, that no gloſſes, nor cloaking of conſcience to the man of God, can ſerve to the contrary. Many places there be for the ſame purpoſe for the embracing of Chriſt's croſs, when Chriſt and his cauſe layeth it upon our back; but this is ſo plain, that I need here rehearſe no more.

This latter reaſon and objection, whereof I ſpake before, is of more force, and includeth a neceſſity, which, after the common ſaying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to ſhape for it a good anſwer. This may be objected of ſome; Alas, ſir, I grant all theſe things do grieve me, and becauſe I underſtand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conſcience, I loath either to look on them, or to hear them. But, ſir, alas, I am an impotent man, an aged man, a ſick man, a lame man; or I have ſo many ſmall infants, and a lame wife, who all live by my labour, and by my proviſion: if I leave them, they will ſtarve, and I am not able to carry them with me, ſuch is my ſtate. Alas, ſir, what ſhall I do? And theſe cauſes may chance to ſome men of God, whereby either it ſhall be for them utterly impoſſible to depart the country, or elſe in departing they ſhall be enforced to forſake ſuch in extreme neceſſity, of whom both God and nature have committed unto them the care.

Alas! what counſel is here to be given? O lamentable ſtate! O ſorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry ſtill. And theſe are they whom our Saviour Chriſt ſaw before ſhould be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, great bellied, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, ſuck to their babes. Of the ſtate of ſuch as are not able to fly the infection of the peſtiferous plague of Antichriſt's abominations, Chriſt lamenting, and not curſing, ſaith, "Woe be to the great bellied and travailing women, and women that give ſuck in thoſe days." For theſe, alas, my heart mourneth the more, the leſs I am able to give any comfortable counſel, but this; that always, as they look for everlaſting life, they abide ſtill in the confeſſion of his truth, whatſoever ſhall befal, and for the reſt, to put their truſt now wholly in God, who is able to ſave them againſt all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at higheſt, then unto his he is wont, after his accuſtomed mercy, to be moſt ready to put to his helping hand. God ſuffered Daniel to be caſt into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace, and yet he ſaved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he ſaith of himſelf), and in Aſia he was brought into ſuch trouble, that he looked for nothing leſs than preſent death, and yet he that raiſed the dead to life again, brought him out of all his troubles and taught him and all others that be in trouble for Chriſt's cauſe, not to truſt to themſelves, but in Almighty God.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils towards them that put their truſt in him, all ſcripture is full both of old and new. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, but of all others Joſeph, and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was Moſes when he was fain to fly for the ſafeguard of his life? And when he was ſent again to deliver the Iſraelites from their ſervile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme miſery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from the ſword of Pharaoh? Not before they were brought into ſuch ſtraits, that they were ſo encompaſſed on every ſide, the main ſea on one ſide, and the main hoſt on the other, that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they indeed elſe look for?) but either to have been drowned in the ſea, or elſe to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's ſword. Thoſe judges which wrought moſt wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were given when the people was brought to moſt miſery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Samgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samſon. And ſo was Saul endued with ſtrength and boldneſs from above, againſt the Ammonites, Philiſtines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewiſe felt God's help moſt ſenſibly ever in his extremeſt perſecutions. What ſhall I ſpeak of the prophets of God, whom God ſuffered ſo oft to be brought into extreme perils, and ſo mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Jonah, and many others, whom it were too long to rehearſe and ſet out at large? And did the Lord uſe his ſervants otherwiſe in the new law after Chriſt's incarnation? Read the Acts of the apoſtles, and you ſhall ſay no. Were not the apoſtles caſt into priſon, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the ſtrong priſon, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and ſet him free? And when, I pray you? Even the ſame night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have ſlain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, after they had been ſore ſcourged, and were put into the inner priſon, and there laid faſt in the ſtocks. I pray you, what appearance was there that the magiſtrates ſhould be glad to come the next day themſelves to them, to deſire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when as both the high-prieſt, the phariſees, and rulers of the Jews conſpired to inquire judgment of death againſt him, he being faſt in priſon, and alſo more than forty men had ſworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reaſon could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own ſiſter's ſon, a young man that diſappointed that conſpiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to paſs, thou mayſt read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearſal thereof.

Now to deſcend from the apoſtles to the martyrs that followed next in Chriſt's church, and in them likewiſe to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them who in his cauſe have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanaſius the great clerk and godly man, ſtoutly ſtanding in Chriſt's cauſe againſt the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, ſtanding ſo conſtantly in all extreme pains, in the ſimple confeſſion of Chriſt. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou ſhalt have theſe and an hundred more, in Euſebius's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and in Tripartita Hiſtoria.

To die in Chriſt's cauſe is an high honour, to which no man certainly ſhall or can aſpire, but to whom God vouchſafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to preſume to take upon himſelf any office of honour, but he who is thereunto called of God. Therefore John ſaith well, ſpeaking of them who have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his teſtimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and ſtrength, that here we may ſo confeſs him in this world amongſt this adulterous and ſinful generation, that he may confeſs us again at the latter day before his father which is in heaven, to our glory and everlaſting comfort, joy, and ſalvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour now and for ever. Amen.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

The History *of* STEPHEN GARDINER, Bishop *of* Winchester.

THE next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, biſhop, and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life. This viper's bird crept out of the town of Bury, in Suffolk, was brought up moſt part of his youth in Cambridge: his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature, were not to be complained of, if he had well uſed, and rightly applied the ſame; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himſelf wanted to the goodneſs of his gifts.

In the beginning of queen Anne Bullen's time, who was ſo forward or ſo buſy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was firſt ſent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Fox, as chief agent in the behalf of the lady Anne? By whom alſo he was preferred to the biſhopric of Wincheſter, and Edward Bonner was preferred to the biſhopric of London. Again, at the aboliſhing of the pope, who ſo ready to ſwear, or ſo vehement to write againſt the pope as he, not only by his ſermons, but alſo by his book *De Obedientia* may appear? In which book, leſt any ſhould think him drawn thereunto otherwiſe than by his own conſent, he plainly declareth, how not raſhly nor on a ſudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertiſement in himſelf about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment: and moreover, ſo he uttered his judgment in writing againſt the uſurped ſupremacy of the pope, that coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted a perſon excommunicate and a ſchiſmatic, inſomuch that he was not permitted in their church to ſay maſs; and moreover, in their public ſermons they openly cried out againſt him.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, ſo that who but Wincheſter during all the reign of queen Anne? After her deceaſe, that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of the lord Cromwel's eſtate, and eſpecially (as it ſeemeth) for his ſo much favouring of Bonner (whom Wincheſter at that time in no caſe could abide) made him an utter enemy both againſt him, and alſo his religion: till again in king Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and ſomewhat to ſmell of the goſpel, as both by his ſermon before king Edward, as alſo by his ſubſcribing to certain articles, may appear; and this was an half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the goſpel, and (no doubt) he would have farther turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerſet clean turned away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel perſecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profeſſion of Stephen Gardiner's popiſh divinity. In which his popiſh trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or elſe time, or rather the ſpirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to ſay, and ſo much the more doubtful, becauſe in his doings and writings a man may ſee him not only contrary to himſelf, but alſo in ſome points contrary to other papiſts. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he ſeemeth therein not ſo much to follow his own ſenſe, as the mind and meaning of Pereſeus; out of whoſe book the greateſt part of Wincheſter's divinity ſeemeth to be borrowed. And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and ſcripture he appeareth nobody; ſo in his pen and ſtyle of writing no leſs far he is from commendation, than he is from all plainneſs and perſpicuity.

It pleaſed his majeſty king Henry the eighth, after his aboliſhing the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority (amongſt other embaſſages to foreign princes), to ſend the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſir Henry Knevet, knight, as joint ambaſſadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratiſbon, appointing alſo ſir Henry Barkely, ſir William Blunt, knights, and Andrew Bainton, eſquire, (their highneſſes ſervants) to give their attendance upon the ſaid ſir Henry Knevet, for the more honouring of his embaſſage. It happened alſo at that time, that ſir Henry Knevet entertained in his ſervice (as ſteward of his houſehold) one William Wolfe, who had in the ſame capacity before ſerved ſir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambaſſador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in thoſe parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elſewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often as he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear ſome news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, one of his old acquaintance. Who, ſuppoſing the ſaid Wolfe to have attended upon the biſhop of Wincheſter, (not knowing of any other joint ambaſſador) required Wolfe, for old acquaintance, to do him a pleaſure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico ſhewed him, that the pope's legate, or ambaſſador to the emperor (which was cardinal Contarene) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leiſure to end his buſineſs himſelf, had put the ſaid Ludovico in truſt for the accompliſhing of them: and amongſt all other things he had eſpecially charged him, that he ſhould repair to the ambaſſador of England, and require of him an anſwer to the pope's letters, which the legate did of late ſend unto him, addreſſed to him from Rome, and that upon the receipt thereof he ſhould ſend them after with all ſpeed; and therefore if his lord ambaſſador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abaſhed, and yet partly gueſſing which ambaſſador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whoſe ſervant he was, but by other ſoothing talk found that he meant the biſhop of Wincheſter. And to the end that Ludovico ſhould ſuſpect nothing, he anſwered him, that he being not the ambaſſador's ſecretary, could ſay little therein; however he would not fail to put his ſecretary in remembrance of it: which thing Ludovico alſo deſired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambaſſador, and ſo for that time they departed. This matter ſeeming to Wolfe of ſome importance, he immediately revealed it to ſir Henry Knevet, his maſter: who weighing alſo the greatneſs of the caſe, and what diſadvantage it were upon one man's bare report to attempt aught, in a place and time whereby ſuch a perſon was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to adviſe himſelf, that no hatred, diſpleaſure, or other paſſion, did move him to diſcloſe this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, That he weighed well the weightineſs of the cauſe, meet, as to his own reſpect, to be paſſed over in ſilence, for avoiding of his private diſpleaſure, if the duty of allegiance bound him not otherwiſe. But ſir, (ſays he) if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be ſufficient; I warrant you to deviſe means that ſome other of your ſervants ſhall hear the like words from Ludovico's own mouth as well as I. Upon which ſir Henry Knevet deviſed which of his ſervants he might uſe to that purpoſe, and at laſt reſted upon Mr. Thomas Chalenor, his ſecretary, becauſe he had the Italian tongue. Not making him privy to any matter, but deſired Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chalenor's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to take a walk with him abroad to the Piazza, or Market-ſtead, which he readily did, not knowing of any ſpecial cauſe why. When they came to the Piazza, overagainſt the emperor's palace, (near whereunto alſo the pope's legate had lodged) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the ſaid Ludovico, and eſpying Wolfe, ſaluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and ſundry other matters, Chalenor being ſtill with them. At laſt upon an occaſion, they entered into a little talk about the former letters that the ambaſſador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an anſwer, affirming that the poſt departed the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambaſſador's ſecretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe anſwered, That he would willingly do it; but he did not well know which ambaſſador he meant, for that there were two; one, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, That he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the biſhop. By which talk, and much ſuch like, (as upon the former day) Mr. Chalenor being moved, (and not knowing yet of his maſter's and Wolfe's purpoſe) after the departure of Ludovico from them, ſaid unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be paſſed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his maſter of it. To whom Wolfe anſwered, Do as you will, if you think any matter therein. And therefore at his return home, he told ſir Henry Knevet what ſpeech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth.

Sir Henry Knevet being thus further aſcertained of the matter, opened the whole to ſir John Barkley, ſir William Blunt, and to Mr. William Bainton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof. And therefore deviſed that Wolfe ſhould procure Ludovick to bring certain velvets, and other ſilks, unto ſir Henry Knevet's lodging, as well for himſelf as for the other gentlemen, which that afternoon he did accompliſh, and brought Ludovick unto ſir Henry, where alſo were the other gentlemen. After they had a while viewed the ſilks, and had ſome talk about the price, Wolfe took occaſion again to aſk Ludovick, if ſir Henry was the ambaſſador of whom he was to demand an anſwer of the letters ſent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant anſwered, No, it was not his ſeigniory, but it was a biſhop, terming him Reverendiſſimo, whereby they eaſily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knevet hereupon ſomewhat diſſembling the matter, entered into further talk about it, whereby Ludovick opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe; but yet at laſt perceiving that as well ſir Henry, as alſo the other gentlemen, beheld him ſomewhat angrily, he broke off his talk. Wherewith ſir Henry Knevet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly diſmiſs him, praying him, that when he had received the biſhop's letters, he would alſo repair to him for a packet to an Engliſh gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promiſed to do, and ſo departed again. When ſir Henry had thus made ſufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's majeſty, ſignifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the meanwhile Ludovick the next morning repaired to the biſhop of Wincheſter's lodging, to demand an anſwer of thoſe letters the legate had ſent unto him: but how he uſed himſelf, or whether he uttered the diſcourſe he had with ſir Henry Knevet, and with Wolfe, whom he ſuppoſed at firſt to be the biſhop's man, is not certainly known. But the biſhop perceiving, that by miſtaking one for another, (and in ſuppoſing Wolfe to be the biſhop's ſervant) Ludovick had uttered all his meſſage from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light; in great haſte and rage he cauſed Ludovick to be ſtayed in his own houſe, while in the mean time himſelf went to Gravela, one of the emperor's council, and ſo practiſed with him, that Ludovick was ſecretly committed to priſon, in the cuſtody of one of the emperor's marſhals, and ſo as he could be no more talked with, all the time of their abode there. And then ſending in great haſte to ſir Henry Knevet to come and ſpeak with him, (which he did) he fell into very hot ſpeech with him, ſaying, that he had poiſon in his diſh, and that a knave was ſuborned to be his deſtruction; with many ſuch like words. Sir Henry told him again how he underſtood it: and prayed him that Ludovick might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their preſences. Which the biſhop would in no caſe agree unto, affirming, that he had alſo declared the caſe to Gravela, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovick, nor ſpeak with him: but that the emperor's council ſhould examine him, and try what he was for him. To whom ſir Henry Knevet again very earneſtly objected, That he marvelled that the biſhop in matters touching the king's majeſty, their maſter, would uſe the aid or means of Gravela, a foreign prince's miniſter, to make him privy of their queſtion. But ſay and do what he could, he would never come to the ſpeech of Ludovick any more ever after. Whereupon there aroſe great and long controverſies between them, (both writing unto the king about that matter) until at laſt the king's majeſty perceiving his affairs otherwiſe to ſlack thereby, wrote to them both, that they ſhould lay all thoſe things under foot, and join together in his ſervice as before; which they did accordingly, and which was then preſently done, and thereunto he ſet his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved ſo often Mr. Secretary Paget (being after lord keeper) to keep ſafe as ſore matter againſt the biſhop, I know not; but yet it appears by ſome depoſitions of the nobility, and others, in the proceſs had againſt him in king Edward's days, that the king's majeſty, Henry VIII. had this matter ever in his mind: for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did ſtill except all treaſons committed beyond the ſeas; meaning thereby, as it was ſuppoſed, that the biſhop ſhould not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his majeſty would call him to account: and therefore all things well weighed, he had ſmall cauſe to vaunt of his great favour he had with king Henry, his maſter. Howbeit, it ſeemeth he was brought into this fool's paradiſe by lord Paget: who (as he himſelf reporteth in his depoſitions) in his meſſages from the king to the ſaid biſhop, deluded him; telling him much otherwiſe than the king ſpoke, and concealing always the king's hard ſpeeches againſt him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious boaſter not a little.

But whoſoever he was, ſeeing he is now gone, I refer him to his judge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death and manner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat, would teſtify to us what they ſaw. This we have all to think, that his death happened ſo opportunely, that England hath a mighty cauſe to give thanks to the Lord for it: not ſo much for the great hurt he had done in times paſt in perverting his princes, in bringing in the ſix articles, in murdering God's ſaints, in defacing Chriſt's ſincere religion, &c. but alſo and eſpecially for that he had thought to have brought to paſs in murdering alſo the lady Elizabeth. For whatſoever danger of death that ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from the bloody biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her highneſs being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is not out of controverſy that Wincheſter was the framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day, had brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's moſt gracious counſel, through Mr. Bridges then the lieutenant, coming in haſte to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented his bloody devices.

The ſame day as biſhops Ridley and Latimer ſuffered at Oxford, being about the 19th day of October, there came into the houſe of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk, with Mr. Mundy, his ſecretary. The old aged duke, there waiting for his dinner, the biſhop being not yet diſpoſed to dine, deferred the time till three or four o'clock in the afternoon. At length about four o'clock cometh his ſervant poſting from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the biſhop what he had heard and ſeen: of whom the ſaid biſhop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire moſt certainly was ſet unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke; Now, ſaid he, let us go to dinner. Whereupon they being ſat down, meat immediately was brought, and the biſhop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in ſuch ſort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and ſo brought to his bed, where he continued the ſpace of fifteen days in ſuch intolerable anguiſh and torments, that all that mean while during the fifteen days, he could not void by urine or otherwiſe, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miſerably inflamed within, (who had inflamed ſo many good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And therefore, no doubt, as moſt likely it is, came (as was reported) the thruſting out of his tongue from his mouth, ſo ſwoln and black, with the inflammation of his body. A ſpectacle worthy to be noted and beheld of all ſuch bloody and burning perſecutors.

When Dr. Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promiſe, and with the free juſtification in the blood of Chriſt our Saviour, repeating the ſcriptures to him; Wincheſter hearing that, What, my lord, (quoth he) will you open the gap now? then farewel all together. To me, and ſuch others in my caſe, you may ſpeak it, but open this window to the people, then farewel altogether.

Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph that was made on his death, deviſed by a papiſt for a popiſh biſhop, but I omit it, and inſtead thereof I have here inſerted certain things gathered out of his ſermons, words, and writings, wherein may appear what an earneſt and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been conſtant in himſelf: and how inconſtantly he varied from himſelf; and alſo how he, ſtanding upon the ſingularity of his own wit, varied from other papiſts in certain points.

The Sum and Effect of Bp. GARDINER's SERMON, *preached before* King EDWARD, Anno 1550.

When Jeſus was come into the parts of Ceſarea, a city that Philipus builded, he aſked his diſciples, and ſaid, Whom do men ſay that the Son of Man is? They ſaid, Some that thou art John the Baptiſt, ſome that thou art Elias, ſome that thou art Jeremiah, or ſome one of the prophets. He ſaid to them, But whom do ye ſay that I am? Then anſwered Simon Peter, and ſaid, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God, &c. Matthew xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16.

I Cannot have time, I think, to ſpeak of the goſpel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to ſay, but I ſhall note unto you ſuch things as I may; and firſt, of the diverſity of opinions concerning Chriſt, which were among the people variable: but among this, that is, the diſciples of Chriſt's ſchool, there was no variety, they agreed all together in one truth, and among them there was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the reſt, and in the name of all the reſt, made his anſwer, that Chriſt was the Son of God, they all confeſſed with one conſent, that he had ſpoken the truth. Yet theſe opinions of Chriſt that the people had of him, though they were ſundry, yet they were honourable and not ſlanderous: for to ſay that Chriſt was Elias, and John the Baptiſt, was honourable: for ſome thought him ſo to be, becauſe he did frankly, ſharply, and openly rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremiah, had alſo an honourable opinion of him, and thought him ſo to be, becauſe of his great learning which they perceived in him, and marvelled where he had it. And they that ſaid he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him.

The philoſophers that were not of Chriſt's ſchool erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other.

Yea, men of ſimplicity, though they meant well, yet being out of Chriſt's ſchool, they varied and agreed not in their opinions of Chriſt, though they thought well of him. Some ſaid he was John, ſome Elias, ſome Jeremiah, but none made the right anſwer. He that anſwered here, was Simon the Son of Jonas, and he ſaid, Thou art Chriſt the ſon of the living God.

Here ye may note the properties that were in Peter, He was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; ſo that in him, that is of Chriſt's ſchool, muſt be theſe two properties, obedience and ſimplicity. He muſt be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Chriſt's ſchool. Pride is a hindrance of Chriſt's ſchool; for as the wiſe man ſaith, God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek.

But now concerning the anſwer of Peter, Matthew here, in this place, ſaith he, anſwered, "Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God." And St. Luke ſaith, he anſwered, "Thou art the Chriſt of God." And St. Mark ſaith, he anſwered, "Thou art the Chriſt." But in all that is no variety; for to ſay, Chriſt the Son of the living God, and to ſay, The Chriſt of God, and to ſay, The Chriſt, is in effect all one, and no diverſity in it, for Chriſt alone is the whole: and he that confeſſeth thoroughly Chriſt, is thoroughly a chriſtian man, and doth therein confeſs him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world.

As he was our biſhop then, ſo it is he that ſtill keepeth us in favour with God: and like as his ſacrifice then made was ſufficient to deliver us from our ſins, and to bring us in favour with God; ſo to continue us in the ſame favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himſelf, he ordained himſelf for a memory of himſelf at his laſt ſupper, when he inſtituted the ſacrament of the altar, not for another redemption as though the world needed a new redemption from ſin, but that we might thoroughly remember his moſt holy paſſion, he inſtituted the ſacrament by his moſt holy word, ſaying, "This is my body," which word is ſufficient to prove the ſacrament, and maketh ſufficiently for the ſubſtance thereof.

And this it is that we muſt believe of Chriſt, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore by your patience, as Peter made his confeſſion, ſo will I make confeſſion.

As a ſacrifice ordained to make us the more ſtrong in the faith and remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion, and for commending unto God the ſouls of ſuch as be dead in Chriſt, (for theſe two things are the ſpecial cauſes why the maſs was inſtituted) the parliament very well ordained maſs to be kept; and becauſe we ſhould be the more ſtrong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was very well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more to devotion, to ordain that the ſacrament ſhould be received in both kinds. Therefore I ſay, that the act of parliament for receiving the ſacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made.

I ſay alſo, that the proclamation which was made, That no man ſhould irreverently ſpeak of the ſacrament, or otherwiſe ſpeak of it than the ſcripture teacheth them, was well made. For this proclamation ſtoppeth the mouths of all ſuch as will irreverently ſpeak of the ſacrament: for in ſcripture there is nothing to be found that maketh any thing againſt the ſacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not uſe any irreverent talk againſt the ſacrament, nor blaſpheme the holy ſacrament. For no word of the ſcripture maketh any thing againſt it.

Now will I return to the text. When Simon had anſwered, Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God: then Chriſt ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou, Simon Barjona, for fleſh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven; and I ſay unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. Bleſſed art thou (ſaith he) for fleſh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwiſe in John, Andrew told of Chriſt, and ſaid, I have found the Meſſiah, which is Chriſt. But that is not enough. He that ſhall confeſs Chriſt muſt have an inward teaching, and muſt be ſpiritually taught by the Father of heaven; but the confeſſion of Peter was above the reaſon of man: for Chriſt was there a very man, and Peter's eyes told him that he was a man and nothing elſe; but he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a ſecret knowledge given him from heaven, not by fleſh and blood, that is to ſay, by man's reaſon, but inwardly by the Father of heaven.

But Peter had another reaſon inwardly taught him, and becauſe he underſtood his leſſon, Chriſt gave him a new name: for Petra is a ſtone, a new name of a chriſtian man, for upon this confeſſion of thy faith, here I will build my church, that is, I will eſtabliſh all thoſe which I intend to gather unto thee, and the devils ſhall not prevail againſt it: for he that with a good heart and ſure faith confeſſeth this, he is ſure from all evil: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

But now for a farther declaration, it is a marvellous thing, that upon theſe words the biſhop of Rome ſhould found his ſupremacy: for whether it be Super Petram, or Petrum, all is one matter, it maketh nothing at all for the purpoſe of a foundation of any ſuch ſupremacy. For otherwiſe (when Peter ſpake carnally to Chriſt, as in the ſame chapter a little following) Satan was his name, where Chriſt ſaid, Get behind me, Satan; ſo that the name of Peter is no foundation for the ſupremacy, but as it is ſaid in ſcripture, Ye are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, that is, by participation for godly participation giveth names of things), he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, becauſe he was the firſt that made this confeſſion of Chriſt, which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality that was in the man. For the firſt man is not evermore the beſt. The head-man of a queſt, is not always the beſt man in the queſt, but is choſen to be the head-man for ſome other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure men, ſo that the inferior perſon in dignity may be the better in place, as the king ſometimes chuſeth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion, yet is the king the king ſtill. And in ſome caſe the king of England might ſend to Rome, and if the biſhop of Rome were a man of ſuch wiſdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able in matters of controverſy concerning religion, to ſet an unity in the church of England; the king might well enough ſend to him for his counſel and help, and yet ſhould not in ſo doing give the biſhop of Rome any ſuperiority over the king.

But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time had come many alterations. Firſt, a great alteration it was to renounce the biſhop of Rome's authority, and I was one that ſtood in it. A great alteration it was, that abbeys were diſſolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down: and to all theſe I condeſcended, and yet I have been accounted a maintainer of ſuperſtition, and have been called a maſter of the ceremonies, and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which conſiſteth in outward things, as though he were a right chriſtian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies, whereof I promiſed to declare my conſcience, and ſo will I, and how I have eſteemed ceremonies, and that I have never been of other opinion than I am concerning ceremonies, and my opinion I have gathered of Auguſtine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church.

Ceremonies ſerve to move men to ſerve God, and as long as they be uſed for that purpoſe, they may be well uſed in the church: but when man maketh himſelf ſervant to them, and not them to ſerve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuſe. If by overmuch familiarity of them men abuſe them, they do evil.

We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men were uſed to viſit, by reaſon whereof they fell into a fancy of idolatry and ſuperſtition, above the things that they might have been taken for; and becauſe that they had not the uſe they were ordained for, they were left.

As touching ceremonies, I eſteem them all as Paul eſteemeth them, things indifferent, where he ſaith, That the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, &c. So of ceremonies. Nevertheleſs we have time, place, and number, as a certain number of pſalms to be ſaid at times, which may be done without ſuperſtition; but theſe things muſt ſerve us, and not we ſerve them. Yet if an order be ſet in them by ſuch as have power, we muſt follow it, and we muſt obey the rulers that appoint ſuch time, place, and number to be kept. You may not ſay, if the time will ſerve me, then I will come an hour after. No, ſir, you muſt keep this time, and this hour, becauſe it is ſo appointed by the rulers, not for the things, but for the order that is ſet. I have been ever of this opinion.

We had palms and candles taken away, which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations aboveſaid. When they were in place, they ſhould have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God, but becauſe they were abuſed, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Chriſt si not in theſe exerciſes, and therefore in taking away of them the religion of Chriſt is nothing touched nor hindered. But men muſt in ſuch things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience ſake. St. Paul ſaith, that we ſhould rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you mine opinion, and my conſcience telleth me that I have ſpoken plainly, that you may know what I am, and that you may not be deceived in me, nor be ſlandered in me, nor make any further ſearch to know my heart.

I miſlike thoſe preachers who preach by the king's licenſe, and thoſe readers which by the king's permiſſion and ſufferance do read open lectures, do openly and blaſphemouſly talk againſt the maſs, and againſt the ſacrament. And to whom may I liken ſuch readers and preachers? I may liken them unto poſts, for the proverb ſaith, That poſts do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths: and ſo do they, and to ſpeak ſo againſt the ſacrament, it is the moſt marvellous matter that ever I ſaw or heard of. I would wiſh therefore that there were a ſtay and an order in this behalf, and that there might be but one order and rule. And let no man out of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king. They call it going before the king, and ſuch make themſelves kings.

Now, reader, compare theſe writings, preachings, and ſayings of this biſhop in the days of king Henry and king Edward, with his doing in queen Mary's time, and thou ſhalt ſee how variable he was, how inconſtant and contrary to himſelf, how perjured and falſe, and far differing from that which he was reported to be, in a certain Engliſh book ſet out in queen Mary's time, which ſaith that there were three only in England, whoſe conſcience had never been ſtained in religion: of whom he falſely ſaith, the aforeſaid biſhop of Wincheſter was one.

The MARTYRDOM *of* JOHN WEBB, Gentleman, GEORGE ROPER, *and* GREGORY PARKE, *at* Canterbury.

JOHN WEBB was brought before the biſhop of Dover, and Nicholas Harpſfield, or ſome other deputed in their room, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him ſuch articles as were commonly adminiſtered by Bonner to thoſe of his juriſdiction: and being willed for that preſent to depart, and to deliberate with himſelf upon the matter, againſt the next time of his appearance; he made anſwer, that he would no otherwiſe ſay (by God's grace) than he had already ſaid, which was this: As touching the ſacrament of Chriſt's body, ſaid he, I do believe it to be left unto his church (with thankſgiving) in commemoration of his death and paſſion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and not by words of conſecration to be made wholly his body, really, ſubſtantially, and the ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary: I utterly deny that.

After this (beſides ſundry other times) the third day of October, the ſaid John Webb, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the ſaid judges; who there and then agreeing, and ſtedfaſtly allowing the former anſwer made before by Mr. Webb, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore about the end of the ſame month they were brought out of priſon together to the place of martyrdom; ſaying certain pſalms mournfully as they were going to the ſtake.

And being thus brought (as I ſaid) to the ſtake, and there encompaſſed about with a chain, were burnt all together in one fire at Canterbury, moſt patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themſelves happy and bleſſed of the Lord that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt's goſpel ſake.

A ſhort Account of WILLIAM WISEMAN.

THE 13th of December, William Wiſeman, a clothworker of London, died in Lollards' Tower, where he was in priſon and bonds for the goſpel of Chriſt: ſome thought, that either through famine, or ill handling of ſome murdering papiſts, he was made away. By reaſon whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inqueſt of twelve men, ſat upon him, who, although to outward appearance were ſaid to find nothing in him elſe but only God's viſitation, yet what other privy cauſes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I have not to ſay.

After the ſaid William Wiſeman was departed (as is ſaid) in the Tower, the papiſts caſt him out into the fields, commanding that no man ſhould bury him, according as their devout manner is to do with all ſuch as die in like ſort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be caſt to dogs and birds. And yet notwithſtanding this their merciless commandment, ſome good Tobits there were who buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the reſt thrown out in like manner; whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the archers in the fields ſtanding by, and ſinging pſalms together at their burial.

In the ſame month of December, James Gore alſo died in priſon at Colcheſter, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

The Hiſtory of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, *who was examined, condemned, and martyred for the Defence of the* Gospel *of* Christ.

THE troubles of Mr. Philpot have been partly related before, in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in proſecuting the diſputation in the convocation-houſe. He came of a worſhipful family, the ſon of a knight, born in Hampſhire, brought up at New College in Oxford, where he ſtudied the civil law about ſix or ſeven years, beſides other liberal arts, eſpecially languages, and particularly he wonderfully advanced in the Hebrew tongue.

From Oxford, deſirous to ſee other countries, as occaſion ſerved thereunto, he went over into Italy and places thereabouts, where he coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciſcan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, ſought to accuſe him of hereſy. At length returning into England, as the time miniſtered more boldneſs unto him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts with biſhop Gardiner in the city of Wincheſter.

After that, having an advowſon by the ſaid biſhop, he was made there archdeacon of Wincheſter, under Dr. Poinet, who then ſucceeded Gardiner in that biſhopric. Thus he continued during the time of king Edward, to the great profit of thoſe parts thereabouts. When that pious king was taken away, and Mary his ſiſter came in place, whoſe ſtudy was wholly bent to alter the ſtate of religion in the woeful realm of England: firſt ſhe cauſed a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be aſſembled for the accompliſhment of her deſire.

In which convocation, Mr. Philpot being preſent, according to his room and degree, with a few others, ſuſtained the cauſe of the goſpel manfully againſt the contrary part (as has been already recited), for which cauſe, notwithſtanding the liberty of the houſe promiſed before, he was called to account before biſhop Gardiner the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was firſt examined, although that examination came not to our hands. From thence again he was removed to biſhop Bonner, and other commiſſioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by the following examinations.

The FIRST EXAMINATION *of* Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, *before the* Queen's Commissioners, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, *and* Dr. Story, *and one of the* Scribes *of the* Arches, *at* Newgate Seſſions-Hall, October 2, 1555.

Roper. WE hear ſay that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a diſturber of the ſame; out of which whoſo is, he cannot be the child of ſalvation. Wherefore if you will come into the ſame, you ſhall be received and find favour.

Philpot. I am come before your worſhipful maſterſhips at your appointment, underſtanding that you are magiſtrates authorized by the queen's majeſty, whom I own and will do my due obedience unto the uttermoſt. Wherefore I deſire to know what cauſe I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I deſire your maſterſhips, that I may have the benefit of a ſubject, and be delivered out of my wrongful impriſonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to anſwer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our commiſſion and by the law, drive you to anſwer to the ſuſpicion of a ſlander going on you: and beſides this, we have ſtatutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any ſtatute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, puniſh me accordingly. And becauſe you are magiſtrates and executors of the queen's majeſty's laws, by force whereof you do now ſit, I deſire that if I be found no notorious tranſgreſſor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the juſtice do ſuſpect a felon, he may examine him upon ſuſpicion thereof, and commit him to priſon though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabout this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's caſe, for he made the ſame allegations. But they will not ſerve thee; for thou art an heretic, and holdeſt againſt the bleſſed maſs: how ſayeſt thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretic.

Story. I will prove thee an heretic. Whatſoever hath held againſt the bleſſed maſs is an heretic: but thou haſt held againſt the ſame, therefore thou art an heretic.

Philpot. That which I ſpake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majeſty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the houſe to utter his conſcience, and to ſpeak his mind freely of ſuch queſtions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for which now I thought not to be moleſted and impriſoned as I have been, neither now be compelled by you to anſwer for the ſame.

Story. Thou ſhalt go to Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like an heretic as thou art, and anſwer to the ſame that thou there didſt ſpeak, and be judged by the biſhop of London.

Philpot. I have already been convented of this matter before the lord chancellor, mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in priſon: therefore, if his lordſhip will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; which I think he cannot do of his conſcience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in priſon: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein, that is mine ordinary, and do refuſe the auditory of the biſhop of London, becauſe he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary.

Story. But, ſir, thou ſpakeſt words in the convocation-houſe, which is in the biſhop of London's dioceſe, and therefore thou ſhalt be carried to Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou ſpakeſt in his dioceſe againſt the bleſſed maſs.

Philpot. Sir, you know it is againſt all equity, that I ſhould be twice vexed for one cauſe, and that by ſuch as by the law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you ſpoke againſt the maſs in the convocation-houſe.

Story. Doſt thou deny that which thou ſpakeſt there, or no?

Philpot. I cannot deny that I have ſpoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to ſuffer whatſoever I ſhall be judged unto.

Story. Marſhal, take him home with you again, and ſee that you bring him again on Thurſday, and then we ſhall rid your fingers of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.

The SECOND EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, *before the* Queen's Commiſſioners, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, *and the* Scribe, Oct. 24, 1555, *at* Newgate Seſſions-Hall.

AT my coming, a man of Aldgate, of mine acquaintance, ſaid unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story ſaid, that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little converſation had between them, Mr. Cholmley called me unto him, ſaying:

Cholmley. Mr. Philpot, ſhew yourſelf a wiſe man, and be not ſtubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you ſhall be well aſſured of great favour and reputation.

Philpot. I ſhall do as it becometh a chriſtian man to do.

Story. This man is the rankeſt heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's dioceſe, and hath done more hurt than any man elſe there: and therefore his pleaſure is, that he ſhould have the law to proceed againſt him, and then to recant or elſe burn.

Cook. This man hath moſt ſtoutly maintained hereſies ſince the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is moſt meet that he ſhould be adjudged by the biſhop of London, for the hereſies he hath maintained.

Philpot. I have maintained no hereſies.

Cook. No, have you not? Did you not openly ſpeak againſt the ſacrament of the altar in the convocation-houſe? Call you that no hereſy? wilt thou recant that or not?

Philpot. It was the queen's majeſty's pleaſure that we ſhould reaſon thereof, not by my ſeeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council.

Cook. Did the queen give you leave to be an heretic? you may be ſure her grace will not do ſo. Well, we will not diſpute that matter with you; my lord of London ſhall proceed by inquiſition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou ſhalt be burned.

Philpot. My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already anſwered unto mine ordinary in this matter: and therefore, (as I have ſaid before) you ſhall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, ſince I have ſuſtained this long impriſonment, beſides the loſs of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon.

Philpot. I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now.

Cook. A meet man, quoth he? He troubled Mr. Roper and the whole country.

Philpot. There never was poor archdeacon ſo handled at your hands as I am, and that without any juſt cauſe you be able to lay unto me.

Cook. Thou art no archdeacon.

Philpot. I am archdeacon ſtill, although another be in poſſeſſion of my living; for I was never deprived by any law.

Cook. No, ſir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretic ſhould have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the biſhop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwiſe: and beſides this, the ſtatutes of this realm be otherwiſe, which gave this benefit to every perſon, though he be an heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the ſame.

Cholmley. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I mind not. But the unjuſt dealing grieveth me, that I ſhould be thus troubled for my conſcience, contrary to all law.

Cholmley. Why, will not you agree that the queen's majeſty may cauſe you to be examined of your faith?

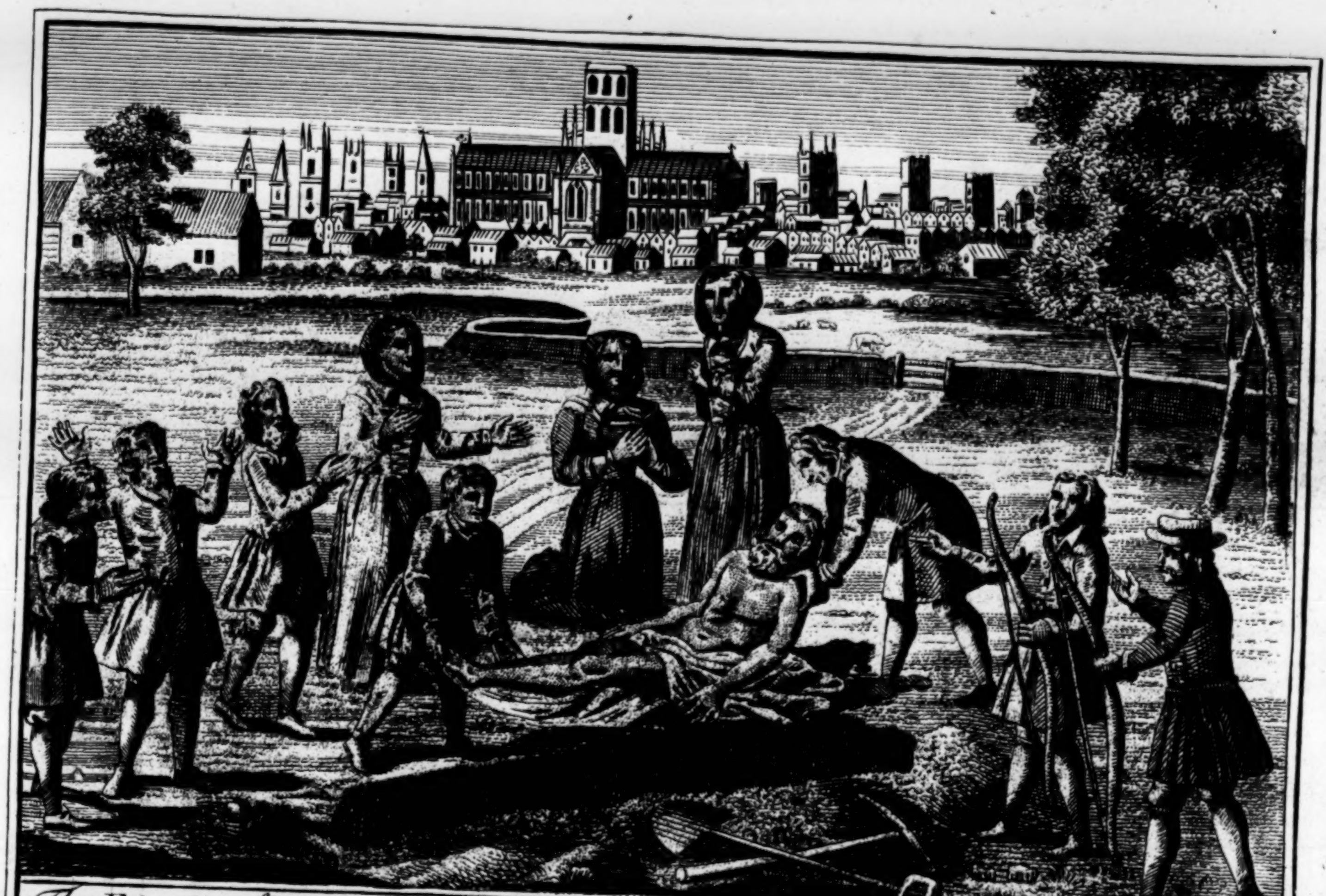
Philpot. Aſk you Mr. Doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magiſtrates have nothing to do with faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambroſe ſaith, that the things of God are not ſubject to the power and authority of princes.

Cook. No, may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the biſhop?

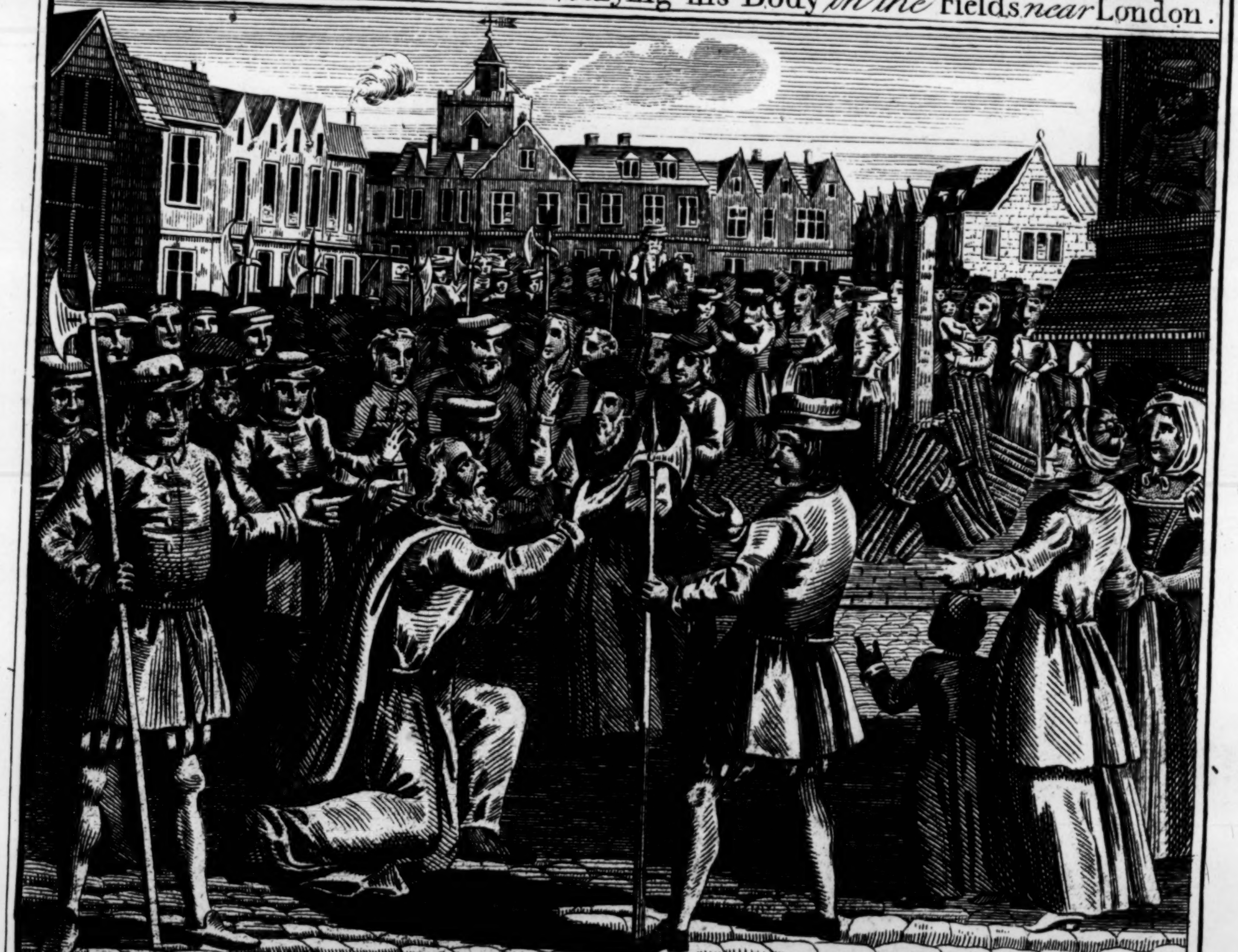
Philpot. Yea, ſir. I deny not that; but you will grant that the ſame may examine any of their own authority.

Cook. Let him be had away.

Philpot. Your maſterſhip promiſed me the laſt time I wa



The Friends *of* M^r. W^m. WISEMAN, burying his Body *in the* Fields *near* London.



The Martyrdom *of the* Rev^d. M^r. JOHN PHILPOT, Arch-Deacon *of* Winchester.

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I was before you, I ſhould ſee your commiſſion by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the ſame be bound to anſwer to ſo much as you demand.

Roper. Let him ſee the commiſſion.

The ſcribe then exhibited it to Mr. Roper, and was about to open the ſame.

Cook. Fo, what will you do? he ſhall not ſee it.

Philpot. Then you do me wrong to call me and vex me, not ſhewing your authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain of us: and in the mean time thou ſhalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.

Philpot. Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I truſt to your gentleneſs that you will not commit me to ſo vile and ſtraight a place, being found no heinous treſpaſſer.

Cook. Thou art no gentleman.

Philpot. Yes, that I am.

Cook. An heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Philpot. The offence cannot take away the ſtate of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boaſt of my gentlemanſhip, but will put it under my foot, ſince you do no more eſteem it.

Story. What, will you ſuffer this heretic to prate all the day?

Cook. He ſaith he is a gentleman.

Story. A gentleman, ſaid he? he is a vile heretic knave: for an heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away.

Keeper. Here ſir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or elſe to the biſhop's coal-houſe.

Philpot. Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worſe nor a more vile place: but I muſt be content with whatſoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart, you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you Mr. Cholmley, ſhew me ſome friendſhip that I may not be carried to ſo vile a place. And he then called me aſide, and ſaid:

Cholmley. I neither underſtand their doings nor their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

Philpot. I am content to go whither you will have me. There never was a man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without juſt cauſe known ſhould thus be treated.

Story. Shall we ſuffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence.

Philpot. God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and ſhew you more mercy in the time of need: "Do quickly that you have in hand."

Story. Do you not hear how he maketh us like Judas?

Philpot. This is after your own underſtanding.

After this, I with four others were brought to the keeper's houſe in Pater-noſter-row, where we ſupped, and after ſupper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's ſervant, and that in his maſter's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, ſaying, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well, and the next night worſe: wherefore I will begin (ſaid I) as I am like to continue to take ſuch part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Pater-noſter-row to my lord of London's coal-houſe; unto which is joined a little blind houſe, with a great pair of ſtocks, appointed both for hand and foot: but thanks be to God we have not played of thoſe organs yet, although ſome before us have tried them; and there we found a miniſter of Eſſex, a married prieſt, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this miniſter at my coming deſired to ſpeak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of impriſonment he was conſtrained by writing to yield to the biſhop of London: whereupon he was once ſet at liberty, and afterward felt ſuch a hell in his conſcience that he could ſcarce refrain from deſtroying himſelf, and never could be at quiet until he went to the biſhop's regiſter, deſiring to ſee his bill again; which as ſoon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of which when my lord of London underſtood he ſent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly biſhop buffeted him well, ſo that he made his face black and blue, and pluckt away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the croſs as any of us, and very ſorry for his former infirmity. I write this, becauſe I would all men to take heed, how they do contrary to their conſcience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell.

The Manner *of my being called firſt before the* Bishop *of* LONDON, *the ſecond Night of mine Impriſonment in his* Coal-house.

THE biſhop ſent Mr. Johnſon his regiſter to me with a meſs of meat, and a good pot of drink and bread, ſaying, that my lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was ſorry: therefore he had ſent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the ſame.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleaſed him to remember poor priſoners, deſiring Almighty God to increaſe the ſame in him, and in all others; and therefore I would not refuſe his beneficence, and therewith took the ſame unto my brethren, praiſing God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he ſtirred our adverſaries up to help the ſame in their neceſſity.

Johnſon. My lord would know the cauſe of your being ſent hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof), and wondereth that he ſhould be troubled with priſoners that are not of his own dioceſe.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cauſe. After which he ſaid, My lord's will was, that I ſhould have any friendſhip I would deſire, and ſo departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and I was brought into his preſence, where he ſat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his regiſter.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.

With that, becauſe he ſo gently put forth his hand, I to render courteſy for courteſy, kiſſed my hand and gave him the ſame.

Bonner. I am right ſorry for your trouble, and I promiſe you that till within theſe two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cauſe of your being ſent hither: for I promiſe you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you ſhould think that I was the cauſe thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I muſt be obedient to my betters, and I fear men ſpeak otherwiſe of me than I deſerve.

Philpot. I ſhewed him the ſum of the matter; that it was for the diſputation in the convocation-houſe, for which I was againſt all right moleſted.

Bonner. I marvel that you ſhould be troubled for that, if there was none other cauſe but this. But peradventure you have maintained the ſame ſince, and ſome of your friends of late have aſked, whether you do ſtand to the ſame, and you have ſaid, yea; and for this you might be committed to priſon.

Philpot. If it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhip I am burdened no otherwiſe than I have told you, by the commiſſioners who ſent me hither, becauſe I would not recant the ſame.

Bonner. A man may ſpeak in the parliament-houſe, though it be a place of free ſpeech, ſo as he may be impriſoned for it, as in caſe he ſpeak words of high-treaſon againſt the king or queen; and ſo it might be that you ſpake otherwiſe than it became you of the church of Chriſt.

Philpot. I ſpake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in queſtion, and agreed upon to be diſputed by the whole houſe, and by permiſſion of the queen and council.

Bonner. Why, may we diſpute of our faith?

Philpot. That we may.

Bonner. Nay, I think not, by the law.

Philpot. Indeed by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reaſon thereof. For St. Peter ſaith, " Be ye ready to render account unto all men of the hope which is in you, that demand of you the ſame."

Bonner. Indeed, St. Peter ſaith ſo. Why, then I aſk of you what your judgment is of the ſacrament of the altar.

Philpot. My lord, St. Ambroſe ſaith, that the diſputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unleſs it be to edify. But now I cannot ſhew you my mind, but I muſt run upon the pikes in danger of my life for it. Wherefore as the ſaid doctor ſaid unto Valentinian the emperor, ſo ſay I to your lordſhip; Take away the law, and I ſhall reaſon with you. And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to anſwer, I truſt I ſhall utter my conſcience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bonner. I perceive you are learned, I would have ſuch as you be about me. But you muſt come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

Philpot. God forbid I ſhould be out of the church, I am ſure I am within the ſame: for I know as I am taught by the ſcripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one ſpouſe, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no ſalvation.

Bonner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the ſame, and walk not with us?

Philpot. My lord, I am ſure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon ſhe is built, which is the word of God.

Bonner. What age are you of?

Philpot. I am four and forty.

Bonner. You are not now of the ſame faith your godfather and godmothers promiſed for you, in which you were baptized.

Philpot. Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Chriſt which I now hold.

Bonner. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Philpot. I am aſſured of that by St. Paul, ſaying, " That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptiſm," of which I am.

Bonner. You were twenty years ago of another faith than you are now.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bonner. Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

Philpot. I deſire your lordſhip to hold me excuſed for anſwering at this time. I am ſure that God's word was thoroughly with the primitive church, and all the ancient fathers do agree with this faith I am of.

Bonner. Well, I promiſe you I mean you no more hurt than to mine own perſon: I will not therefore burthen you with your conſcience now; I marvel that you are ſo merry in priſon as you are, ſinging and rejoicing, as the prophet ſaith, Rejoicing in your naughtineſs. Methinks you do not well herein; you ſhould rather lament and be ſorry.

Philpot. My lord, the mirth that we make is but in ſinging certain pſalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, ſinging together in hymns and pſalms: and I truſt your lordſhip cannot be diſpleaſed with that.

Bonner. We may ſay unto you as Chriſt ſaid in the goſpel, " We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced———

Here my lord ſtumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpoſe, unleſs he would have us to mourn, becauſe they, if they laugh, ſing ſtill ſorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philpot. We are, my lord, in a dark comfortleſs place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, leſt, as Soloman ſaith, ſorrowfulneſs eat up our heart. Therefore I truſt your lordſhip will not be angry for our ſinging of pſalms, ſince St. Paul ſaith, " If any man be of an upright mind, let him ſing." And we therefore, to teſtify that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in miſery) do ſing.

Bonner. I will trouble you no farther as now. If I can do you any good, I ſhall be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and give you a good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed and by my lord's regiſter I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, Mr. Couſin, followed me, making acquaintance, ſaying, that I was welcome, and wiſhed that I would not be ſingular.

Philpot. I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, ſaying, Woe be to him that is alone. After that I was carried to my lord's coal-houſe again, where I with my ſix companions do houſe together in ſtraw as chearfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down. Thus for the third fit.

The FOURTH EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, *in the* ARCHDEACON *of* LONDON's *Houſe, in the Month of* OCTOBER, *before the* BISHOPS *of* LONDON, BATH, WORCESTER, *and* GLOUCESTER.

BONNER. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleaſed my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many that knew you at New College, in Oxford. And I alſo do pity your caſe, becauſe you ſeem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have ſent for you to come before them, that it might not be ſaid hereafter, that I had ſo many learned biſhops at my houſe, and yet would not vouchſafe them to talk with you, and at my requeſt (I thank them) they are content ſo to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you ſhall with all favour be ſatisfied. I am ſorry to ſee you lie in ſo evil a caſe as you do, and would fain you ſhould do better, as you may if you pleaſe.

Bath. My lords here have not ſent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity ſake to exhort you to come into the right catholic church.

Worceſter. Before he beginneth to ſpeak, it is beſt that he call upon God for grace, and to pray that it might pleaſe God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

Philpot. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:

" Almighty God, which art the giver of all wiſdom and underſtanding, I beſeech thee of thine infinite goodneſs and mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, to give me (moſt vile ſinner in thy ſight) the ſpirit of wiſdom to ſpeak and make anſwer in thy cauſe, that it may be to the ſatisfaction of the hearers, before whom I ſtand, and alſo to my better underſtanding if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner. Nay, my lord of Worceſter, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a ſingular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily ſing praiſe unto God before dawning of the day.

Philpot. My lord, God make me and all you here preſent ſuch heretics as thoſe were that ſung thoſe morning hymns: for they were right chriſtians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended with their well doing.

Bath. Proceed to what he hath to ſay. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bonner. Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

Philpot. I have, my lords, been theſe twelve months and a half in priſon without any juſt cauſe that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's juriſdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordſhips can burden me with any evil done, I ſtand here before you to purge me of the ſame. And if no ſuch thing may be juſtly laid to my charge, I deſire to be releaſed of this wrongful trouble.

Bonner. There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promiſe you, you were ſent hither to me, without my knowledge. Therefore ſpeak your conſcience without any fear.

Philpot. My lord, I have learned to anſwer in matters of religion in the congregation, being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a juſt congregation where I ought to anſwer.

Bonner. Indeed this man told me the laſt time I ſpake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conſcience in matters of faith, unleſs it were in the hearing of the people, where he might ſpeak to vain-glory.

Philpot. My lord, I ſaid that I was not a lawyer, neither did I arrogate to myſelf that name, although I was once a novice in the ſame, where I learned ſomething for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to anſwer to any cauſe, and whereby I have been taught not to put myſelf further in danger than I need, and ſo far am I a lawyer, and no farther.

Bath. If you will not anſwer to my lord's requeſt, you ſeem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

Philpot. My lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to anſwer in this behalf, as Mr. D. Cole (who is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my lord of London wherefore he ſhould call me.

Bonner. Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my dioceſe, by ſpeaking againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed againſt you to puniſh you by the law.

Philpot. I have not offended in your dioceſe. For that which I ſpake in the ſacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-houſe, which (as I underſtand) is a peculiar juriſdiction belonging to the dean thereof, and therefore is counted of your lordſhip's dioceſe, but not in your dioceſe.

Bonner. Is not Paul's church in my dioceſe? Well, I think it coſteth me a good deal of money in the year, the leading thereof.

Philpot. That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordſhip's juriſdiction. And if I had ſo offended in your dioceſe, yet I ought by the law to be ſent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be puniſhed by you that are not my ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cauſe, which you go about to enquire of me.

Bonner. How ſay you, Mr. D. Cole, may not I proceed againſt him by the law, for what he hath done in my dioceſe?

Cole. I think Mr. Philpot needeth not to ſtand ſo much with your lordſhip in that point as he doth, ſince you ſeek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it beſt that he go to the matter that is laid againſt him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.

Philpot. I would willingly ſhew my mind of the matter, but I am ſure it will be laid againſt me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.

Cole. Why then you may ſpeak by proteſtation.

Philpot. But what ſhall my proteſtation avail in a cauſe of hereſy (as you call it), if I ſpeak otherwiſe than you will have me; ſince that which I ſpake in the convocation-houſe, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?

Bonner. But, Mr. D. Cole, may not I proceed againſt him for that offence he hath done in my dioceſe?

Cole. You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your dioceſe.

Philpot. But I have by force been brought out of my own dioceſe to my lord's, and required to be judged by my own ordinary: and therefore I know Mr. Doctor will not ſay of his own knowledge, that your lordſhip ought to proceed againſt me. And here Mr. Doctor would ſay nothing.

Worceſter. Do you not think to find before my lord here, as good equity in your cauſe, as before your own ordinary?

Philpot. I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordſhip) I have found more gentleneſs ſince I came, than of mine own ordinary (I ſpeak it for no flattery) this year and half before, who never would call me to anſwer, as his lordſhip hath done now twice. No man is forbid to uſe his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be foreſtalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the ſame for divers other conſiderations.

Bonner. Now you cannot ſay hereafter but that you have been gently communed with by my lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obſtinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not ſhew any cauſe why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.

Philpot. My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectations, is (as I have ſaid) becauſe I cannot ſpeak without preſent danger of my life. But rather than you ſhould report me by this either obſtinate or ſelf-willed without any juſt ground whereupon I ſtand; I will open unto you ſomewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, deſiring your lordſhips, which ſeem to be the pillars of the church of England, to ſatisfy me in the ſame: and I will refer all other cauſes in which I diſſent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in which if I can by the ſcriptures be ſatisfied at your mouths, I ſhall as willingly agree to you as to any other, in all points.

Bonner. Theſe heretics come always with their ifs, as this man doth now, ſaying, if he can be ſatisfied by the ſcriptures: ſo that he will always have this exception, I am not ſatisfied, although the matter be ever ſo plainly proved againſt him. But will you promiſe to be ſatisfied, if my lords take ſome pains about you?

Philpot. I ſay, my lord, I will be ſatisfied by the ſcriptures in that wherein I ſtand. And I proteſt here before God and his eternal Son Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, and the Holy Ghoſt, and his angels, and you here preſent who be judges of what I ſpeak, that I do not ſtand in any opinion of wilfulneſs or ſingularity, but only upon my conſcience, certainly informed by God's word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cauſe of mine earneſtneſs in this behalf.

Bonner. I will trouble my lords no longer, ſeeing that you will not declare your mind.

Philpot. I am about ſo to do, if it pleaſe your lordſhip to hear me ſpeak.

Bath. Give me leave, my lord, to hear what he hath to ſay.

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cauſe why you do count me, and ſuch as I am, for heretics, is becauſe we be not at unity with your church. You ſay, that whoſoever is out of your church is damned: and we think verily on the other ſide, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we ſhould ſtand in the ſtate of damnation. Wherefore if your lordſhips can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for our's, and prove by the ſcriptures that the church of Rome now (of which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all ſermons, writings and arguments you do uphold, and that all chriſtian perſons ought to be ruled by the ſame, under pain of damnation, (as you ſay) and that the ſame church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the ſcriptures as it ſeemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow ſuch interpretations only; I ſhall be as conformable to the ſame church as you may deſire me, which otherwiſe I dare not: therefore I require you for God's ſake to ſatisfy me in this.

Cole. If you ſtand upon this point only, you may ſoon be ſatisfied if you pleaſe.

Philpot. It is the thing that I require, and to this I will ſtand, and refer all other controverſies wherein I now ſtand againſt you, and will put my hand thereto, if you miſtruſt my word.

Bonner. I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

Philpot. My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Bonner. No faith? that is not ſo. I am ſure you were of ſome faith.

Philpot. My lord, I have declared to you on my conſcience what I then was, and judge of myſelf. And what is that to the purpoſe of the thing I deſire to be ſatisfied of you?

Bonner. Mr. Doctor Cole, I pray you ſpeak your mind to him.

Cole. What will you ſay, if I can prove it was decreed by an univerſal council in Athanaſius's time, that all the chriſtian church ſhould follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where.

Philpot. If you, Mr. Doctor, can ſhew me the ſame granted to the ſee of Rome by the authority of the ſcripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to ſhew any ſuch thing: for Athanaſius was preſident of the Nicene council, and there was no ſuch thing decreed I am ſure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Philpot. I deſire to ſee the proof thereof.

And upon this Mr. Harpsfield, the chancellor to the biſhop of London, brought in a book of Ireneus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the biſhops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: which after the biſhops of Bath and Glouceſter had read together, the biſhop of Glouceſter gave me the book, and ſaid:

Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there you may ſee how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

Philpot. I took the book and read the place, which after I had read, I ſaid it made nothing againſt me, but againſt Arians and other heretics, againſt whom Ireneus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, becauſe they did teach and follow after ſtrange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of the ſame, was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful ſucceſſion of the faithful biſhops in preaching the true goſpel, as they had received of the apoſtles, and nothing like to theſe late ſprung heretics, &c. Whereby he concludeth againſt them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, which thing, if you, my lords, be able to prove of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority againſt me in my cauſe now, as Ireneus had againſt thoſe heretics. But the church of Rome hath ſwerved from the truth and ſimplicity of the goſpel which it maintained in Ireneus's time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now, wherefore your lordſhips cannot juſtly apply the authority of Ireneus to the church of Rome now, which is ſo maniſeſtly corrupted from the primitive church.

Bonner. So will you ſay ſtill it maketh nothing to the purpoſe, whatſoever authority we bring, and will never be ſatisfied.

Philpot. My lord, when I do by juſt reaſon prove, that the authorities which are brought againſt me do not make to the purpoſe, as I have already proved, I truſt you will receive mine anſwer.

Worceſter. It is to be proved moſt maniſeſtly by all ancient writers, that the ſee of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the ſame.

Philpot. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worceſter. Nay, you are of ſuch arrogancy, ſingularity, and vain-glory, that you will never ſee it, be it ever ſo well proved.

Philpot. Ha, my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow ſingularity or vain-glory, ſince it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only preſently, but alſo before God to come? And I know if I die not in the true faith, I ſhall die everlaſtingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me, and a great many more: yet I had rather to periſh at your hands, than to periſh eternally. And at this time I have loſt all my commodities of this world, and lay in a coal-houſe, where a man would not lay a dog, with which I am well contented.

Cole. Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what hiſtory? Certain it is by Euſebius, that the church was eſtabliſhed at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was biſhop twenty-five years at Rome.

Philpot. I know well that Euſebius ſo writeth: but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, chap. I. the contrary will maniſeſtly appear, that he was not half ſo long there. He lived not paſt thirty-five years after he was called to be an apoſtle: and St. Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jeruſalem after Chriſt's death more than thirteen years.

Cole. What did Peter write to the Galatians?

Philpot. No, I ſay Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jeruſalem. And further, I am able to prove, both by Euſebius and other hiſtoriographers, that the church of Rome hath maniſeſtly erred, and at this preſent doth err, becauſe ſhe agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did uſe according to the goſpel, and there needeth none other proof, but to compare the one with the other.

Bonner. I may compare this man to a certain man I read of, who fell into a deſperation, and went into a wood to hang himſelf, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchſafe to hang himſelf. But I will not apply this as I might. I pray you (Mr. Doctor) go forth with him.

Cole. My lord, there be on every ſide of me, ſome who are better able to anſwer him, and I love not to fall into diſputation: for we now-a-days ſuſtain ſhame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather ſhew my mind in writing.

Philpot. And I had rather you ſhould do ſo than otherwiſe, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beſeech you ſo to do. But if I were a rich man, I durſt wager an hundred pounds that you ſhall not be able to ſhew that you have ſaid, to be decreed by a general council in Athanaſius's time. For this I am ſure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) ſhould appeal to Rome: which decree I am ſure they would not have made, if by the ſcriptures and by an univerſal council it had been decreed, that all men ſhould abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

Cole. But I can ſhew that they revoked that error again.

Philpot. So you ſay, Mr. Doctor, but I pray you ſhew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing from you to my ſatisfaction, but bare words without any authority.

Bonner. What, I pray you, ought we to diſpute with you of our faith? Juſtinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

Philpot. I am certain the civil law hath ſuch a conſtitution: but our friend muſt not depend upon the civil law. For as St. Ambroſe ſaith, Not the law, but the goſpel hath gathered the church together.

Worceſter. Mr. Philpot, you have the ſpirit of pride wherewith you be led, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it off for ſhame.

Philpot. Sir, I am ſure I have the ſpirit of faith, by which I ſpeak at this preſent; neither am I aſhamed to ſtand to my faith.

Glouceſter. What? do you think yourſelf better learned than ſo many notable learned men as be here?

Philpot. Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred prieſts againſt him.

Worceſter. Oh, you would be counted now for Elias.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no farther at this time, but you ſhall go from whence you came, and have ſuch favour as in the mean while I can ſhew you: and upon Wedneſday next you ſhall be called upon again to be heard what you can ſay for the maintenance of your error.

Then the biſhops roſe up, and conſulted together, and cauſed a writing to be made, in which I think my blood by them was bought and ſold, and thereto they put their hands; and after this I was carried to my coal-houſe again.

The FIFTH EXAMINATION *of* Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, *before the* Bishops *of* LONDON, ROCHESTER, St. ASAPH, *&c. and others, in the* Gallery *of my* Lord *of* London's Palace.

AFTER much prefatory diſcourſe commenced by Biſhop Bonner, the biſhop of St. Aſaph thus began. What ſay you now? Is there not in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar (and with that they all put off their caps for reverence of the idol) the preſence of our Saviour Chriſt, really and ſubſtantially after the words of conſecration?

Philpot. I do believe in the ſacrament of Chriſt's body, duly miniſtered, to be ſuch manner of preſence, as the word teacheth me to believe.

St. Aſaph. I pray you, how is that?

Philpot. As for that I will declare another time, when I ſhall be lawfully called to diſpute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the ſcripture ſaith, "All things ought to be done after an order."

Another Biſhop. This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

Bonner. It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to diſpute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, *De ſumma Trinitate & fide Catholica.*

Philpot. My lord, I have anſwered you to this queſtion before.

Bonner. Why, I never aſked thee of this before now.

Philpot. Yes, and moreover I anſwered your lordſhip by St. Ambroſe, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Weerefore I now add further of this ſaying, "That he which refuſeth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjuſt man, becauſe the juſt ſhall live by faith." And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordſhip alledgeth out of the law, maketh it unlawful to diſpute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.

Bonner. Thou lieſt, it is not ſo: and I will ſhew you by the book how ignorant he is.

And with that he went with all haſte to his ſtudy, and brought his book, and openly read the text and title of the law, and charged me with ſuch words as ſeemed to make for his purpoſe, ſaying, How ſayeſt thou to this?

Philpot. My lord, I ſay as I ſaid before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon, where the articles of the creed were only concluded upon.

Bonner. Thou art the verieſt beaſt that ever I heard, I muſt needs ſpeak it, thou compelleſt me thereunto.

Philpot. Your lordſhip may ſpeak your pleaſure of me.

Bonner. I muſt needs proceed againſt thee to-morrow.

Philpot. If your lordſhip ſo do, I will have *Exceptionem fori:* for you are not my competent judge.

Bonner. By what law canſt thou refuſe me to be thy judge?

Philpot. By the civil law, *De competente judice.*

Bonner. There is no ſuch title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you are?

Philpot. My lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law: but you drive me to my ſhifts for my defence, and I am ſure if I had the books of the law, I am able to ſhew what I ſay.

Bonner. What, *De competente judice?* I will go bring thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis ordinarii.*

Philpot. Verily, that is the ſame *De competente judice,* which I have alledged. With that he ran to his ſtudy, and brought the whole courſe of the law.

Bonner. There are the books: find it now if thou canſt, and I will promiſe to releaſe thee out of priſon.

Philpot. My lord, I ſtand not here to reaſon matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the ſame; for that I have been a ſtudent in the law ſix or ſeven years; but to anſwer to the articles of faith with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.

Bonner. Why, thou wilt anſwer directly to nothing thou art charged with: therefore ſay not hereafter but you might have been ſatisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

Philpot. My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the biſhops at my laſt being with you, deſiring you to be ſatisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controverſies: which if your lordſhips now, or other learned men can ſimply reſolve me of, I am as contented to be conformable in all things, as you ſhall require; which is to prove that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

St. Aſaph. It is moſt evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Chriſt ſaid, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." Moreover the ſucceſſion of biſhops in the ſee of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place ſo well, which is a manifeſt probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

Philpot. That you would have to be undoubted, is moſt uncertain, and that by the authority which you alledge of Chriſt, ſaying unto Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church," unleſs you can prove that rock to ſignify Rome, as you would make me falſely believe. And although you can prove the ſucceſſion of biſhops from Peter, yet this is not ſufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unleſs you can prove the profeſſion of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is built, to have continued in his ſucceſſors at Rome, and at this preſent to remain.

Coventry. I pray you, can you tell what this word catholic doth ſignify? ſhew if you can.

Philpot. Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people are taught, to be that which is moſt univerſal, or by moſt part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not ſo: but I eſteem the catholic church to be as St. Auſtin defineth the ſame: "We judge, ſaith he, the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and ſhall be." So that if you can be able to prove, that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and ſhall be; then you may count yourſelves catholic, otherwiſe not. And catholic is a Greek word compounded of Kata, which ſignifieth, after, or according, and Holon, a ſum, or principle, or whole. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much as to ſay, the firſt, whole, ſound, or chief faith.

Bonner. Do you think that the catholic church (until within theſe few years, in which a few upon ſingularity have ſwerved from the ſame) hath erred?

Philpot. I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine: but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.

Curtop. I can prove that Ireneus (which was within an hundred years after Chriſt) came to Victor, then biſhop of Rome, to aſk his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which (by all likelihood) he would not have done, if he had not taken him to be ſupreme head.

Coventry. Mark well this argument. How are you able to anſwer the ſame? Anſwer if you can.

Philpot. It is ſoon anſwered, my lord, for that is of no force; neither doth this fact of Ireneus make any more for the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, than mine hath done, who have been at Rome as well as he, and might have ſpoken with the pope if I had liſt; and yet I would none in England did favour his ſupremacy more than I. I am able to ſhew ſeven general councils after Ireneus's time, wherein he never took him for ſupreme head.

The other biſhop. This man will never be ſatisfied, ſay what we can. It is but folly to reaſon any more with him.

Philpot. O, my lords, would you have me ſatisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by theſe many general councils am able to prove, that he was never ſo taken in many hundred years after Chriſt, as by Nicene, Epheſine, the firſt and ſecond Chalcedon, Conſtantinopolitan, Carthagineſe, Aquilenſe.

Coventry. Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?

Philpot. Becauſe it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the ſame, no more than an apple is like a nut.

Coventry. Wherein doth it diſſent?

Philpot. It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the ſupremacy and tranſubſtantiation.

Curtop. As for tranſubſtantiation, albeit it was ſet forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years ago, yet it was always believed in the church.

Bonner. Yes, that it was. Very well ſaid of you, Mr. Curtop.

Philpot. You have ſaid right, that tranſubſtantiation is but a late plantation of the biſhop of Rome, and you are not able to ſhew any ancient writer, that believed any ſuch thing; and with this Curtop ſhrank away. And immediately after the ambaſſador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the others with me. To whom I ſaid, My Lords, if you can ſhew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I ſhall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the ſame as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no ſalvation but within the church.

Coventry. Can you diſprove that the church of Rome is the catholic church?

Philpot. Yes, that I am able, but I deſire rather to hear of you the proof thereof. And ſeeing I cannot have my requeſt at your hands, neither be ſatisfied with any probable authority, I will ſhew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be the form and ſchool-miſtreſs unto the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which diſſenteth ſo far from the ſame both in doctrine and uſe of the ſacraments.

Coventry. How prove you that the church of Rome now diſſenteth in doctrine and uſe of the ſacraments from the primitive church?

Philpot. Compare the one with the other, and it ſhall ſoon appear; as you may ſee both in Euſebius and other eccleſiaſtical and ancient writers.

Coventry. What have you to ſay more, why it is not the catholic church?

Philpot. Becauſe it is not [by your interpretation of catholic] univerſal, neither ever was, albeit you falſely perſuade the people it is ſo. For the world being divided into three parts, Aſia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Aſia and Africa, profeſſing Chriſt as well as we, did never conſent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a ſufficient teſtimony that your faith was never univerſal.

Yea, and beſides all this, moſt part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifeſt probation that your church is not univerſal.

After this the biſhop of London called away the other biſhops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverſon, an Engliſhman, who began with me in this manner.

Dr. Saverſon. I have heard your arguments hitherto, and think that a great many of the old ancient writers be againſt you, in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the ſupremacy; for St. Cyprian (which is an ancient writer) doth allow the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head of the church.

Philpot. That I am ſure he doth not. For he, writing to Cornelius, then biſhop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and his fellow biſhop, neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or of any other uſurped terms, which now be aſcribed to the biſhop of Rome, to the ſetting forth of his dignity.

Dr. Saverſon. You cannot be able to ſhew that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow-biſhop.

Philpot. I will wager you with what I am able to make, that I can ſhew it you in St. Cyprian, as I have ſaid.

Dr. Saverſon. I will lay no other wager with you than book for book, that it is not ſo.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof. And with that one of them went to my lord's ſtudy, and he brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the firſt book of his epiſtles, the third epiſtle, and there he would have ſeemed to gather a ſtrong argument for the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, becauſe he ſaith, "It goeth not well with the church when the high-prieſt is not obeyed, which ſupplieth the ſtead of Chriſt, after God's word, and the conſent of his fellow-biſhops and the agreement of the people."

Dr. Saverſon. How can you avoid this place which maketh ſo plainly for the biſhop of Rome's ſupremacy?

Philpot. It maketh not ſo plain, Mr. Doctor, on your ſide, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to underſtand. But firſt I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For here you may ſee that he calleth Cornelius his fellow-biſhop, as he doth alſo in other places. And for the underſtanding of that place, you do miſconſtrue it, to take the high-prieſt only for the biſhop of Rome, and otherwiſe than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jeruſalem, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome, of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed loweſt in the council, and ſo continued many years, for the time of ſeven or eight general councils, as I can ſhew.

Therefore St. Cyprian writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome, (whom he calleth his fellow-biſhop) findeth himſelf offended that certain heretics, being juſtly excommunicated by him, (as the Novatians were) did flee from his dioceſe, which was their chief biſhop, (refuſing to be obedient to him and to be reformed) to the biſhop of Rome, and the patriarch of Conſtantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and diſcipline in the church, and to the maintaining of hereſies and ſchiſms: and that hereſies did ſpring up, and ſchiſms daily riſe hereof, that obedience was not given to the prieſt of God, nor was it once conſidered him to be in the church for the time the prieſt, and for the time the judge in Chriſt's ſtead, (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed) not the biſhop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned prieſts, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow-biſhops, with the conſent of the people, all hereſies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian.

A Chaplain. Did not Chriſt build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian ſaith ſo.

Philpot. St. Cyprian, *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, declareth in what reſpect he ſo ſaid: "God gave in the the perſon of one man, the keys to all, that he might ſignify the unity of all men." And St. Auguſtine in the tenth treatiſe of St. John, "If in Peter had not been the myſtery of the church, the Lord had not ſaid unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. But if the church have them, when Peter received them, he ſignified the whole church." And St. Hierom, a prieſt of Rome, writing to Nepotian, ſaith, "That all churches do lean to their own paſtors, where he ſpeaketh of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy or regiment," but maketh no mention of the biſhop of Rome. And to Evagrius, he ſaith, "That whereſoever a biſhop be, whether at Rome, or Evagi, or Rhegium, he is of one power and juriſdiction."

Dr. Saverſon. St. Hierom *De cœleſti Hierarchia?* It was Dionyſius you mean.

Philpot. I ſay not that Hierom wrote any ſuch book, but, that in the epiſtle by me alledged, he maketh mention of it.

Dr. Saverſon. I wonder at ſuch perſeverance in error.

Philpot. We are in no error, but of the truth. When you cannot anſwer men by learning, it is your practice to anſwer them with blaſphemies and falſe reports.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I ſaid, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have uſed me more like a dog than a man. Neither have you kept your promiſe with me, that I ſhould be judged the day after.

Story. I am come now to keep promiſe with thee. Was there ever ſuch a fantaſtical man? but theſe heretics are worſe than brute beaſts.

Philpot. I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now, ſay what you will; but neither you nor any other ſhall be able to prove that I hold one jot againſt the word of God.

Story. The word of God, forſooth? It is a folly to reaſon with theſe heretics; yet I may reaſon with thee. Whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word?

Philpot. Verily the word itſelf.

Story. What wiſe authority canſt thou bring in?

Philpot. The word of Chriſt in St. John, "The word which I have ſpoken, ſhall judge in the laſt day." How much more, then, ought it to judge of our doings now; and I am ſure I have my judge on my ſide, who will abſolve and juſtify me in another world.

Story. What? you purpoſe to ſit in judgment with Chriſt, to judge the twelve tribes of Iſrael?

Philpot. Yea, ſir, if I die for righteouſneſs ſake, which you have begun to perſecute in me.

Story. When the judge in Weſtminſter-hall giveth ſentence, doth the word give ſentence, or the judge? Tell me.

Philpot. Civil matters are ſubject to civil men; but the word of God is not ſubject to man's judgment.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the ſcriptures?

Philpot. If it be according to the word of the true church, I will be as ready to yield to it, ſo long as it can be ſo proved, as you may deſire.

Story. He will believe nothing but what he knoweth himſelf! Have not our forefathers theſe many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church? And preſcription of time maketh a good title in law.

Philpot. This indeed is all you have to ſhew for yourſelves; but preſcription hath no place in theſe matters.

Story. Well, ſir, you are like to go after your father Latimer the ſophiſter, and Ridley, who could only alledge that he learned his hereſy of Cranmer. But I diſpatched them; and there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have been a cauſe of his diſpatch.

Philpot. You have the more to anſwer for, Mr. Doctor, as you ſhall feel in another world.

Story. I cannot now tarry to ſpeak with my lord, but I pray one of you to tell him, that he muſt out of hand put this heretic out of the way.

Philpot. I thank you with all my heart.

Then they departed all one after another. And afterwards going with my keeper to the coal-houſe, I met with my lord of London, who ſpoke unto me very gently, ſaying,

Bonner. Philpot, can I ſhew thee any pleaſure in my houſe? ſpeak, and thou ſhalt have it.

Philpot. My lord, the pleaſure I require, is to diſpatch me out of this miſerable world unto my eternal reſt. And for all this fair ſpeech, for a fortnight's ſpace, I have had neither fire, candle, or good lodging. God hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladneſs to be content. Let all who love the truth ſay, Amen.

The SIXTH EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, *before the* Right Honourable, *the* Lord Chamberlain, *the* Viſcount HEREFORD, *commonly called* Lord FERRAS, *the* Lords RICH, ST. JOHN, WINDSOR, SHANDOIS, Sir JOHN BRIDGES, Lieutenant *of the* Tower, *and two others, the* Biſhop *of* LONDON, *and* Dr. CHEDSEY, November 6, 1555.

THE lords being ſeated, and every perſon preſent in his place, the biſhop of London thus ſpoke:

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I have both privately and openly cauſed you to be converſed with, to reform you of your errors, but have not yet found you ſo tractable as I could wiſh. I have now deſired thoſe honourable lords to hear what you can ſay, and be judges whether I have ſought all means to do you good: and if you are conformable to the queen's majeſty's proceedings, you ſhall find as much favour as you can wiſh.

Philpot. My lord, I thank God that I have ſuch an honourble audience to declare my mind before. And I commend your lordſhip's equity in this behalf, ſo agreeable to the order of the primitive church, that when any one had been ſuſpected of hereſy, he ſhould be called firſt before the archbiſhop or biſhop of the dioceſe; ſecondly, in the preſence of others his fellow biſhops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity: I have found two points already, and now have the third ſort of men, at whoſe hands I truſt to find more righteouſneſs than I have found with my lords of the clergy.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, tell my lords whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to priſon or not, and whether I have ſhewed you any cruelty ſince you have been committed to my priſon.

Philpot. If your lordſhip will give me leave to declare my matter, I will touch that afterward.

Rich. Anſwer firſt to my lord's queſtions, and then proceed to the matter. Were you impriſoned by my lord? Can you find any fault ſince with his uſing of you?

Philpot. I cannot charge him as the cauſe of my impriſonment, or that he hath uſed me cruelly; but I have found more gentleneſs at his hands, than at my own ordinary's.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Philpot. I am impriſoned for diſputations in the convocation-houſe againſt the ſacrament of the altar; which matter was moved by the prolocutor, with conſent of the queen's majeſty and the whole houſe, and that houſe, being a member of the parliament-houſe, ought to be a place of free ſpeech for all men of the houſe.

Windſor. The convocation-houſe is called by one writ of ſummon-of parliament by old cuſtom; but that is no part of the parliament-houſe.

Philpot. My lords, I muſt ſubmit to your judgments.

Rich. We have told you the truth. And yet we would not you ſhould be troubled for any thing there ſpoken, if you are ſorry for what you have ſaid.

Bonner. My lords, he hath ſpoken there manifeſt hereſy, and maintained the ſame againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, not allowing the real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſame: yet, my lords, God forbid that I ſhould ſhew him extremity for ſo doing; in caſe he will repent and revoke his wicked ſayings

ings, with your lordſhips conſent, he ſhall be releaſed; if not, he ſhall have the extremity of the law.

Rich. Will you acknowledge the real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the maſs?

Philpot. My lord, I do acknowledge in it ſuch a preſence as the word of God doth allow and teach me; for in the Lord's ſupper there are in due reſpects both the ſign and the thing ſignified, when it is duly adminiſtered after the inſtitution of Chriſt.

Rich. Shew us what manner of preſence you allow in the ſacrament.

Philpot. If it pleaſe my lord of London to give me leave to declare myſelf without interruption, I will thoroughly ſpeak my mind; for if I have not plainly declared my judgment, it is becauſe I cannot ſpeak without danger.

Rich. There is none of us here that means to take any advantage of that thou ſhalt ſpeak.

Philpot. I miſtruſt not your honourable lordſhips of the temporality; but here is one that will lay it to my charge even to death. Yet I am not aſhamed of the preſence of Chriſt, neither do maintain any opinion without authority of ſcripture; and will ſhew you frankly my mind, if my lord of London will not hinder me to utter it.

Rich. My lord, permit him to ſay what he can.

Bonner. Let him ſay what he can, then I will hear him.

Philpot. What I do intend to ſpeak unto you, my lord, I proteſt here before God and his angels, I ſpeak not of vain-glory, ſingularity, or wilful ſtubbornneſs, but upon a good conſcience, grounded on God's word; againſt which I dare not go for fear of damnation, which will follow what is done contrary to knowledge. I love the queen from the bottom of my heart; but I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws.

In two things principally, the clergy at this day deceive the realm; in the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the name of the catholic church. Their ſacrament, which they term of the altar, is not the ſacrament of Chriſt, neither in the ſame is there any manner of Chriſt's preſence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majeſty, and the nobility of the realm, in maintaining that to be a ſacrament which is none, and cauſing you to commit manifeſt idolatry in worſhipping that for God, which is no God. And in teſtimony of this, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon ſure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

Neither are they the catholic church, who call you from the true religion as revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain ſuperſtition. But if they can prove this, I will not be againſt their doings, but revoke all I have ſaid. And I ſhall deſire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's majeſty, that I may be brought to a juſt trial, I will not refuſe to ſtand againſt ten of the beſt of them in this realm. And if they be able to prove otherwiſe, I will recant all I have ſaid, and conſent to them in all points.

And in declaring theſe things more largely, the biſhop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to ſpeak, to the great grief of his lordſhip.

Bonner. I have heard that you love to make a long tale; but how will you join theſe two ſcriptures together, "The Father is greater than I: and I and the Father are one." Now ſhew your cunning, and join theſe by the word.

Philpot. We muſt, then, underſtand that in Chriſt there be two natures, the divinity and humanity; and in reſpect of his humanity, it is ſpoken of Chriſt, "The Father is greater than I." But in reſpect of his Deity he ſaid, "The Father and I be one."

Bonner. But what ſcripture have you?

Philpot. I have ſufficient for the proof of this. For the firſt, it is written of Chriſt in the Pſalms, "Thou haſt made him a little lower than the angels."

Bonner. But how couple you the ſecond by the word to the other?

Philpot. The text declareth, that though Chriſt did abaſe himſelf in our human nature, he is ſtill one in Deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth at large ſet forth. And I am able to do the like in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the ſame means expound them.

Bonner. How can that be, ſeeing St. Paul ſaith, "That the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life?

Philpot. St. Paul meaneth not that the word of God in itſelf killeth, but that it killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wiſeſt man of the world; and therefore St. Paul ſaid, "That the goſpel to ſome was a ſavour of life unto life, and to others a ſavour of death unto death." An example is met with in the ſixth of John, "The fleſh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

Bonner. Do you underſtand that of St. Paul and of St. John ſo?

Philpot. It is agreeable to the word in other places: and the ancient fathers ſo interpret it. And to the Corinthians, "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, but the ſpiritual man, who is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things."

Bonner. You ſee my lords, this man will have his own mind, and wilfully caſt himſelf away.

Philpot. The words are thoſe of the goſpel. And if you can bring better authority for your faith, I will gladly hear it.

Rich. Are you of the Philpots of Hampſhire?

Philpot. I am ſir P. Philpot's ſon of Hampſhire.

Rich. As my near kinſman I am more ſorry for you.

Philpot. I thank your lordſhip for challenging kindred with a poor priſoner.

Rich. I would go an hundred miles to do you good.

St. John. Mr. Philpot, you are MY countryman, and I would be glad you ſhould do well.

Rich. You ſaid even now, that you would deſire to maintain your belief before ten of the beſt in the realm.

Philpot. I did not mean to challenge ten of the beſt nobility in this realm, but the beſt learned.

Rich. Well; what if means be made to the queen's majeſty that you ſhall have your requeſt?

Philpot. A man ſhould not be judged by his adverſaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Philpot. By your honours that ſhall be hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure that you ſhall have ten learned men to reaſon with you, and twenty or forty nobility to hear, if you will abide their judgment.

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by them, if they would judge according to the word of God. I am alſo willing to be judged by others, if the order of judgment be kept that was in the primitive church; firſt, that God's will by his word was ſought, whereunto both the ſpirituality and temporality were gathered, and gave their judgment.

Bonner. My lords, there was never any ſuch manner of judgment in the primitive church, as he now talketh of.

Philpot. It is mentioned in Cyprian's epiſtles.

(Here biſhop Bonner called for Cyprian; but his chaplain, Dr. Chedſey, whiſpered in his ear, and the book was not brought.)

Well, my lord, Mr. Doctor knoweth it is ſo, or elſe he would have brought the book ere this.

Rich. You admit no other judge, then, but the word.

Philpot. If there were a controverſy between your lordſhip and another upon the words of a ſtatute, muſt not the words of the ſtatute determine it?

Bonner. He hath brought as good an example againſt himſelf as can be.

And here the biſhop thought he had a good argument againſt me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

Philpot. And I will aſk, although a judge may diſcern the meaning of a ſtatute agreeable to the words, if he may judge a meaning contrary to the words?

Rich. He cannot ſo do.

Philpot. Even ſo ſay I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the expreſs words thereof, as this falſe church of Rome doth in many things: and with this the lords ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and made no further reply herein.

Rich. I marvel then why you do deny the expreſs words of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſaying, "This is my body:" and yet you will not ſtick to ſay it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man fleſh of a piece of clay? Did not he ſay, "This is my body which ſhall be betrayed for you?" And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it muſt needs be his body.

Bonner. My lord Rich, you have ſaid wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before alſo, in the ſixth of John, where Chriſt promiſed to give his body in the ſacrament of the altar, ſaying, "The bread which I will give is my fleſh." How can you anſwer to that?

Philpot. My lord of London may be ſoon anſwered: that ſaying of St. John is, that the humanity of Chriſt, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life whereby our ſouls and bodies are ſuſtained to eternal life, of which the ſacramental bread is a lively repreſentation, and an effectual coaptation to all ſuch as believe on his paſſion. And as Chriſt ſaith in the ſame ſixth of John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven;" but yet he is not material, neither natural bread: likewiſe the bread is his fleſh, not natural or ſubſtantial, but by ſignification, and by grace in the ſacrament.

And now to my lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the expreſs words of Chriſt in the ſacrament, "This is my body:" but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they muſt be taken ſacramentally and ſpiritually, according to the expreſs declaration of Chriſt, ſaying, that the words of the ſacrament which the Capernaites took carnally, as the Papiſts now do, ought to be taken ſpiritually and not carnally, as they falſely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Chriſt hath made in this behalf, neither following the inſtitution of Chriſt, neither the uſe of the apoſtles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any ſuch carnal manner of preſence as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of ſcripture or antiquity, who uſed to put out of the church all ſuch as did not receive the ſacrament with the reſt, and alſo to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apoſtles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch may appear.

Bonner. No, that is not ſo; they were only Catechumeni, which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other.

Philpot. It was not only of ſuch as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive.

Dr. Chedſey now began to diſpute, and biſhop Bonner retired.

Chedſey. Mr. Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-houſe before your lordſhips, that he hath lain thus long in priſon, and that he hath there a dozen arguments, whereof he would not be ſuffered to proſecute one thoroughly; which is not ſo; for he had leave to ſay what he could, and was anſwered to as much as he was able to bring: and when he had nothing elſe to ſay, he fell to weeping. I was there preſent and can teſtify thereof, although there is a book abroad of the report of the diſputation to the contrary, in which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be ſatisfied of the ſacrament; I will ſhew you the truth thereof, both by the ſcriptures, and by the doctors.

Philpot. It is a ſhrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, ſince you have begun with ſo many untruths, as to ſay that I was anſwered while I had any thing to ſay; and that I wept for lack of matter to ſay, and that the book of the report of the diſputation, is not true.

Chedſey. You have of ſcriptures the four evangeliſts for the probation of Chriſt's real preſence to be in the ſacrament after the words of conſecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all ſay, "This is my body." They ſay not, as you would have me believe, this is not the body. But eſpecially the 6th of John proveth this moſt manifeſtly, where Chriſt promiſed to give his body, which he performed in his laſt ſupper, as it appeareth by theſe words, "The bread which I will give is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world." You muſt note, that there is twice Dabo in this ſaying of St. John, and the firſt is referred to the ſacrament of the altar; and the ſecond to the ſacrifice upon the croſs: and beſides theſe manifeſt ſcriptures, there are many ancient doctors proving the ſame.

Philpot. My lord, the chief ground whereon he with the reſt of his ſide do ground themſelves againſt us, are theſe words, "This is my body," with a falſe pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular anſwers of all that he hath alledged, for that your lordſhips may the better underſtand me, what I mean, and whereupon I ſtand, I will firſt require Mr. Doctor to anſwer me one queſtion; whether theſe words only, "This is my body," ſpoken by a prieſt over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Chriſt, as you ſuppoſe, or no?

Chedſey ſtudying what he might ſay, at laſt anſwered, That theſe words alone, pronounced by the prieſt, are ſufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Chriſt really.

Philpot. That is blaſphemy to ſay, and againſt all the ſcriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and ſubſtance in conſecration muſt be obſerved which Chriſt uſed and did inſtitute, as St. Cyprian ſaith, "In the ſacrifice which is Chriſt, only Chriſt is to be followed." And by the law it is forbidden to add or to take away from God's word. And St. Peter ſaith, "If any man ſpeak, let him ſpeak as the word of God." Wherefore whoſoever ſaith that theſe words only, "This is my body," do make a preſence of Chriſt, without "Bleſs, Take, and Eat," which be three as ſubſtantial points of the ſacrament, as, "This is my body," he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. Auguſtine ſaith, "Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a ſacrament:" So that if the intire words of Chriſt's inſtitutions be not obſerved in the miniſtration of a ſacrament, it is no ſacrament; as the ſacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, becauſe they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore except bleſſing be made after the word, (which is a due thankſgiving for our redemption in Chriſt) and alſo a ſhewing forth of the Lord's death in ſuch wiſe as the congregation may be edified; and moreover a taking and eating after Chriſt's commandment; except (I ſay) theſe three parts be firſt performed, (which is not done in the maſs) theſe words, "This is my body," which are laſt placed in the inſtitution of the Lord's ſupper, cannot be verified. For Chriſt commanded as well, "Take ye, Eat ye," as "This is my body."

Chedſey. Chriſt ſaid, "Take, Eat, this is my body," and not Take ye, Eat ye.

Philpot. Did he not, Mr. Doctor? be not theſe the words of Chriſt, *Accipite, Manducate?* and do not theſe words in the plural number ſignify, "Take ye, Eat ye," and not Take thou, Eat thou; as you would ſuppoſe?

Chedſey. I grant it is as you ſay.

Philpot. Likewiſe of conſequence, you (Mr. Doctor) muſt needs deny what you have ſaid, that theſe words, "This is my body," being only ſpoken, be ſufficient to make the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament, as you have untruly ſaid.

Then the biſhop came in again and ſaid, What is it that you would have Mr. Doctor deny?

Philpot. My lord, Mr. Doctor hath affirmed that theſe words, "This is my body," ſpoken by the prieſt only, do make the ſacrament.

Bonner. Indeed if Mr. Bridges ſhould ſpeak theſe words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a prieſt ſpeak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor hath ſaid otherwiſe.

Bonner. I think you miſtake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced.

Philpot. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was ſaid; that, "This is my body," hath no place, except Bleſs, Take, and Eat, duly go before. And therefore becauſe the ſame words do not go before, "This is my body," but prepoſterouſly follow in your ſacrament of the maſs, it is not the ſacrament of Chriſt, neither hath Chriſt in it preſence.

Chedſey. If "This is my body" only do not make the ſacrament, no more do "Bleſs, take, and eat."

Philpot. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the ſacrament. And it can be no ſacrament unleſs the whole action of Chriſt doth concur together according to the firſt inſtitution.

Chedſey. Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Chriſt, unleſs it be received?

Philpot. No verily, it is not the very body of Chriſt to any other, but ſuch as condignly receive the ſame after his inſtitution.

Lord Chamberlain. I pray you, my lord, let me aſk him one queſtion. What kind of preſence in the ſacrament (duly adminiſtered according to Chriſt's ordinance) do you allow?

Philpot. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confeſs the preſence of Chriſt wholly to be with all the fruits of his paſſion, unto the ſaid worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Chriſt is thereby joined to him, and he to Chriſt.

Bonner. My lords, I am ſorry I have troubled you ſo long with this obſtinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now. And with that ended the ſixth examination.

The SEVENTH EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, November *the* 19*th. before the* Bishops of LONDON *and* ROCHESTER, *the* Chancellor *of* LITCHFIELD *and* Dr. CHEDSEY.

Chancellor. CAST not yourſelf wilfully away, Mr. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.

Philpot. My conſcience beareth me record that I ſeek to pleaſe God, and that the love and fear of God cauſeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures moſt miſerable, if for mine own will only I do loſe all the conveniencies I might have in this life, and afterwards be caſt into damnation.

Bonner. Well, ſince thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed againſt thee *Ex Officio*, and therefore hearken to ſuch articles as I have here written, and make anſwer to them. And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles, and when he had done he bade me anſwer.

Philpot. Your libel, my lord, containeth in ſum two ſpecial points: The firſt pretendeth, that I ſhould be of your dioceſe, and therefore your lordſhip upon divers ſuſpicions and infamies of hereſy going upon me, is moved to proceed againſt me by your ordinary office; which firſt is not true, for that I am not of your lordſhip's dioceſe, as the libel doth pretend. And the ſecond is, that I being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them, which is not ſo, for I am of that catholic faith and church which I was baptized into.

Bonner. What? art thou not of my dioceſe? where are you now, I pray you?

Philpot. I cannot deny but I am in your coalhouſe, which is your dioceſe: yet I am not of your dioceſe.

Bonner. You were ſent hither unto me by the queen's majeſty's commiſſioners, and thou art now in my dioceſe: wherefore I will proceed againſt thee as thy ordinary.

Philpot. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my preſent being now in your dioceſe is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's juriſdiction, neither make it me willingly ſubject to your juriſdiction, ſince it cometh by force, and by ſuch men as had no juſt authority ſo to do; no more than a ſanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby loſe his privilege, but always may challenge the ſame whereſoever he be brought.

Chedſey. Hath not the queen's majeſty authority, by her commiſſioners, to remove your body whither ſhe will? and ought you not to obey herein?

Philpot. I grant that the queen's majeſty (of her juſt power) may tranſpoſe my body, whither it ſhall pleaſe her grace to command the ſame. But yet by your laws, ſpiritual cauſes are not ſubject to the temporal power.

Bonner. What ſayeſt thou then to the ſecond article, and to the other?

Philpot. I am of the ſame catholic faith, and of the ſame catholic church, which is of Chriſt, the pillar and eſtabliſhment of truth.

Bonner. Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you are now.

Philpot. I was not baptized either into my godfathers faith or my godmothers, but into the faith and into the church of Chriſt.

Bonner. How long hath your church ſtood, I pray you?

Philpot. Even from the beginning, from Chriſt and from his apoſtles, and from their immediate ſucceſſors.

Bonner. Hath not the biſhop of Rome always been ſupreme head of the church, and Chriſt's vicar on earth even from Peter?

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority, than the biſhop of London hath.

Bonner. Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the biſhop of Rome, who is his ſucceſſor, the ſame authority?

Philpot. I grant that the biſhop of Rome, as he is the ſucceſſor of Peter, hath the ſame authority as Peter had: but Peter had no more authority than every one of the apoſtles had.

Chancellor. Yes, that St. Peter had; for Chriſt ſaid ſpecially unto him, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" which he ſpake to none other of his diſciples ſingularly, but to him.

Philpot. St. Auguſtine anſwereth otherwiſe to the objection, and ſaith, "That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not ſaid to him, To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Which if Peter received not, the church hath them not; if the church hath them, then Peter hath them not."

Bonner. What if I can prove and ſhew you out of the civil law, that all chriſtendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a ſpecial title thereof, *De catholica fide & ſancta Romana eccleſia?*

Philpot. That is nothing material, ſeeing the things of God be not ſubject to man's laws; and the divine matters muſt be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

A Doctor. St. Cyprian hath theſe words, That upon Peter was built the church, as upon the firſt beginning of unity.

Philpot. He declareth that in an example, that unity muſt be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. Which he doth more manifeſtly declare in the book *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*, ſaying, in the perſon of one man God gave the keys to all, that he in ſignification thereby might declare the unity of all men.

Bonner. I will deſire you (Mr. Chancellor) to take ſome pains with Dr. Chedſey, about his examination, for I muſt go to the parliament houſe. And I deſire you will dine with me.

Then the doctor again took his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumſtance, digreſſing from his purpoſe.

A Doctor. Yea, then I have done with you, and ſo went away.

Philpot. You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you may be more learned in other things than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practiſed than you, for any thing I can hear of you; therefore be not too haſty to judge what you do not perfectly know.

Chancellor. Peter and his ſucceſſors from the beginning have been allowed for the ſupreme head of the church, and that by the ſcriptures, for Chriſt ſaid unto him in St. John thrice, "Feed my ſheep."

Philpot. That is no otherwiſe to be taken, than, "Go ye and preach," which was ſpoken to all the apoſtles as well as unto Peter. And that Chriſt ſaid thrice, "Feed my ſheep," it ſignifieth nothing elſe but the earneſt ſtudy that the miniſters of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a juſt interpretation of the ſcripture, to take "Feed my ſheep," for to be lord of the whole world?

In the mean while a bachelor of divinity came in, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the biſhop, and he took upon him to help Mr. Chancellor.

Scholar. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you a Greek author called Theophylact, to interpret it ſo? Will you believe his interpretation?

Philpot. Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the biſhop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, ſince his interpretation is contrary to the determination of many general councils.

Scholar. In what general council was it otherwiſe, that the biſhop of Rome was not ſupreme head over all?

Philpot. In the council of Nice I am ſure it was otherwiſe; for Athanaſius was there the chief biſhop and preſident of the council, and not the biſhop of Rome.

Scholar. Nay, that is not ſo.

Philpot. Then I perceive you are better ſeen in words than in knowledge of things: and I will lay with you what you will it is ſo, as you may ſee in the Epitome of the councils.

Scholar. I will fetch Euſebius and ſhew the contrary, and the book of General-Councils. He went into my lord's cloſet, and brought Euſebius, but the General Councils he brought not, ſaying (for ſaving of his honeſty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwiſe in Euſebius, but he was not able to ſhew the ſame, and ſo ſhrunk away confounded.

Chancellor. The church of Rome hath been always taken for the catholic church: therefore I would adviſe you to come into the ſame with us. You ſee all the men of this realm do condemn you. And why will you be ſo ſingular?

Philpot. I have ſaid, and ſtill do ſay, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the ſame. But I am ſure that the church, which you make ſo much of, is a falſe church, and a ſynagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of the realm do perſecute the true church, and condemn ſuch as are more righteous than you.

Chancellor. Do you hear, Mr. Doctor, what he ſaith, that the church of Rome is the devil?

Chedſey. I wiſh you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you ſay if I can ſhew you out of St. Auſtin, in his epiſtle written unto pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be the chief over all others?

Philpot. I am ſure you can ſhew no ſuch thing. And with that he fetched me the book of St. Auſtin, and turned to the epiſtle, but he could not prove his allegation manifeſtly, but by conjectures in this wiſe.

Chedſey. Here you may ſee, that the council of Carthage writing to Innocent, the biſhop calleth the ſee of Rome the apoſtolic ſee. And beſides this, they write to him, certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatiſts, requiring his approbation in the ſame; which they would not have done if they had not taken the church of Rome for the ſupreme head of others. And moreover you may ſee how St. Auſtin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church, by continual ſucceſſion of the biſhops until his time, which ſucceſſion we can prove until our days: therefore by the ſame reaſon of St. Auſtin we ſay now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, I have conſidered how you do weigh St. Auſtin; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would inſer your falſe concluſion. As concerning that it was called by him the apoſtolical ſee, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant indeed that it is the apoſtolic ſee, in reſpect that Paul and Peter did there once preach the goſpel, and abode there for a certain ſeaſon. I wiſh you could prove it to be the apoſtolical ſee of the true religion and ſincerity as the apoſtle left it, and did teach the ſame; which if you could do, you might boaſt of Rome as of the apoſtolic ſee; otherwiſe it is now of no more force, than if the Turks at Antioch and at Jeruſalem ſhould boaſt of the apoſtolic ſees, becauſe the apoſtles did there once abide, and founded the church of Chriſt.

And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocent, certifying him of what was done in the general council, and willing him to ſet his helping hand to the ſuppreſſing of the Donatiſts, as they had done; that fact of the council doth not prove the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-houſe now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might ſend the ſame to ſome biſhop that upon certain impediments is not preſent, deſiring him to agree thereto, and to ſet them forth in his dioceſe. Which fact doth not make any ſuch biſhop of greater authority than the reſt, becauſe his conſent is brotherly required.

And touching the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of Rome, brought in by St. Auguſtine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the ſame catholic church, unleſs you can conclude with the ſame reaſon as St. Auguſtine doth. And the rehearſal of the ſucceſſion of the biſhops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatiſts to be heretics, becauſe they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own ſetting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their ſucceſſors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no ſuch doctrine, neither ſuch church as the Donatiſts. And if preſently you be able to prove by the biſhops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that ſuch doctrine hath not been taught by any of the ſucceſſors of Peter's ſee, as is now taught and believed by us, you have good reaſon againſt us; otherwiſe it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

Chancellor. Well Mr. Doctor, you ſee we can do no good in perſuading of him: let us adminiſter the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How ſay you, Mr. Philpot, to theſe articles? Mr. Johnſon, I pray you write his anſwers.

Philpot. Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in ſuch articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of London's dioceſe; and to be brief with you, I will make no further anſwer herein than I have already to the biſhop.

Chancellor. Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

This examination concluded with as much paſſion as it began; for, at the commencement, the biſhop of London called me to an account for tarrying ſo long, ſaying, that Mr. Chancellor and himſelf were half an hour before maſs, and half an hour even at maſs, looking for my coming. I replied, I was a priſoner, the doors were ſhut upon me, and I could not come when I pleaſed; but when the doors of my priſon were open, I immediately came. Then the biſhop aſked, if the doors had been opened ſooner would I have come to maſs?—If, ſaid I, you can prove maſs to be the true ſervice of God, whereunto a chriſtian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

Then ſaid Bonner, angrily, the king and queen, and all the nobility, come to maſs, and yet you will not—by my faith, you are too well handled.

If, I ſaid, your lordſhip calls lying in a blind coal-houſe, without either fire or candle, good handling, I am then well handled.

You are a fool, replied Bonner, you think becauſe my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more, but unleſs you recant, I will diſpatch you ſhortly, I warrant. This and ſuch like diſcourſe, rendered my enemies more bitter; after which ſome private conferences took place between the biſhop and me, in the Coal-houſe.

The EIGHTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT, *before the* Biſhops *of* LONDON *and* St. DAVID'S, Mr. MORDANT, *and others.*

THE next day after, my keeper came in the morning before day to call me down, and ſo I was brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the biſhops of London and St. David's, Mr. Mordant, one of the queen's council, Mr. Archdeacon of London, and before a great many other Baalamites. And the biſhop ſpake to me in this wiſe.

Bonner. Sir, I here object, and lay unto you, in the preſence of my lord of St. David's, and of Mr. Mordant, and of theſe worſhipful men, theſe articles here in this libel contained: and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have anſwered to ſome of his blaſphemies, he would not permit me; but ſaid, I ſhould have leiſure to ſay what I would, when he had ſpoken.

And unto theſe here I add another ſchedule. Alſo, I require thee to anſwer to the catechiſm ſet forth in the ſchiſmatical time of king Edward. Alſo I will thee to anſwer to certain concluſions agreed upon in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth theſe witneſſes againſt thee in thine own preſence, namely, my lord of St. David's, Mr. Mordant, and Mr. Harpsfield, with as many as were preſent at the diſputation you made in the convocation-houſe; willing you to teſtify, of your oaths taken upon a book, his ſtubborn and irreverent behaviour he did there uſe againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. Give me a book, and receiving one, he opened the ſame, ſaying, I will teach him here one trick in our law, which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St. David's, becauſe you are a biſhop, you have this privilege, that you may ſwear by looking on the goſpel book without touching the ſame. And ſo he opened the book in his ſight, and ſhut it again, and cauſed the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and deſired them to reſort to his regiſter to make their depoſitions when they might be beſt at leiſure. And afterwards he turned to me and ſaid, Now, ſir, you ſhall anſwer but two words, whether you will anſwer to theſe articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea, or nay?

Philpot. My lord, you have told a long tale againſt me, containing many lying blaſphemies, which cannot be anſwered in two words: beſides this, you promiſed me at the beginning, that I ſhould ſay what I could for my defence, and now you will not give me leave to ſpeak. What law is this?

Bonner. Speak yea, or nay, for you ſhall ſay no more at this time.

[The cauſe was, as I gueſs, that he ſaw ſo many there gathered to hear.]

Philpot. Then my two words you would have me ſpeak, ſhall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my ſufficient judge.

Bonner. Indeed, Mr. Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen: but I will be ſo bold with her majeſty, to ſtay that appeal in mine own hands.

Philpot. You will do what you pleaſe, my lord, you have the law in your hands.

Bonner. Wilt thou anſwer, or no?

Philpot. I will not anſwer otherwiſe than I have ſaid.

Bonner. Regiſter, note his anſwer that he maketh.

Philpot. Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or ſet up a ſtake and burn me out of hand, without further law; you may as well do ſo, as what you do, for all is without order of law. And whilſt I ſpake this, the biſhop went away in haſte.

St. David's. Mr. Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

Philpot. My lord, I thank God, I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents againſt me: notwithſtanding I ſpeak this earneſtly, being juſtly moved thereto, to notify your unjuſt and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law.

After this, at night I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-houſe.

The NINTH EXAMINATION of Mr. PHILPOT *before* Biſhop BONNER *and others.*

THE next day, betimes in the morning I was called down by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained till the biſhop had heard his maſs, and afterwards he ſent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to ſit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and ſat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and ſaid:

Bonner. I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-houſe to examine you and your fellows upon theſe articles, and you ſtand dallying with me, and will neither anſwer to nor fro. I know all your exceptions will not ſerve you. Will it not be a fair honeſty for you, think you, that when thou comeſt before the lord mayor and the ſheriffs, and other worſhipful audience, when I ſhall ſay before them all, that I have had thee many times before me, and before ſo many learned men, and then thou couldſt ſay nothing for that thou ſtandeſt in, for all thy great brags of learning, neither wouldſt thou anſwer directly to any thing?

Philpot. My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to loſe that privilege the law giveth me, which is free choice to anſwer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwiſe.

Bonner. Well, I perceive thou wilt play the obſtinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comeſt to judgment, and anſwer in the mean while to theſe articles.

Philpot. No, my lord, by your leave I will not anſwer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried.

Bonner. Well, thou ſhalt hear them, and with that he began to read them.

Philpot. I ſhrunk back into the window, and looked on a book, and after he had read them over he ſaid unto me:

Bonner. I have read them over, although it hath not pleaſed you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meaneſt by being ſo wilful and ſtubborn, ſeeing thou mayeſt do well enough if thou likeſt. It is but a ſingularity; doſt thou not ſee all the realm againſt thee?

Philpot. My lord, I ſpeak unto you in the witneſs of God, before whom I ſtand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither ſtand upon my ſtubbornneſs or ſingularity, but upon my conſcience inſtructed by God's word: and if your lordſhip can ſhew better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the ſame.

Bonner. What, thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is paſt ſhall be forgotten, if thou wilt be conformable unto us.

Then I perceiving that he fawned ſo much upon me, thought it good to give him ſome hope of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further ſoil, perceiving that they dare reaſon openly with none but ſuch as are unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to anſwer, or elſe with ſuch as they have a hope that for fear or love of the world will recant: I ſaid, my lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly maintained theſe opinions, and I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; And if I hear any kind of learning openly ſhewed, I ſhall be as conformable as you may require me.

Bonner. Yea marry, now you ſpeak ſomewhat like a reaſonable man. What is that you would openly by learning be ſomewhat ſatisfied in?

Philpot. My lord, I have openly ſaid, that your ſacrifice of the maſs is no ſacrament.

Bonner. What, do you deny the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament?

Philpot. No, I deny not the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but I have denied the ſacrament of the altar, as it is uſed to be the true ſacrament.

Bonner. I pray you, what is a ſacrament? Is it not a ſign of a holy thing, as St. Auſtin doth define it?

Philpot. Yes, verily that it is.

Then Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield, Mr. Coſins, and others, were called in, when they thus proceeded.

Bonner. Mr. Coſins, I pray you examine him upon theſe articles, and write the anſwer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and ſend you St. Auguſtine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

Coſins. I truſt, my lord, you ſhall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a ſight of hereſies; I dare ſay you will hold none of them, nor ſtand in any of them. How ſay you to the firſt?

Philpot. Mr. Coſins, I have told my lord already, that I will anſwer to none of theſe articles he hath objected againſt me; but if you will with learning anſwer to that which is in queſtion between us, I will gladly hear you.

Coſins. Will you not? Why, what is that then that is in queſtion between my lord and you?

Philpot. Whether your maſs be a ſacrament or no.

Coſins. What, the maſs to be a ſacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

Philpot. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the ſooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Coſins. Why, I will prove it. It is the ſign of a holy thing: therefore, it is a ſacrament.

Philpot. I deny your antecedent.

Coſins. Then there is no reaſoning with you.

Thus Mr. Coſins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-maſs chaplain began to ſpeak for his occupation: and with that Mr. Harpsfield came out from my lord with St. Auguſtine's epiſtles, ſaying:

Harpsfield. My lord hath ſent you here St. Auguſtine to look upon, and I pray you look what he ſaith in a certain epiſtle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the maſs, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the ſame, on the ſabbath and holidays.

Philpot. I perceive nothing here againſt me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your ſacrament.

Harpsfield. No, doth he not make mention of the maſs, and the celebration thereof?

Philpot. St. Auſtin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true uſe of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and not of your private maſs, for this word Maſs hath been an old term, attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what Miſſa doth ſignify? I think not many that ſay maſs can well tell.

Harpsfield. You think it cometh of the Hebrew word Maſſah, as though none were verſed in the Hebrew but yourſelf.

Philpot. I have not gone ſo long to ſchool, to derive the ſignification of the word Miſſa, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the communion to be called Miſſa, a mittendo, of ſuch things as at the celebration of the communion were ſent by ſuch as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought according to their devotion and ability, and required the miniſter in the celebration of the communion to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at ſuch times did ſend for the relief of their poor brethren and ſiſters; and for this it was called Miſſa, as learned men do witneſs. At which celebration all that were preſent did communicate under both kinds, as they did in St. Auguſtine's time. But unleſs you can ſhew that your maſs is uſed as it then was, you ſhall never prove your private maſs to be a ſacrament, unleſs you can prove the ſame now to be in your maſſes as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpsfield. What, deny you the maſs to be a ſacrament? For ſhame ſpeak it not.

Philpot. I will not be aſhamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

Harpsfield. Why, it is a ſacrifice, which is more than a ſacrament.

Philpot. You may make of it as much as you like: but you ſhall never make it a ſacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but firſt it muſt be a ſacrament, for of the ſacrament you deduce your ſacrifice.

Harpsfield. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, "This is my body?" and doth not the prieſt pronounce the ſame that Chriſt did?

Philpot. The pronunciation only is not enough, unleſs the words be therewithal applied to the uſe, as Chriſt ſpake them to. For though you ſpeak the words of baptiſm over water ever ſo many times, yet there is no baptiſm unleſs there be a chriſtian perſon to be baptized.

Harpsfield. Nay, that is not alike; for, he that ſaid, *Hoc eſt corpus pus meum,* that is, "This is my body," ſaid alſo, *Accipite, manducate,* that is, Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the inſtitution of Chriſt's ſacrament be accompliſhed according to the communion; the latter, "This is my body," can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morrow-maſs Chaplain. Why then you will make the ſacrament to ſtand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a ſacrament.

Philpot. I do not ſay, that the receiving only maketh it a ſacrament, but I ſay, that a common receiving muſt needs be concurrent with the true ſacrament, as a neceſſary member, without which it cannot be a ſacrament, becauſe Chriſt hath made this a principal part of the ſacrament, "Take ye, eat ye," which you do not in your maſs according to Chriſt's inſtitution; wherefore, it can be no ſacrament, for that it wanteth Chriſt's inſtitution.

Coſins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as like may be partakers with us at the maſs if they require it.

Philpot. Nay, that they ſhall not, though they require it, you will miniſter but one kind unto them, which is not after Chriſt's inſtitution. Beſides that you ought, before you go to maſs, to exhort all that be preſent to make a ſacrifice of thanſgiving, for Chriſt's paſſion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Chriſt's commandment, ſaying unto all that be preſent, "Take ye, eat ye:" and likewiſe by preaching ſhew forth the Lord's death, which you do not.

Coſins. What if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilſt the miniſter is about to adminiſter the ſacrament, before any have received it there ariſe a ſudden hurly burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a ſacrament for all that none hath communicated beſides the prieſt?

Philpot. In this caſe, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident neceſſity had not hindered, I cannot ſay but it is a ſacrament, and that he who hath received, hath received the true ſacrament. After this, the morrow-maſs prieſt made this apiſh reaſon.

Morrow-maſs Prieſt. If the ſacrament of the maſs be no ſacrament, unleſs all do receive it, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, "Take ye, eat ye," then the ſacrament of baptiſm is no ſacrament where there is but one baptized, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his apoſtles, "Go preach the goſpel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt."

Philpot. In that ſaying of Chriſt, "Baptizing all nations," is a commandment to the apoſtles, to baptize all ſorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impoſſible. And there are many examples that baptiſm may be ſingularly miniſtered to one perſon, as we have example of Chriſt baptized of John, and in the Eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more ſuch like: but ſo have you not of the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, but contrariwiſe by the expreſs words of St. Paul you are commanded to uſe it in a communion and participation of many together; 1 Cor. xi. "As oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lord's ſupper) tarry one for another." And alſo the miniſter in the celebration of the ſacrament ſpeaketh unto all that be preſent in Chriſt's behalf, to communicate with him, ſaying, "Take ye, and eat ye." Wherefore, as many as are preſent and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the ſame, and the miniſter is no juſt miniſter that doth not diſtribute the ſacrament as Chriſt did, to all that are preſent; and where God's word is tranſgreſſed, there is not Chriſt preſent, and conſequently it is no ſacrament.

Harpsfield. What, would you have it no ſacrament without it be a communion?

Philpot. I make it not ſo, but God's expreſs word teacheth me ſo, yea, alſo all the ancient writers: as Chryſoſtom writing upon the epiſtle to the Epheſians, ſaith, That the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the prieſt. If by his judgment the action of the prieſt alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a ſacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain ſtanding at the altar?

Coſins. Such a fellow I have never heard, you will not have the maſs to be a ſacrament; you are no man for me to reaſon with. Come, let us go, pointing to the morrow-maſs chaplain: we will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and ſo they went away. Afterwards the archdeacon fell into earneſt perſuaſions with me, ſaying:

Harpsfield. Mr. Philpot, you and I have been acquainted theſe many years; we were ſchool-fellows both in Wincheſter and in Oxford. Wherefore I muſt wiſh you as well to do as myſelf, and I pray you ſo think of me.

Philpot. I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am ſure you are), I ſhall deſire you not to wiſh me deceived with you.

Harpsfield. I perceive you are now ſtill that man you were in Oxford.

Philpot. I truſt you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there.

Harpsfield. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray God to open your heart.

Philpot. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times paſt.

Harpsfield. Ho, keeper, take him away with you.

The ninth examination was concluded, in recurring to the meaning of the pronoun *Hoc* (this) in the propoſition, "This is my body;" wherein he ſhewed, that they differed from their ſchoolmen, and were driven to a new ſhift, in ſaying that the ſubſtance of bread, after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, was evacuated by the omnipotency of God, whereas God's omnipotence will do nothing contrary to his word and his honour.

The tenth examination took place on the following day before biſhop Bonner, his regiſter, Dr. Chedſey, and others. But this related to an excommunication, without cauſe, and without order of law, a year and a half before; that the lord chancellor had refuſed him abſolution, becauſe he was an heretic and accurſed; that now the chancellor had nothing to do with him, not being his ordinary; and, after ſome farther converſation on interpreting St. Paul, the parties ſeparated. This was reſumed on the following day, when biſhop Bonner brought in another perſon to be witneſs againſt him, on certain articles produced; againſt which proceedings he proteſted, and appealed to the lieutenant of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as ignorant who was at that time the biſhop.

The ELEVENTH EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, *on* St. ANDREW'S DAY, *before the* Biſhops *of* DURHAM, CHICHESTER, BATH, *and* LONDON, Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON, Dr. CHEDSEY, Mr. MORGAN *of* Oxford, Dr. WESTON, Dr. HARPSFIELD, Archdeacon, Mr. COSINS, *and* Mr. JOHNSON, Regiſter *to the* Biſhop *of* LONDON, *in his* Palace.

BEING ſent for with my keeper, the biſhop of London met me at his hall-door, and full mannerly he played the gentleman-uſher to bring me before the lords, ſaying,

Bonner. My lords, I ſhall deſire you to take ſome pains with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he ſhould do well, but he will wilfully caſt away himſelf.

Durham. Come hither, ſir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is Philpot.

Durham. I have heard of that name to be a worſhipful ſtock, and ſince you are a gentleman, do as you may live worſhipfully among other gentleman. What is the cauſe of your trouble now?

I told him the cauſe, as in my former examinations is expreſſed.

Durham. Well, all cauſes ſet apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and hereſies? I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of theſe opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth.

Philpot. My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and deſire to live and die in the ſame: but it is not unknown to your lordſhip, that I, with others, theſe twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto; wherefore it is requiſite that we have time to weigh the ſame, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word.

Chicheſter. And if you will give me leave, my lord, I will ſhew him how he taketh the ſaying of St. Paul amiſs, as many others now-a-days do, alledging the ſame, that they ought not to be compelled to believe, whereas St. Paul meaneth of infidels, and not of the faithful; and ſo St. Auſtin, writing againſt the Donatiſts, ſaith, That the faithful may be compelled to believe.

Philpot. St. Bernard (if it pleaſe your lordſhip) doth take that ſenſe of St. Paul as I do, ſaying, that faith muſt be perſuaded to a man, and not enjoined. And St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of ſuch as were firſt thoroughly perſuaded by manifeſt ſcriptures, and yet would reſiſt of ſtubborn wilfulneſs.

Chicheſter. St. Auſtin ſaith, That infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers.

Philpot. St. Auguſtine, in ſo ſaying, meaneth of the faith of Chriſt, which the godfathers do, or ought to believe, and not otherwiſe.

Durham. How ſay you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no? and be of one church with us?

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have been always two churches. I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the ſame true church, a falſe church, adverſary to the true: and in the New Teſtament mention is made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Revelations, and alſo as St. Paul to the Theſſalonians maketh mention, that Antichriſt, with his falſe generation, ſhall ſit in the temple of God. To which Chicheſter replied not.

Durham. The church in the ſcripture is likened to a great fiſher's net, which contained in it both good fiſh and bad fiſh. I truſt you will be of the better ſort, and lean to the truth.

Philpot. My lord, it is my whole deſire now to follow

low that which is good, whatſoever I have done in times paſt, and to cleave to God's truth.

Durham Do you ſo, and then you ſhall do well: it is almoſt night, my lord of London, I muſt needs be gone.

Bonner. Nay, my lord of Durham, I muſt deſire your lordſhip, and my lord of Chicheſter, to tarry a little while. And before he had ſo ſaid, the biſhop of Bath went his way without ſaying a word. What, my lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earneſt matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your lordſhips to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel, I pray you ſit down again, or elſe I will. Firſt, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a bible, which I took from him, this erroneous ſaying, that "The Holy Ghoſt is Chriſt's vicar on earth." Wilt thou abide by this ſaying of thine, that the Spirit is Chriſt's vicar on earth?

Philpot. My lord it is not my ſaying, it is a more learned man's than mine: for I uſe not to write mine own ſayings, but the notable ſayings of other ancient writers, as all others be where you find the ſame written. And as I remember, it is even the ſaying of St. Bernard, and a ſaying that I need not be aſhamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chicheſter, by their learning can diſcern, and will not reckon it ill ſaid.

Bonner. Will they not? Why take away the firſt ſyllable, and it ſoundeth Arius.

Philpot. That is far fetched indeed; if your lordſhip will ſcan men's ſayings in ſuch wiſe, you may find out what you liſt.

Bonner. But to help this, I find moreover with his own hand, in another book, "In me, John Philpot, where ſin did abound, grace hath ſuper-abounded." I pray you what ſuper-abundant grace have you more than other men? So ſaid Arius, That he had abundance of grace above all others.

Philpot. My lord, you need not be offended with that ſaying more than the other, for it is the ſaying of St. Paul himſelf, and I did apply it to myſelf for my comfort, knowing that though my ſins be huge and great in the ſight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them, and it is well known that I have written againſt them.

Bonner. Alſo I lay to thy charge that thou killedſt thy father, and was accurſed of thy mother on her deathbed, as I can bring witneſs thereof.

Philpot. O my lord, what blaſphemy is this? Hath your lordſhip nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may ſpeak it with your honour) ſuch blaſphemous lies? If any of theſe can be proved, I will promiſe to recant at Paul's Croſs what you will have me: I am ſo ſure they are as great blaſphemies as may be objected to any man. Ha, my lords, I pray you, conſider how my lord of London hath hitherto proceeded againſt me: for indeed he hath none other but ſuch pretended ſlanderous lies.

Chicheſter. They be *Parerga*; that is, matter beſide the purpoſe.

Durham. My lord, I muſt needs bid you farewel.

Bonner. Nay, my lord, here is a letter, which I ſhall deſire you to hear ere you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write letters out of priſon, and to pervert a young gentleman, called Mr. Green, in my houſe, (call him hither) and hath made a falſe report of his examination, as you ſhall hear, not being content to be evil himſelf, but to make others as bad as himſelf. He tore the letter when he ſaw my man went about to ſearch him, but yet I have pieced it again together, and cauſed a copy to be written thereof; and he read the torn letter, bidding Mr. Chriſtopherſon and Morgan to mark the copy thereof.

The contents of the letter was the examination of Mr. Green, before the biſhop of London, in the preſence of Mr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, and of divers others, whoſe ready anſwers in the ſcriptures and in the doctors were wondered at by the dean himſelf, and many others, as Feckman did report: and that he was committed to Dr. Chedſey, and to have his meat from the biſhop's own table. How ſay you, my lords, was this well done of him, being my priſoner, to write this? and yet he hath written a ſhameful lie, that he was in Dr. Chedſey's keeping. How ſay you, Mr. Dr. Chedſey, is it not a ſhameful lie?

Chedſey. Yes, my lord, he was never in my keeping.

Bonner. Art thou not aſhamed to write ſuch ſhameful letters? Come hither, Mr. Green, did I not ſhew you this letter?

Green. Yea forſooth, my lord, you ſhewed it me.

Bonner. How think you, my lords, is not this an honeſt man to belie me?

Philpot. Your lordſhip doth miſtake all things. This letter (as your lordſhip may perceive, and all others that have heard the ſame) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my requeſt, how Mr. Green fared at the biſhop of Loudon's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report.

Bonner. Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.

Philpot. No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuſe my friend: and eſpecially ſeeing you will take all things at the worſt: neither ſhall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordſhip may ſee in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occaſion of my appeal which I have made to the whole parliament-houſe, about ſuch matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.

Bonner. I would ſee any ſo hardy to put up thine appeal.

Philpot. My lord, I cannot tell what God will work, I have written it, ſpeed it as it may.

Bonner. My lords, I have uſed him with much gentleneſs ſince he came to me. How ſayeſt thou, have I not?

Philpot. If to lie in the vileſt priſon in this town, (being a gentleman and an archdeacon) and in a coal-houſe, for the ſpace of five or ſix weeks already, without fire or candle, may be counted gentleneſs at your hands, I muſt needs ſay I have found gentleneſs. But there were never men ſo cruelly handled as we are in theſe days.

Bonner. Lo, what a varlet is this. Beſides this, my lords, even yeſterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpoſe.

Philpot. Your lordſhip needeth not to miſtruſt the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's-Bench, when my keeper took away my ink-horn.

Bonner. And why ſhouldſt thou go about any ſuch thing unknowing to me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this houſe, I tell thee.

Philpot. My lord, becauſe you have cauſed my pencaſe and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet be glad my friends ſhould know what I lack, not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid ſhould come to your ſight.

Bonner. More than this, my lords, he cauſed a pig to be roaſted, and made a knife to be put between the ſkin and the fleſh, for what purpoſe judge you. How ſayeſt thou, didſt thou not ſo?

Philpot. I cannot deny but there was half a pig ſent me, and under the ſame a knife lying in the ſauce, but for no ill purpoſe that I know; your lordſhip may judge what you will. It was not to kill myſelf nor any other as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife ſince I came to priſon. Therefore all theſe are but falſe ſurmiſes, and not worth rehearſal.

Bonner. I have here to lay to his charge (chiefeſt of all) his book of the report of the diſputation in the convocation-houſe, which is the rankeſt hereſy that can be againſt the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. How ſay you, Dr. Weſton, did he maintain the ſame there ſtubbornly, or no?

Weſton. Yea, my lord, that he did, and would never be anſwered. And it is pity that the ſame worſhipful congregation ſhould be ſlandered with ſuch untrue reports.

Philpot. You anſwered me indeed, Mr. Doctor, (being then prolocutor) goodly, with, Hold thy peace and, Have him to priſon, and, Put him out of the houſe. I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, becauſe he ſetteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did uſe me, being an archdeacon, and not of the worſt in the houſe.

Weſton. Thou art no archdeacon.

Philpot. Indeed Mr. Doctor, you have amongſt you un-archdeaconed me now, (I thank God for it) and that without all order of law.

Bonner. I pray you my lords, hearken to what he writeth of himſelf, I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He ſaid that Dr. Weſton called him a frantic and mad-man, and ſaid, he ſhould go to Bedlam.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, ſo it pleaſed Dr. Weſton to taunt at me, and ſay his ſhameful pleaſure, but yet I was not one whit the more ſo for all his ſayings, than Chriſt was when the ſcribes and phariſees ſaid likewiſe he was mad, and that he was poſſeſſed of a devil, moſt blaſphemouſly.

Durham. My lord of London, I can tarry no longer, I muſt needs bid you farewel. Mr. Philpot, methinketh you have ſaid well that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church: I pray you ſo do, and you ſhall do right well. And ſo he departed with Dr. Weſton and Mr. Huſſey.

Philpot. I have purpoſed ſo to do, howſoever I ſpeed, by God's grace.

Bonner. I pray you, my lord of Chicheſter, and Mr. Prolocutor, and Mr. Dr. Morgan, to commune with him while I go to my lord of Durham.

Chriſtopherſon. Mr. Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember it, but you have forgotten me, and talked ſomewhat with you of theſe matters, and I find you now the ſame man that you were then, I wiſh it were otherwiſe. For God's ſake be conformable to men that are better learned than you, and ſtand not in your own conceit.

Philpot. Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was ſo, though it were but very ſtrange on your part to me-ward, being driven to neceſſity.

Chriſtopherſon. You know the world was dangerous at that time.

Philpot. Nothing ſo dangerous as it is now; but let that paſs. Whereas you ſay, you find me to be the ſame man I was then, I praiſe God that you ſee me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myſelf; indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whoſe books, in reſpect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you: but faith and the wiſdom of God conſiſteth not in learning only, and therefore St. Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wiſdom of man. If you can ſhew by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man whatſoever he be.

Chriſtopherſon. I marvel why you ſhould diſſent from the catholic church, ſince it hath thus long been univerſally received, except within theſe five or ſix years here in England.

Philpot. I do not diſſent from the true catholic church, I do only diſſent from the biſhop of Rome, which if you can prove to be the catholic church of Chriſt, I will be of the ſame alſo with you.

Chriſtopherſon. Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can ſhew out of him, that the church of Rome is ſuch a one unto which miſbelief cannot approach?

Philpot. I am ſure you cannot ſhew any ſuch ſaying out of St. Cyprian.

Chriſtopherſon. What will you lay thereon?

Philpot. I will lay as much as I am able to make.

Morgan. Will you promiſe to recant, if I ſhew his ſaying to be true?

Philpot. My faith ſhall not hang upon any doctor's ſaying, further than he ſhall be able to prove the ſame by God's word.

Chriſtopherſon. I will go fetch the book, and ſhew it him by and by; and therewithal he went into the biſhop's ſtudy, and brought Cyprian, and pointed out theſe words in one of his epiſtles, *Ad Romanos autem, quorum fides Apoſtolo prædicante laudata eſt, non poteſt accedere perfidia*; that is, "But unto the Romans, whoſe faith by the teſtimony of the apoſtle is praiſed, miſbelief can have no acceſs."

Philpot. Theſe words of Cyprian do not prove your pretended aſſertion, which is, That to the church of Rome there could come no miſbelief.

Chriſtopherſon. Good Lord, doth it not? What can be ſaid more plainly?

Philpot. He ſpeaketh not of the church of Rome abſolutely.

Chriſtopherſon. By God, a child that can but ſay his grammar will not deny what you do, the words are ſo plain.

Philpot. Swear not, Mr. Doctor, but weigh Cyprian's words with me, and I ſhall make you to ſay as I have ſaid.

Chriſtopherſon. I am no doctor, but I perceive it is but labour loſt to reaſon with you.

And with that the biſhop of London came in blowing again, and ſaid, What is my lord of Chicheſter gone away alſo? (for he even a little before departed alſo without any other word, than that he muſt needs be gone.) What (ſays Bonner) is the matter you now ſtand upon?

Morgan. Mr. Chriſtopherſon hath ſhewed Mr. Philpot a notable place of the authority of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it.

Bonner. Where is the place? Let me ſee. By my faith here is a place alone. Come hither, ſir, what ſay you to this? Nay, tarry a while, I will help this place with St. Paul's own teſtimony, in the firſt chapter to the Romans, where he faith, That their faith is preached throughout the world; how can you be able to anſwer to this?

Philpot. Yes, my lord, it is ſoon anſwered, if you will conſider all the words of Cyprian; for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world, by an epiſtle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. With ſuch as are praiſed by St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, miſbelief can have no place. And if you can ſhew, that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is that faith which the apoſtle praiſed and allowed in the Romans in his time, then will I ſay what St. Cyprian then ſaid, and with you, That infidelity can have no place there; but otherwiſe it maketh not abſolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do miſtake it.

Chriſtopherſon. You underſtand Cyprian well indeed; I think you never read him in your life?

Philpot. Yes, Mr. Doctor, that I have, I can ſhew you a book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read ſo much as you, yet I have read ſomewhat. It is a ſhame for you to reſt and wreath the doctors as you do, to maintain a falſe religion, which be altogether againſt you, if you take them aright; and indeed your falſe packing of doctors together hath given me and others occaſion to look upon them, whereby we find you ſhameful liars, and miſ-reporters of the ancient doctors.

Morgan. What, will you be in hand to allow doctors now? They of your ſect do not ſo. I marvel therefore that you will allow them.

Philpot. I do allow them inaſmuch as they do agree with the ſcriptures, and ſo do all they which are of the truth, howſoever you term us, and I praiſe God for that good underſtanding I have received by them.

Chriſtopherſon. What? you underſtand not the doctors, you may be aſhamed to ſay it.

Philpot. I thank God, I underſtand them better than you: for you have *Excæcationem cordis,* The blindneſs of heart; ſo that you underſtand not truly what you read, no more than the wall here, as your taking of Cyprian doth declare. And, before God, you are but deceivers of the people, for all the brag you make of learning; neither have you ſcripture or ancient doctor on your ſide, being truly taken.

Morgan. Why, all the doctors are on our ſide, and againſt you altogether.

Philpot. Yea, ſo you ſay when you are in your pulpits alone, and none to anſwer you. But if you will come to caſt accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little ſight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my ſide than you ſhall be able for your's, and he that can bring moſt, to him let the other ſide yield. Are you willing ſo to do?

Chriſtopherſon. It is but folly to reaſon with you, you will believe no man but yourſelf.

Philpot. I will believe you or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words from my faith. Before God there is no truth in you.

Morgan. What, no truth? No truth? ha, ha, ha!

Philpot. Except the articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and ſound in nothing.

Morgan. What ſay you, do we not believe well on the ſacrament?

Philpot. It is the thing which (among all others) you do moſt abuſe.

Morgan. Wherein I pray you? tell us.

Philpot. I have told you before, Mr. Doctor, in the convocation-houſe.

Morgan. Yes marry: indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping, ha, ha, ha!

Philpot. I did weep indeed, and ſo did Chriſt upon Jeruſalem, and am not to be blamed for it, if you conſider the cauſe of my weeping.

Morgan. What, make you yourſelf Chriſt? ha, ha, ha!

Philpot. No, ſir, I make not myſelf Chriſt; but I am not aſhamed to do as my maſter and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foreſaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare.

Morgan. That is your argument.

Chriſtopherſon. Wherein do we abuſe the ſacrament? tell us.

Philpot. As I may touch but one of the leaſt abuſes, you adminiſter it not in both kinds as you ought to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution.

Chriſtopherſon. Why, is there not as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is it then to miniſter in both kinds?

Philpot. I believe not ſo: for if it had, Chriſt would have given but one kind only; for he inſtituted nothing ſuperfluous: and therefore you cannot ſay that the whole effect of the ſacrament is as well in one kind as in both, ſince the ſcripture teacheth otherwiſe.

Chriſtopherſon. What if I can prove it by ſcripture, that we may adminiſter it in one kind? The apoſtles did ſo, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apoſtles in one or two places, where it is written, that the apoſtles continued "in prayers and in breaking of bread," which is meant of the ſacrament.

Philpot. Why, Mr. Doctor, do you not know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole uſe of the ſacrament according to Chriſt's inſtitution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, *Synecdoche,* where part is mentioned, and the whole underſtood to be done, as Chriſt commanded it?

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, that is not ſo: for I can ſhew you out of Euſebius, in his Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that there was a man of God, whom he named, that ſent the ſacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was ſick.

Philpot. I have read indeed that they did uſe to give what was left of the communion-bread to children, to mariners, and to women, and ſo perventure the boy might carry a piece of what was left to the ſick man.

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, as a ſacrament it was purpoſely ſent unto him.

Philpot. If it were ſo, yet you cannot preciſely ſay, that he had not the cup adminiſtered unto him alſo by ſome ſent unto him: but though one man did uſe it thus, doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian noteth many abuſes of the ſacrament in his time, which roſe upon ſingular men's examples, as uſing of water inſtead of wine: therefore he ſaith, "We muſt not look what any man hath done before us, but what Chriſt firſt of all did and commanded."

Chriſtopherſon. Hath not the church taught us ſo to uſe the ſacrament? And how do we know that Chriſt is Homousios, that is, of one ſubſtance with the Father, but by the determination of the church? How can you prove that otherwiſe by expreſs words of ſcripture, and where find you Homousios in all the ſcripture?

Philpot. Yes, that I do in the firſt of the Hebrews, where it is written that Chriſt is the expreſs image of God's own ſubſtance, *Ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ.*

Chriſtopherſon. Nay, that is not ſo. That is, there is no more but *Expreſſa imago ſubſtantiæ,* The expreſs image of God's ſubſtance, and image is accident.

Philpot. It is in the text, Of his ſubſtance, *Subſtantiæ illius,* or his own ſubſtance, as it may be right well interpreted. Beſides this, that which Chriſt ſpake of himſelf in St. John manifeſteth the ſame, ſaying, I and the Father be one thing, *Ego & Pater unum ſumus.* And whereas you ſay, *Imago* here is an accident, the ancient fathers uſe this for a ſtrong argument to prove Chriſt to be God, becauſe he is the very image of God.

Chriſtopherſon. Do they? Is this a good argument, Becauſe we are the image of God, therefore we are God?

Philpot. We are not called the expreſs image of God, as it is written of Chriſt, and we are but the image of God by participation; and as it is written in Geneſis, We are made to the likeneſs and ſimilitude of God. But you ought to know, Mr. Chriſtopherſon, that there is no accident in God, and therefore Chriſt cannot be the image of God, but he muſt be of the ſame ſubſtance with God.

Chriſtopherſon. Tuſh.

Morgan. How ſay you to the preſence of the ſacrament? Will you ſtand here to the judgment of your book, or no? Or will you recant?

Philpot. I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be my ſetting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment.

Morgan. Speak, are you of the ſame mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unleſs you are become another manner of man than you were.

Philpot. What I was, you know; what I am, I will not tell you now: but this I will ſay to you by the way, that if you can prove the ſacrament of the maſs (as you now uſe it) to be a ſacrament, I will then grant you a preſence; but firſt you muſt prove the ſame a ſacrament, and afterward treat of the preſence.

Morgan. Ho, do you doubt that it is a ſacrament?

Philpot. I am paſt doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a ſacrament.

Chriſtopherſon. Yea, do you? Good Lord, doth not St. Auguſtine call it the ſacrament of the altar? How ſay you to that?

Philpot. That maketh nothing for the probation of your ſacrament. For ſo he with other ancient writers do call the holy communion or ſupper of the Lord, in reſpect that it is the ſacrament of the ſacrifice which Chriſt offered upon the altar of the croſs, which ſacrifice all the altars and ſacrifices done upon the altars in the old law did prefigure and ſhadow, which pertaineth nothing to your ſacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and ſtone.

Chriſtopherſon. Doth it not? I pray you, what ſignifieth Altar?

Philpot. Not as you falſely take it, materially, but for the ſacrifice of the altar of the croſs.

Chriſtopherſon. Where find you it ever ſo taken?

Philpot. Yes, that I do in St. Paul to the Hebrews, the thirteenth chapter, where he ſaith, "We have an altar, of which it is not lawful for them to eat that ſerve the tabernacle." Is not altar in this place taken for the ſacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and ſtone?

Chriſtopherſon. Well, God bleſs me out of your company. You are ſuch an obſtinate heretic, as I have not heard the like.

Philpot. I pray God keep me from ſuch blind doctors, who when they are not able to prove what they ſay, then fall to reviling (as you do now) for lack of better proof. In the mean while the biſhop of London was talking with ſome other hard by, and at length came in to ſupply his part, and ſaid:

Bonner. I pray you, maſters, hearken to what I ſhall ſay to this man. Come hither, Mr. Green: and now, ſir, (pointing to me) you cannot think it ſufficient to be wicked yourſelf, but muſt go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like.

Philpot. My lord, he cannot ſay that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any ſuch matter, as he here can teſtify.

Green. No, you never wrote unto me.

Bonner. Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him?

Philpot. This letter was written by a friend and not by me; it was not written to Mr. Green, neither was he privy to the writing thereof.

Bonner. How ſay you then, if a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in ſuch a caſe?

Philpot. I am bound to do the beſt I can to bring him out of it.

Bonner. If Mr. Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof if you can?

Philpot. Yes, that I am, and will do the uttermoſt of my power therein.

But the biſhop remembering himſelf, thinking that he would but ſhrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceaſed to go any further in his demand, and called Mr. Green aſide, and before his regiſter read him a letter, I know not the contents thereof: and therewithal he gave Mr. Green the book of my diſputation in the convocation-houſe, and afterwards went aſide, communing with Mr. Chriſtopherſon, leaving Mr. Morgan, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Coſins, to reaſon with me in the hearing of Mr. Green.

Morgan. Mr. Philpot, I would aſk you how old your religion is?

Philpot. It is older than your's by a thouſand years and more.

Morgan. I pray you, where was it fifty years ago?

Philpot. It was in Germany apparent by the teſtimony of Huſs, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliffe, whom your generation an hundred years ago and more did burn for preaching the truth unto you; and before their time and ſince hath been, although under perſecution it hath been put to ſilence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous ſtrange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvel unto you to ſee God's truth through violence oppreſſed; for ſo it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by hiſtory, and as Chriſt's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocriſy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Revelations you may ſee it propheſied, that the true church ſhould be driven into corners, and into the wilderneſs, and ſuffer great perſecutions.

Morgan. Ah, are you verſed in the Revelations? there are many ſtrange things therein.

Philpot. If I tell you the truth which you are not able to refute, believe it, and dally not out ſo earneſt matters: methinks you are more like a ſcoffer in a play, than a reaſonable doctor to inſtruct a man; you have no ſenſe of ſhame, but dance naked in a net, and ſee not your own nakedneſs.

Morgan. I pray you, be not ſo quick with me, let us talk a little more calmly together.

Philpot. I will talk with you as mildly as you can deſire, if you will ſpeak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morgan. Why will not you ſubmit your judgment to the learned men of this realm?

Philpot. Becauſe I ſee they can bring no good ground whereupon I may with a good conſcience ſettle my faith, more ſurely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifeſt word.

Morgan. Can they not? It is marvellous that ſo many learned men ſhould be deceived.

Philpot. It is not marvellous to St. Paul, for he ſaith, "That not many wiſe, neither many learned after the world be called to the knowledge of the goſpel."

Morgan. Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?

Philpot. I ſay not that I alone have the Spirit of God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Chriſt, have the Spirit of God as well as I.

Morgan. How know you that you have the Spirit of God?

Philpot. By the faith of Chriſt which is in me.

Morgan. Ah, by faith do you ſo? I think it is the ſpirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I believe went drunken unto it.

Philpot. It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the ſpirit of the buttery than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I muſt now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whoſe truth I have told thee, that God ſhall rain fire and brimſtone upon ſuch ſcorners of his word and blaſphemers of his people as thou art.

Morgan. What, you rage now.

Philpot. Thy fooliſh blaſphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to ſpeak that which I ſaid to thee, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs.

Morgan. Why do you judge me ſo?

Philpot. By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blaſphemous doctor; for as it is written, "By thy words thou ſhalt be juſtified, and by thy words thou ſhalt be condemned." I have ſpoken in God's behalf, and now I have done with thee.

Morgan. Why then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art an heretic, and ſhalt be burned for thine hereſy, and afterwards go to hell-fire.

Philpot. I tell thee, thou hypocrite, that I mind not thy threats of fire and faggots, neither, I thank God my Lord, ſtand in fear of the ſame: my faith in Chriſt ſhall overcome them. But the hell-fire with which thou threateneſt me, is thy portion, and is prepared for thee, (unleſs thou ſpeedily repent) and for ſuch hypocrites as thou art.

Morgan. What, thou ſpeakeſt upon wine, thou haſt tippled well to-day by appearance.

Philpot. So ſaid the curſed generation to the apoſtles, being repleniſhed by the Holy Ghoſt, and ſpeaking the wondrous works of God; they ſaid they were drunk, when they had nothing elſe to ſay, as thou doſt now.

Morgan. Why, I am of opinion I am able to anſwer thee.

Philpot. So it ſeemeth, with blaſphemies and lies.

Morgan. Nay, even with learning, ſay what thou canſt.

Philpot. That appeared well at my diſputation in the convocation-houſe, where thou didſt undertake to anſwer thoſe few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet were not able to anſwer one; but in thine anſwers did ſtumble and ſtammer, that the whole houſe was aſhamed of thee: and the final concluſions of all thine anſwers was, that thou couldſt anſwer me if I were in the ſchools at Oxford.

Morgan. What, did I ſo? thou belieſt me.

Philpot. I do not belie thee, the book of the report of the diſputation beareth record thereto, and all that were preſent then can tell thou ſayedſt ſo, if they liſt. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to anſwer that Spirit of truth which ſpeaketh in me for the defence of Chriſt's true religion.

Morgan. Why, have I not anſwered thee in all things thou haſt ſaid unto me? I take them to record.

Philpot. Aſk my fellow whether I be a thief.

Coſins. Hark, he maketh us all thieves.

Philpot. You know that phraſe of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am ſure you will not judge with me againſt him, ſpeak I ever ſo true; and in this ſenſe I ſpeak it. The ſtrongeſt anſwer that he hath made againſt me is, that you will burn me.

Morgan. Why, we do not burn you, it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we.

Philpot. Thus you would (as Pilate did) waſh your hands of all your wicked doings. But, I pray you, call upon the ſecular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, To burn heretics?

Harpsfield. I have heard you both a good while reaſon together, and I never heard ſo ſtout an heretic as you are, Mr. Philpot.

Coſins. Nor I, in all my life.

Philpot. You are not able to prove me an heretic, by one jot of God's word.

Harpsfield. You have the ſpirit of arrogancy, I will reaſon with you no more. And ſo he was departing, and Mr. Coſins alſo. And with that the biſhop and Chriſtopherſon came in again, and ſaid:

Bonner. Mr. Doctor, how doth this man and you agree?

Morgan. My lord, I do aſk him where his church was fifty years ago.

Bonner. Are you not half agreed? as one man ſaid once to two parties, in whom the one was equally diſagreeing from the other.

Chriſtopherſon. It is but folly to reaſon with him any further, for he is incurable.

Bonner. Well, then let his keeper have him away. And with that Dr. Chedſey led me a way by which we could not paſs, and therefore came back again through the biſhop's chamber, where all theſe doctors were cluſtered together: and as I was paſſing by, the biſhop took me by the gown, and ſaid, Know you what Mr. Chriſtopherſon telleth me? I pray you, Mr. Chriſtopherſon, rehearſe the ſentence in Latin; and ſo he did: the contents whereof were, That an heretic would not be won.

Chriſtopherſon. St. Paul ſaith, "Fly an heretic after once or twice warning."

All the Doctors. Yea, my lord, it is beſt you ſo do, and trouble your lordſhip no more with him.

Philpot. You muſt firſt prove me juſtly to be an heretic, before you uſe the judgment of St. Paul againſt me: for he ſpeaketh of ſuch as hold opinion againſt the manifeſt word, which you cannot prove by me. You are the heretics which ſo ſtoutly and ſtubbornly maintain ſo many things directly againſt God's word, as God in his time will reveal. As I went out of his chamber, the biſhop called me aſide, and ſaid:

Bonner. What didſt thou mean by writing in the beginning of thy bible, "The Spirit is the vicar of Chriſt on the earth?" I ſuppoſe you have ſome ſpecial meaning therein.

Philpot. My lord, I have no other meaning than as I have told you already, That Chriſt, ſince his aſcenſion, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends.

Bonner. Your bible you ſhall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have peruſed the reſt you ſhall have ſuch as I think good.

Philpot. I pray your lordſhip then, that you would let me have candle-light.

Bonner. To what purpoſe, pray?

Philpot. The nights be long, and I would fain occupy myſelf, and not ſpend my time idly.

Bonner. Then you may pray.

Philpot. I cannot well ſay my prayers without light.

Bonner. Can you not ſay your Pater-noſter without a candle? I tell you, you ſhall have ſome meat and drink of me, but candles you ſhall have none.

Philpot. I had rather have candles than your meat and drink; but ſeeing I ſhall not have my requeſt, the Lord ſhall be my light.

Bonner. Have him down.

Chedſey. I will bring him to his keeper, my lord. I am ſorry you will ſo wilfully caſt yourſelf away, whereas you might live worſhipfully: do you not think that others have ſouls to be ſaved?

Philpot. Every man ſhall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am that you are deceived, and maintain a falſe religion; and as for my caſting away, I wiſh my burning day was to-morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not be dead.

Chedſey. You are not like to die yet.

Philpot. I am the more ſorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory, Amen.

The twelfth examination took place on the 4th of December, before the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Bangor, in the chapel of the palace; three of the chaplains having before called him to hear maſs, from which he excuſed himſelf, as being excommunicate. Having ſtated that it was for contumacy, and that the biſhop would diſpenſe with him if he would come, he replied that the biſhop had no power to do it, not being his ordinary. After maſs, being brought into the chapel, in the preſence of the regiſter, the biſhop of London called upon him to ſay, why ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt him as an heretic, though, as Mr. Philpot ſaid, no witneſſes had been examined, which was againſt their own law. After retiring for an hour, he was again ſent for, the biſhops of Worceſter and Bangor being preſent, they ſeverally addreſſed him; when he replied particularly to the biſhop of Bangor, who had ſaid that the proteſtant religion had been ſet forth by violence and tyranny; retorting that their religion was ſupported by violence; and that the proteſtant religion was in Germany long before it found its way into England. He admitted, that he agreed with the true catholic church, and held a real and eſſential preſence by the Spirit of God in the right adminiſtration. After farther converſation after dinner with the biſhop of Worceſter, who ſeemed to incline towards him moſt, Dr. Chedſey and the archdeacon of Oxford, and others, on his departure, came to him; whereupon Dr. Chedſey propoſed to prove, that the church of Rome had its foundation and being, by the ſcriptures, by the apoſtles, and by the primitive church, confirmed by the blood of martyrs, and with the teſtimony of all confeſſors. In this Mr. Philpot heartily agreed; but when it came to the proof, which he attempted from St. Auſtin, he was able to ſhew none, but for want of it ſlipped into a by-matter, making himſelf ridiculous and ſhameleſs.

The THIRTEENTH EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, *before the* Archbiſhop *of* YORK, *and other* Biſhops.

THE Thurſday after, I was called in the morning before the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Chicheſter, the biſhop of Bath, and the biſhop of London. The biſhop of Chicheſter being firſt come, began to talk with me.

Chicheſter. I am come of good will to talk with you, to inſtruct you what I can, to come to the catholic church, and to exhort you to inſtruct your own judgment, and to learn firſt to have humility, and by the ſame to learn firſt to have humility, and by the ſame to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of ſuch as were their betters before them.

Philpot. We muſt be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confeſs I have but little learning in reſpect of you, that both of your years and great exerciſe do excel therein: but faith conſiſteth not in learning, but in the ſimplicity which God's word teacheth. Therefore I ſhall be glad to hear both of your lordſhip, and of any other, (that God hath revealed unto by his word) the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you that it doth pleaſe you to take pains herein.

Chicheſter. You take the firſt alledged amiſs, as though all men ſhould be taught by inſpiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the goſpel, but by the authority of the church, and becauſe the ſame hath allowed it?

Philpot. St. Paul ſaith, "He learned not the goſpel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt." Which is a plain and ſufficient proof that the goſpel taketh not it's authority of man, but of God only.

Chicheſter. St. Paul ſpeaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Philpot. Nay, he ſpeaketh of the goſpel generally, "which cometh not from man, but from God;" and that the church muſt only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts.

Chicheſter. Doth not St. Auguſtine ſay theſe words, "I would not believe the goſpel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto."

Philpot. I grant the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the church doth not give the word it's authority; for the word hath it's authority only from God, and not of men; men be but diſpoſers thereof. For firſt the word had it's being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church, and firſt is the foundation ſure, before the building thereon can be ſtedfaſt.

Chicheſter. I perceive you miſtake me, I ſpeak of the knowledge of the goſpel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the goſpel.

Philpot. I confeſs that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculouſly, as he hath done in times paſt; yet we that be taught by men, muſt take heed that we learn nothing elſe but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation. Here came in the biſhops of York and Bath; and after they had ſaluted one another, and communed a while together, the archbiſhop of York called me unto them, ſaying,

York. Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you firſt to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for elſe we can do no good with you. And God ſaith by his prophet, "On whom ſhall I reſt but on the humble and meek, and ſuch as tremble at my word?" Now if you be ſo, we ſhall be glad to travel with you.

Philpot. I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Chriſt; and I thank his goodneſs I have entered in at the ſame unto him, and with all humility will hear whatſoever truth you ſhall ſpeak unto me.

York. What be the matters you ſtand on, and require to be ſatisfied in?

Philpot. My lord, if it ſhall pleaſe your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church and how ſhould we know the truth but by the church?

York. Indeed that is the head we ought to begin at, for the church being truly known, we ſhall ſooner agree in particular things.

Philpot. If your lordſhips can prove the church of Rome to be true catholic church, it will do much to perſuade me towards what you would have me incline unto.

York. Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?

Philpot. It is a congregation of people diſperſed throughout the world, agreeing together in the word of God, uſing the ſacraments, and all other things according to the ſame.

York. Your definition is of many words to no purpoſe.

Philpot. I do not preciſely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is.

York. Is the church viſible or inviſible?

Philpot. It is both viſible and inviſible. The inviſible church is of the elect of God only; the viſible conſiſts both of good or bad, uſing all things in faith, according to God's word.

York. The church is an univerſal congregation of faithful people in Chriſt throughout the world; which this word catholic doth well expreſs; for what is catholic elſe? doth it not ſignify univerſal?

Philpot. The church is defined by St. Auguſtine to be called catholic in this wiſe, "The church is called therefore catholic, becauſe it is truly perfect, and halteth in nothing."

York. Nay, it is called catholic, becauſe it is univerſally received of all chriſtian nations, for the moſt part.

Philpot. The church was catholic in the apoſtles time, yet was it not univerſally received of the world; but becauſe their doctrine which they had received of Chriſt was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all perſons receiving the ſame, to be counted the catholic church. And St. Auguſtine in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright.

York. If you will learn, I will ſhew you St. Auguſtine, writing againſt the Donatiſts, that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points, which is, univerſality and ſucceſſion of biſhops, in one apoſtolical ſee, from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument.

The church of Rome is univerſal, and hath her ſucceſſion of biſhops from time to time.

Therefore, it is the catholic church.

How anſwer you to this argument?

Philpot. I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by univerſality and ſucceſſion of biſhops.

York. I will prove it, and with that he brought forth a book, which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St. Auguſtine, eſpecially out of his epiſtle written againſt the Donatiſts, where St. Auguſtine manifeſtly proveth, that the Donatiſts were not the catholic church, becauſe they have no ſucceſſion of biſhops in their opinion, neither univerſality; and the ſame force hath St. Auguſtine's argument againſt you.

Philpot. My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing againſt me, neither cometh it to your purpoſe; for I will ſtand to the trial of St. Auguſtine for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For St. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of univerſality joined with verity, and of faithful ſucceſſors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And ſo if you can deduce your argument for the ſee of Rome now, as St. Auguſtine might do in his time, I would ſay it might be of ſome force, otherwiſe not.

York. St. Auguſtine proveth the catholic church principally by ſucceſſion of biſhops, and therefore you underſtand not St. Auguſtine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatiſts, againſt whom he wrote, can you tell? what country were they of?

Philpot. They were a certain ſect of men, affirming, among other hereſies, that the dignity of the ſacraments depended upon the worthineſs of the miniſter; ſo that if the miniſter was good, the ſacraments which he miniſtered were available, or elſe not.

Chicheſter. That was their error, and they had none other but that. And he read another authority of St. Auſtin, out of a book which he brought, even to the ſame purpoſe that the other was.

Philpot. I challenge St. Auſtin to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will ſtand to judgment, taking one place with another.

Chicheſter. If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controverſy.

Philpot. I do not deny the church to be certain; but I deny that it is neceſſarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word; and for all controverſies the word ought to be judge.

Chicheſter. But what if I take it one way, and you another, how then?

Philpot. St. Auſtin ſheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, "That one place of the ſcripture ought to be underſtood by the majority."

York. How anſwer you to this argument?

Rome hath known ſucceſſion of biſhops, which your church hath not.

Therefore, that is the catholic church, and your's is not, becauſe there is no ſuch ſucceſſion can be proved in your church.

Philpot. I deny, my lord, that ſucceſſion of biſhops is an infallible point to know the church by: for there may be a ſucceſſion of biſhops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch and Jeruſalem, and in other places where the apoſtles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the ſucceſſion of biſhops, ſucceſſion of doctrine withal, as St. Auſtin doth, I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church; but a local ſucceſſion only is nothing available.

Bath. If you be of the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, which the true church hath ever maintained.

Philpot. And I, my lord, with the true church, do hold the ſame in the due adminiſtration of the ſacrament; but I deſire you, my lord, there may be made a better concluſion in our firſt matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we ſhall ſoon agree in the reſt. In the mean while my lord of York was turning his book for more places to help his cauſe.

York. I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Auſtin, *De ſimplicitate credendi.*

After he had read the ſentence, he ſaid, that by four ſpecial points St. Auguſtine here proveth the catholic church. The firſt is by conſent of all nations; the ſecond, by the apoſtolic ſee; the third, by univerſality; and the fourth, by this word catholic.

Philpot. I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St. Auguſtine write the ſame, of Rome, or not?

York. Yea, he writeth of the church of Rome.

Philpot. I will lay your lordſhip as much as I have, that it is not ſo; and let the book be ſeen.

Bath. What art thou able to lay? Thou haſt nothing.

York. Doth he not make mention here of the apoſtolic ſee, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Philpot. That is very ſtraightly interpreted, my lord, as though the apoſtolic ſee had been no where elſe but at Rome. But let it be at Rome, and yet you ſhall never verify the ſame, unleſs all the other conditions do go therewith, as St. Auguſtine doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the apoſtolic ſee, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that ſee now maintaineth hath not the conſent of all nations, neither hath had. Beſides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, becauſe it differeth from the catholic churches which the apoſtles planted, almoſt in all things.

York. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by univerſality; and how can you ſhew your church to be univerſal fifty or an hundred years ago?

Philpot. That is not material, neither any thing againſt St. Auguſtine: for my church (whereof I am) were to be accounted univerſal, though it were but in ten perſons, becauſe it agreeth with the ſame that the apoſtles did univerſally plant.

York. I perceive you are an obſtinate man in your own opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but loſt labour to talk with you any longer; you are a member to be cut off.

Chicheſter. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good biſhop of Wincheſter, and now I ſee in you what I have heard.

Philpot. I truſt you ſee no evil in me by this; I deſire of you a ſure ground to build my faith on, and if you ſhew me none, I pray you ſpeak not ill of him that meaneth well.

Chicheſter. Thou art as impudent a fellow as any I have talked with.

Philpot. That is ſpoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaſpheme him whom you cannot juſtly reprove.

Chicheſter. Why, thou art not God: blaſphemy is counted a rebuke to God-ward, and not to man.

Philpot. Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, ſpeaking in God's cauſe, as you now do lay unto me, for ſpeaking freely the truth before God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind: and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannouſly perſecuting the truth, which otherwiſe by juſt order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors and teſtimonies which you bring, be evidently againſt you, and yet you will not ſee the truth.

Chicheſter. Have we theſe thanks for our good will, in coming to inſtruct thee?

Philpot. My lords, you muſt bear with me, ſince I ſpeak in Chriſt's cauſe; and becauſe his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully ſlain by you, becauſe they will not conſent to the diſhonour of God, and to hypocriſy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgment.

The LAST EXAMINATION *of* Mr. PHILPOT, *in open* JUDGMENT, *with his final* CONDEMNATION *by* BISHOP BONNER, *in the* CONSISTORY *at* ST. PAUL'S, December 13, 14, and 16.

Bonner. MR. Philpot, amongſt other things that were laid and objected againſt you, theſe three things you were principally charged and burthened with.

The firſt is, That you being fallen from the unity of Chriſt's catholic church, do refuſe and will not come to be reconciled thereunto.

The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry.

And the third is, That you have ſpoken againſt the ſacrament of the altar, denying the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be in the ſame.

And according to the will and pleaſure of the ſynod legiſlative, you have been often by me invited and required to go from your ſaid errors and hereſies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you ſhall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably uſed, and have all the favour I can ſhew you. And now to tell you true, it is aſſigned and appointed me to give ſentence againſt you, if you ſtand herein, and will not return. Wherefore if you ſo refuſe, I do aſk of you whether you have any cauſe that you can ſhew, why I now ſhould not give ſentence againſt you.

Philpot. Under proteſtation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and alſo not to conſent to you as my competent judge, I ſay, touching your firſt objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the ſame. And as touching the ſacrifice of the maſs, and the ſacrament of the altar, I never ſpoke againſt the ſame. And as concerning the pleaſure of the ſynod, I ſay, that theſe twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times ſworn both in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, and good king Edward his ſon, againſt the uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conſcience to keep, becauſe I muſt perform unto the Lord mine oath. But if you, or any of the ſynod, can by God's word perſuade me that my ſaid oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, whereof you be now, I will gladly agree, otherwiſe not.

Bonner then not able with all his learned doctors to accompliſh this his offered condition, fell to perſuading him, both by his accuſtomed promiſes and threatenings, to return to their church; to which he anſwered: You and all other of your ſort, are hypocrites, and I wiſh all the world knew your hypocriſy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.

Upon theſe words the biſhop did for that time diſmiſs him, commanding that on Monday the 16th day of the ſame month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he ſhould again be brought thither, there to have the definitive ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt him, if he remained then in his former conſtancy. At which day and time Mr. Philpot was again preſented before the biſhops of London, Bath, Worceſter, and Litchfield.

Bonner. Philpot, amongſt others I have to charge you eſpecially with three things:

Firſt, Where you have fallen from the unity of Chriſt's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but alſo by many and divers other catholic biſhops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the ſame: and alſo you have been offered by me, that if you would ſo return and confeſs your errors and hereſies, you ſhould be mercifully received, and have ſo much favour as I could ſhew unto you.

The ſecond is, That you have blaſphemouſly ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry and abomination.

And thirdly, That you have ſpoken and held againſt the ſacrament of the altar, denying the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be in the ſame.

This being ſpoken, the biſhop recited unto him a certain exhortation in Engliſh, the tenor and form whereof is this:

BISHOP BONNER's EXHORTATION.

MR. Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence you did fall in the time of the late ſchiſm, here in this realm of England, againſt the ſee apoſtolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the ſame catholic church, profeſſing and promiſing to obſerve and keep, to the beſt of your power, the faith and chriſtian religion obſerved and kept by all faithful people of the ſame: and moreover, if you, which heretofore, in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, and 1555, or in one of them have offended and treſpaſſed grievouſly againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs, calling it idolatry and abominable: and likewiſe have offended and treſpaſſed againſt the ſacrament of the alter, denying the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood to be there in the ſacrament of the altar, affirming alſo withal, material bread and material wine to be in the ſacrament of the altar; and not the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt: if you, I ſay, will be reconciled as aforeſaid, and will forſake your hereſies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will alſo allow the ſacrament of the maſs, you ſhall be mercifully received, and charitably uſed with as much favour as may be; if not, you ſhall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretic (as you be indeed). Now do you chuſe what you will do; you are counſelled herein friendly and favourably.

Ita eſt quod EDM. BONNER, *Epiſc. Lond.*

The biſhop's exhortation thus ended, Mr. Philpot turned himſelf to the lord mayor, and ſaid,

Philpot. To you, my lord mayor, bearing the ſword, I am glad it is my chance now to ſtand before that authority, that hath defended the goſpel and the truth of God's word; but I am ſorry to ſee that that authority, which repreſenteth the king and queen's perſons, ſhould now be changed, and be at the command of Antichriſt; and you (ſpeaking to the biſhops) pretend to be the followers of the apoſtles of Chriſt, and yet be the very Antichriſts and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God hath given me power to ſtand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Chriſt.

Therefore, as touching your firſt objection, I ſay that I am of the catholic church, whereof I never was out, and that your church (which you pretend to be the catholic church) is the church of Rome, and ſo the Babylonical, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not.

As touching your ſecond objection, which is, that I ſhould ſpeak againſt the ſacrifice of the maſs; I do ſay, that I have not ſpoken againſt the true ſacrifice, but I have ſpoken againſt your private maſſes that you uſe in corners, which is blaſphemy to the true ſacrifice; for your daily ſacrifice is reiterated blaſphemy againſt Chriſt's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable ſacrifice which you ſet upon the altar, and uſe in your private maſſes, inſtead of the living ſacrifice, is idolatry, and you ſhall never prove it by God's word; therefore you have deceived the people with that your ſacrifice of the maſs, which you make a maſking.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it be the altar of the croſs, or the altar of ſtone: and if you call it the ſacrament of the altar in reſpect of the altar of ſtone, then I defy your Chriſt, for it is a rotten Chriſt.

And as touching your tranſubſtantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was firſt brought up by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the ſynod, which is gathered together in Antichriſt's name; prove to me that you be of the catholic church (which you never can), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But you are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. You be alſo traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail againſt good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his ſon, who have ſtood againſt the uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome; againſt whom I have alſo taken an oath, which, if you can ſhew me by God's law that I have taken unjuſtly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your ſynagogue and church, for you do abuſe that good queen.

Then the biſhop brought forth a certain inſtrument, containing articles and queſtions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Alſo he exhibited two books in print; the one was the catechiſm made in king Edward's days, in the year 1552, the other concerning the report of the diſputation in the convocation-houſe, mention whereof is above expreſſed.

Moreover he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts; which were both written to him by ſome of his friends.

A LETTER,

Produced by BONNER, *written by ſome* FRIEND *of* Mr. PHILPOT's, *and ſent to him, concerning the Uſage of* Mr. GREEN, *in* BONNER's *Houſe at* London.

YOU ſhall underſtand that Mr. Green came unto the biſhop of London on Sunday laſt, where he was courteouſly received; for what policy the ſequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two was to dine at my lord's own table, or elſe to have his meat from thence. During thoſe days he lay in Dr. Chedſey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed, the biſhop earneſtly and faithfully promiſed many right worſhipful men (who were ſuiters for him, but to him unknown) that he in no caſe ſhould be examined; before which Mr. Fecknam would have had him in his friendly cuſtody, if he would have deſired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refuſed. And in that the biſhop objected againſt his ſingularity and obſtinacy; his anſwer thereunto was thus, To avoid all ſuſpicion thereof, although I myſelf am young and utterly unlearned in reſpect of the learned, (and yet I underſtand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have ſuch books as I ſhall require, and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby anſwer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will aſſent to you. Whereunto the biſhop and the reſt aſſented, permitting him at the firſt to have ſuch books. They at ſundry times have reaſoned with him, and have found him ſo ſtrong and rife in the ſcriptures and godly fathers, that ſince they have not only taken from him the liberty of thoſe books, but all other books, not leaving him ſo much as the New Teſtament. Since, they have beat and uſed him moſt cruelly. This Mr. Fecknam reported; ſaying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and ſo perfect. What ſhall become farther of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I underſtand. Concerning your bill, I ſhall confer with others therein, knowing that the ſame court is able to redreſs the ſame: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will ſpeak therein, or prefer the ſame, becauſe it concerneth ſpiritual things. Notwithſtanding, I will aſcertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghoſt, who keep you and us all as his.

Your own, &c.

The CONDEMNATION *of the worthy* MARTYR *of* GOD, JOHN PHILPOT.

THESE books, letters, ſupplications, and other matters being thus read, the biſhop demanded of him, if the book intituled, "The true report of the diſputation," &c. were of his penning, or not? Whereupon Philpot anſwered, That it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and ſetting forth.

The biſhops growing weary, and not being able by any ſufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell with fair and flattering ſpeech to perſuade with him; promiſing, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romiſh and Babylonical church, he would not only be pardoned that which was paſt, but alſo they would, with all favour and cheerfulneſs of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner ſaw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrant you), whether he had any juſt cauſe to alledge why he ſhould not condemn him as an heretic. Well, quoth Mr. Philpot, your idolatrous ſacrament, which you have found out, you would fain defend, but you cannot, nor ever ſhall.

In the end the biſhop, ſeeing his unmoveable ſtedfaſtneſs in the truth, did openly pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. In the reading whereof, when he came to theſe words, And you an obſtinate, pernicious, and impenitent heretic, &c. Mr. Philpot ſaid, I thank God that I am an heretic out of your curſed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bleſs you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.

Moreover, whilſt Bonner was about the midſt of the ſentence, the biſhop of Bath pulled him by the ſleeve, and ſaid, My lord, my lord, know of him firſt whether he will recant, or not. Then Bonner ſaid, (full like himſelf) O let him alone; and ſo read forth the ſentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the ſheriffs; and ſo two officers brought him through the biſhop's houſe into Pater-noſter-row, and there his ſervant met him, and when he ſaw him, he ſaid, Ah, dear maſter.

Then Mr. Philpot ſaid to his man, Content thyſelf, I ſhall do well enough; for thou ſhalt ſee me again.

And ſo the officers thruſt him away, and took him to Newgate; and as he went, he ſaid to the people, Ah, good people, bleſſed be God for this day; and ſo the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man puſhed to go in after his maſter, and one of the officers ſaid unto him, Hence fellow, what wouldſt thou have? And he ſaid, I would go ſpeak with my maſter.

Then the under keeper ſaid to Mr. Philpot, Is this your man? and he ſaid, Yea. So he gave his man leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a ſhort time, until Alexander, the chief keeper, came unto him; who at his entering, greeted him in theſe words, Ah, ſaid he, haſt thou not done well to bring thyſelf hither? Well, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I muſt be content, for it is God's appointment; and I ſhall deſire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, ſaid Alexander, I will ſhew thee gentleneſs and favour, ſo thou wilt be ruled by me. Then ſaid Mr. Philpot, I pray you ſhew me what you would have me to do.

He ſaid, If you will recant, I will ſhew you any pleaſure I can. Nay, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I will never recant that which I have ſpoken, whilſt I have my life, for it is moſt certain truth, and in witneſs hereof I will ſeal it with my blood. Then Alexander ſaid, This is the ſaying of the whole pack of you heretics. Whereupon he commanded him to be ſet upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, becauſe he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander ſaid to his man, What money hath thy maſter given thee? He anſwered, My maſter hath given me none. No, ſaid Alexander, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will ſearch thee.

Do with me as you like, and ſearch me all that you can, quoth his ſervant; he hath given me a token or two to ſend to his friends, to his brothers and ſiſters. Ah, ſaid Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, thou art a maintainer of heretics, thy man ſhould have gone to ſome of thine affinity, but he ſhall be known well enough. Nay, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I do ſend it to my friends; there he is, let him make anſwer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be ſo much my friend, that theſe irons may be taken off. Well, ſaid Alexander, give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou ſhalt wear them ſtill.

Then ſaid Mr. Philpot, Sir, what is your fee? He ſaid, Four pound was his fees. Ah, ſaid Mr. Philpot, I have not ſo much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in priſon. What wilt thou give me then, ſaid Alexander? Sir, ſaid he, I will give thee twenty ſhillings, and that I will ſend my man for, or elſe I will give you my gown in pledge; for the time is not long I am ſure, that I ſhall be with you; for the biſhop ſaid unto me that I ſhould be ſoon diſpatched.

Then Alexander ſaid unto him, What is that to me? And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo.

Then one Witterence, ſteward of the houſe, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot ſaid to his man, Go to Mr. Sheriff, and ſhew him how I am uſed, and deſire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me; and ſo his ſervant went away, and took an honeſt man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff, (which was Mr. Macham) and ſhewed him how Mr. Philpot was handled in Newgate, the ſheriff hearing this, took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to that honeſt man, that came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they came again to the ſaid Alexander, and delivered their meſſage from the ſheriff, Alexander took the ring and ſaid, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all ſuch heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will ſhew it to his betters:

yet at ten o'clock he went into Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him ſuch things as he had taken before from his ſervant.

Upon Tueſday at ſupper, being the 17th of December, there came a meſſenger from the ſheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he ſhould ſuffer, and be burned at a ſtake with fire. Mr. Philpot anſwered and ſaid, I am ready; God grant me ſtrength, and a joyſul reſurrection. And ſo he went into his chamber, and poured out his ſpirit unto the Lord God, giving him moſt hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to ſuffer for his truth.

In the morning the ſheriffs came according to order, about eight o'clock, and calling for him, he moſt joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him, and ſaid, Ah, dear maſter, farewel. His maſter ſaid unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And ſo he went with the ſheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the ſtake. Then he ſaid merrily, What, will you make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot. But firſt coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, ſaying theſe words, " I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

And when he was come to the place of ſuffering, he kiſſed the ſtake, and ſaid, Shall I diſdain to ſuffer at this ſtake, ſeeing my Redeemer did not refuſe to ſuffer the moſt vile death upon the croſs for me? and then with an obedient heart, full meekly he ſaid the cvi, cvii. and cviii. Pſalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he ſaid to the officers, What have you done for me? And every one of them declared what they had done, and he gave money to them.

Then they bound him to the ſtake, and ſet fire to that conſtant martyr; who, the 18th day of December, in the midſt of the fiery flames, yielded his ſoul into the hands of Almighty God, and like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being conſumed to aſhes.

EXTRACT of LETTER I.

From Mr. PHILPOT *to a* CHRISTIAN CONGREGATION, *exhorting them to refrain from* IDOLATRY, *and to ſerve* GOD *after his* WORD.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold, at this time in England, the faithleſs departing, both of men and women, from the true knowledge and uſe of Chriſt's ſincere religion, which ſo plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own conſciences bearing witneſs to the verity thereof. Therefore, my dearly beloved, be ſtable and immoveable in the word of God, and in the faithful obſervation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, ſaying, that you may keep your faith to yourſelves, and diſſemble with Antichriſt, and to live at reſt and quietneſs in the world, as moſt men do, yielding to neceſſity. This is the wiſdom of the fleſh, but the wiſdom of the fleſh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour, for example, did aptly declare in Peter, who exhorteth Chriſt not to go to Jeruſalem to celebrate the paſſover, and there to be ſlain, but counſelled him to look better to himſelf.

God hath one catholic church diſperſed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholick church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets and of the apoſtles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witneſſeth to the Epheſians. Therefore whereſoever we perceive any people to worſhip God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Chriſt to be; unto which we ought to aſſociate ourſelves, and to deſire with the prophet David, to praiſe God in the midſt of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, ſeparations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwiſe than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to ſay again with David, " I have hated the ſynagogue of the malignant, and will not ſit with the wicked." In the Revelations the church of Epheſus is highly commended, becauſe ſhe tried ſuch as ſaid they were apoſtles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people, that they ſhould not ſeek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal, where idolatry was uſed, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Alſo, we muſt conſider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whoſoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth prophane the temple of God, him the Lord will deſtroy. May we then take the temple of Chriſt, and make it the member of an harlot? All ſtrange religion and idolatry is accounted whoredom with the prophets, and more deteſtable in the ſight of God, than the adventurous abuſe of the body.

St. Paul to the Hebrews ſaith, " If any man withdraw himſelf from the faith, his ſoul ſhall have no pleaſure in him;" therefore he ſaith alſo, " That we are not ſuch as do withdraw ourſelves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life." St. John in the Revelation telleth us plainly, that none of thoſe who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beaſt, which is of the papiſtical ſynagogue, either in their foreheads, or elſe in their hands, that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowſhip with the works of darkneſs, but in the midſt of this wicked and froward generation we ought to ſhine like lights upholding the word of truth. Further he ſaith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which ſignifieth, that our outward converſation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean ſpirit and rectified body we might ſerve God juſtly in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life.

Finally, in the 18th of the Revelations, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical ſynagogue, and not to be partakers of her treſpaſs. St. Paul to the Theſſalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to withdraw ourſelves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the inſtitution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and ſiſters, theſe ſcriptures which are written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain: which be utterly againſt all counterfeit illuſion to be uſed by us with the papiſts in their fantaſtical religion, and be adverſaries to all them that have ſo light conſciences in ſo doing: and if they do not agree with this adverſary (I mean the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is ſignified in the goſpel) deliver them to the judge, which is Chriſt; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to the devil: and the devil ſhall commit them to the horrible priſon of hell-fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites) with ſulphur and brimſtone, with wailing and gnaſhing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will ſay for their vain excuſe, God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the ſcripture teacheth us, That curſed is he that ſinneth upon hope of forgiveneſs. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is over all his works, and yet upon ſuch as fear him: for it is written in the Pſalms, " The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on ſuch as put their truſt in him." Where we may learn, that they only put their truſt in God, that ſerve him; and to fear God, is to turn from evil and do what is good. So that ſuch as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifeſt evil, and deteſtable in the ſight of God.

Let all vain excuſes be ſet apart; and whilſt you have light, as Chriſt commandeth, believe the light, and abide in the ſame, leſt eternal darkneſs overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but (alas) men love darkneſs more than light. God give us his pure eye-ſalve to heal our blindneſs in this behalf. O that both men and women would be healed, and not ſeek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may ſee how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conſcience.

But what ſaid I, conſcience? Many affirm their conſcience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to ſervice; whoſe conſcience is very large to ſatiſfy man more than God. And although their conſcience can bear them ſo to do, yet I am ſure that a good conſcience will not; which cannot be good, unleſs it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called *Conſcientia*, which ſoundeth by interpretation, as much as with knowledge.

And therefore if our conſcience be led of herſelf, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not ſo to be excuſed as St. Paul beareth witneſs, ſaying, "Although my conſcience accuſeth me not, yet in this I am not juſtified." And he joineth a good conſcience with theſe three ſiſters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfeigned faith is never aſhamed of the profeſſion of the goſpel, whatſoever damage he ſhall ſuffer in body thereby. The Lord, who hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be aſhamed of it, and give us grace ſo earneſtly to cleave to his holy word, and the true church, that for no manner of worldly reſpect we become partakers of the works of hypocriſy, which God doth abhor; ſo that we may be found faithful in the Lord's teſtament to the end, to the glory of God and our everlaſting ſalvation. Amen.

Letters II. and III. are addreſs'd to Mr. John Careleſs, priſoner in the King's Bench, and Letter IV. to certain godly women who forſook their own country for the Goſpel.

LETTER V.

Containing an Exhortation *to his own* Siſter, *conſtantly to ſtick to the* Truth, *which ſhe had fruitfully profeſſed.*

GOD the eternal Father, who hath juſtified you by the blood of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and called you to hallow his name through a good converſation and profeſſion of life, ſanctify you with daily increaſe of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a veſſel of ſanctification, in the midſt of this wicked and perverſe generation, to the laud and praiſe of the goſpel. Amen.

I have occaſion (my own dear ſiſter) to praiſe God in you for two cauſes; the one, that to your ability you are ready to ſhew yourſelf a natural and loving ſiſter to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have often teſtified being abſent, and alſo preſent in viſiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural ſiſter indeed, and to be praiſed in this behalf. But in the other, that you be alſo a ſiſter to me in faith, after Chriſt's goſpel, I have occaſion to thank God ſo much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the ſpiritual conſanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of fleſh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature; for commonly ſuch as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themſelves, as daily experienee teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible ſeed of his word hath begotton you to be my liege ſiſter, give you grace to grow in that generation, that you may increaſe to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my ſiſter with Chriſt for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful ſiſter, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Chriſt, yea to Chriſt himſelf, who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his ſiſter. Conſider this dignity to ſurmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal proportion of the everlaſting inheritance of Chriſt, if in no wiſe you do ſhew yourſelf an unnatural ſiſter to him in forſaking him in trouble, which I truſt you never will do for any kind of worldly reſpect. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Chriſt, and you ſhall be tried with God's people through a ſieve of great affliction: for ſo Satan deſireth us to be ſifted, that through fear of ſharp troubles we might fall from the ſtableneſs of our faith, and ſo be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for ſuch as continue faithful brothers and ſiſters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wiſe man, in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, biddeth them that come to the ſervice of the Lord, "To prepare themſelves to ſuffer temptations."

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adverſary hath done all that he can, yet we may be ſtable and ſtand; this Chriſt, our firſt-begotten brother, looketh for at our hands, and all our brethren and ſiſters in heaven deſire to ſee our faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number: and the univerſal church here militant rejoiceth at our conſtancy, all whom by the contrary we ſhould make ſorry, to the danger of the loſs both of body and ſoul. Fear not therefore, whatſoever be threatened of the wicked; prepare your back, and ſee it be ready to carry Chriſt's croſs. And if you ſee any unwillingneſs in you, (as the fleſh is continually repugnant to the will of God) aſk with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your ſinful fleſh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the fleſh and follow the counſel thereof, we ſhall never do the will of God, neither work that which tendeth to our ſalvation.

You are at this preſent in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unleſs you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the ſerpent ſeduce you not from the ſimplicity of your faith, as he did our firſt mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowſhip make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With ſuch as be perverſe, a man ſhall ſoon be perverted; with the holy you ſhall be holy. Therefore ſay continually with the prophet David, Pſalm 35. "Unto the ſaints that be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been ſanctified, and made pure through the truth: take heed you be not unholied and defiled, leſt the laſt be worſe than the worſt. I write not this becauſe I ſtand in any doubt of your ſincere continuance, of which I have had ſo good experience; but becauſe the days be evil, and in the ſame it is the duty of each of us to exhort and ſtir up one another: I am bold to put you (my good ſiſter) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not but you will take that in good part, which cometh from your brother both in ſpirit and body, who tendereth your ſalvation as earneſtly as his own, that we might joy together eternally with ſuch joy as the world ſhall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end which you have begun, and then ſhall you receive the crown of glory. None ſhall be crowned, but ſuch as lawfully ſtrive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord will make you one of thoſe faithful virgins that ſhall follow the Lamb whereſoever he goeth; which Chriſt grant both to you and me. Amen.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increaſe our faith, and give us never to be aſhamed of his goſpel. That ſame requeſt which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make alſo to you, deſiring you by all means you can to accompliſh my requeſt, that my ſureties might be ſatiſfied with what is mine own, to the content of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be diſcharged: therefore I pray you help to purchaſe my quietneſs, that I may depart out of this world in peace. My diſſolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of ſo high an honour, as to die for the teſtimony of his truth. Pray that God would make me worthy, as he hath done of long impriſonment, for which his name be praiſed for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whoſe wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT.

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LETTER VI.

From Mr. PHILPOT *to certain godly* Brethren.

THE grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, and the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt our comforter, ſtrengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice and live in the truth of Chriſt's goſpel to the end, Amen.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your conſtant faith in the word of God, which you have ſo purely received; which does not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you ſuffer grief and trouble thereby; for which I praiſe God moſt heartily: and the Lord of all ſtrength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal you have to his truth, and to his afflicted church. Therefore that you may the better ſtand and bear the brunt of many temptations you are like to be aſſaulted withal, in theſe wicked and ſtormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one chriſtian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wiſe man to prepare yourſelves to temptations; and to beware that you, which yet do ſtand by the goodneſs of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an eaſy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well-doing, is the only property of the children of God, and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhall be ſaved. For ſo ſaith our Saviour in his goſpel, "Bleſſed are they that perſevere to the end."

Let not therefore this certainty of your ſalvation, which is continuance in the ſincerity of faith, ſlide from you. Eſteem it more than all the riches and pleaſures of this world, for it is the moſt acceptable treaſure of eternal life. This is that precious ſtone, for which the wiſe merchant-man, after the goſpel, doth ſell all that he hath and buyeth the ſame. God, in Revelations iii. doth ſignify to the church, that there ſhall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers upon earth. From the danger of which temptation all ſuch ſhall be delivered as obſerve his word: which word is there called the word of patience; to give us to underſtand, that we muſt be ready to ſuffer all kind of injuries and ſlanders for the profeſſion thereof.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it faſt, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St. Peter telleth us, now we are afflicted with divers trials, as it is need it ſhould be ſo, That the trial of our faith being much more precious than gold that periſheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jeſus Chriſt. St. Paul to the Hebrews ſheweth us, that Chriſt our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly ſuſtain the troubles of the world, by which God giveth all them, that be exerciſed in the ſame for his ſake, his holineſs. And in the 12th chapter of the ſaid epiſtle is written, My ſon, refuſe not the correction of the Lord, nor ſhrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chaſtiſe every ſon whom he receiveth, &c. Chriſt, in the goſpel of St. John, biddeth his diſciples to look for afflictions, ſaying, In the world you ſhall have trouble, but in me ye ſhall have joy. And therefore in the midſt of their trouble, in the 21ſt of St. Luke, he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, ſaith he, is at hand. And in the 22d he ſaith to all ſuch as be afflicted for him, You are thoſe that have continued with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom.

Oh how glorious be the croſſes of Chriſt, which bring the bearers of them unto ſo bleſſed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of ſuch ſhame as may bring us to ſo high a dignity? God open our eyes to ſee all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtleſs we would think with Moſes, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's ſon. Then ſhould we joyfully ſay with David, in all our adverſities and troubles, It is good, O Lord, thou haſt brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteouſneſs. Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the croſs of Chriſt, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Chriſt, daily to take up his croſs and follow him. We have the godly enſamples of all his apoſtles and holy martyrs, who with great joy and exultation have ſuffered the loſs of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all thoſe in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the goſpel, and never be aſhamed thereof.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleaſant are the tranſitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, inſomuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deſerve that glory which ſhall be ſhewed unto us.

Let us therefore (good brethren and ſiſters) be merry and glad in theſe troubleſome days, which be ſent of God to declare our faith, and to bring to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's ſanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but deſire the Lord to haſten the day of our death, in which we might ſet forth, by true confeſſion, his glory. Neither ſhould we be afraid to meet our adverſaries, who ſo earneſtly ſeek our ſpoil and death, as Chriſt did Judas and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, ſaying, I am he whom ye ſeek. It is commanded us by the goſpel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to obſerve this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increaſe our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us ſuch love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forſake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love beſt; for to what we love beſt we ſhall ſtick. There is none worthy to be counted a chriſtian, except he can find in his heart, for Chriſt's ſake, if the confeſſion of his truth doth require it, to renounce all that he hath, and follow him; and in ſo doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this life (as our Saviour ſaid to Peter) and hereafter is aſſured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loſeth who in this life receiveth an hundred for one, with aſſurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will ſay, If I were ſure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forſake all; but where is this hundred fold in this life to be found? Yes, truly; for inſtead of the worldly riches which thou doſt forſake, which be but temporal, thou haſt found the everlaſting riches of heaven, which the glory, honour, and praiſe, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, haſt an eternal manſion with Chriſt in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and houſhold of the ſaints with God, as it is verified in the fourth of the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can laſt but a while, thou doſt poſſeſs the peace of God, which paſſeth all underſtanding; and for the loſs of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven; and a perpetual friend of all thoſe that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than an hundred fold? Is not the peace of God which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Chriſt (which the world cannot take from us) ten thouſand fold more, than thoſe things that moſt highly be eſteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguiſh, and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath ſet example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forſake the peace of Chriſt's truth, which breedeth a worm in the conſcience that never ſhall reſt.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent ballances! Then ſhould we not be diſmayed at this troubleſome time, neither ſorrow after a worldly manner for the loſs which we are now like to ſuſtain, as weak faithleſs perſons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things viſible above thoſe which be inviſible, but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleaſed God to call us to be ſoldiers in his cauſe againſt the works of hypocriſy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Chriſt in ſuffering, whereby we may aſſure ourſelves of his eternal glory: For bleſſed are they, ſaith Chriſt, that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs' ſake. And as St. Paul witneſſeth to Timothy, If we die with Chriſt, we ſhall live with Chriſt, and if we deny him, he will deny us.

O that we would enter into the vail of God's promiſes. Then ſhould we with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for droſs, ſo that we may gain Chriſt. God, which is the enlightener of all darkneſs, and putter away of all blindneſs, anoint our eyes with the true eye-ſalve, that we may behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Chriſt, and prepared for us that do abide in his teſtament: for bleſſed is that ſervant, whom the maſter when he cometh (as Chriſt ſaid) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichriſtian ſynagogue, and that we be not overthrown by theſe temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cauſe of your ſalvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is ſtronger than he which in the world doth now rage againſt us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whoſe might we ſhall overcome our enemies, and then death ſhall be as great a pain to us as it was to the bleſſed apoſtle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? Why do ye weep? Why are ye ſo careful, as though God hath forſaken you? He is never more preſent with us, than when we are in trouble, if we do not forſake him. We are in his hands, and no body can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleaſure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we ſtumble not at a ſtone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much leſs any of his miniſters, without the good will of our eternal Father.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our eſtate, whatſoever it be; for if we murmur againſt the ſame, we murmur againſt God, who ſendeth the ſame: which if we do, we kick but againſt the pricks, and provoke more the wrath of God againſt us; which by patient ſuffering otherwiſe would ſooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

I beſeech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy ſacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to beſtow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiſcence. If many years God hath ſuffered us to uſe our bodies, which be his temples, after the luſt of the fleſh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonſtration of true repentance of that we have evil ſpent before? Cannot the example of the bleſſed man Job, horribly afflicted, cauſe us to ſay, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: bleſſed be the name of the Lord, ſo is it come to paſs?" If we caſt our whole care likewiſe upon God, he will turn our miſery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to ſlay his ſon Iſaac in ſacrifice to him; which Iſaac, by interpretation, doth ſignify mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preſerved Iſaac unto long life, and offered in his ſtead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. So likewiſe we are all commanded to ſacrifice unto God our Iſaac, which is our joy and conſolation: which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy ſhall not periſh, but live and be increaſed, although our ram be ſacrificed for our Iſaac: which doth ſignify, that the pride and concupiſcence of our fleſh, entangled through ſin with the cares of this ſtinging world, muſt be mortified for the preſervation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is ſealed up for us in Chriſt.

And to withſtand theſe preſent temptations wherewith we are now encumbered, you cannot have a better remedy than to ſet before your eyes how our Saviour Chriſt overcame them in the deſart, and to follow his example. That if the devil himſelf, or any other by him, willeth you to make ſtones bread, that is, to take ſuch a worldly-wiſe way, that you may have your fair houſes, lands and goods to live on ſtill; you muſt ſay, that every man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counſelleth you to caſt yourſelves down to the earth, as to revoke your ſincere belief and godly converſation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content therewith; you muſt anſwer that it is written, that a man ſhall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the devil offer you large promiſes of honour, dignity, and poſſeſſions, ſo that you will worſhip idols in his ſynagogue, you muſt ſay, Get behind me, Satan, for it is otherwiſe written, that a man muſt worſhip his Lord God, and ſerve him only.

Finally, if your mother, brother, ſiſter, wife, child, kinſman, or friend, do require you to do otherwiſe than the word of God hath taught you, you muſt ſay with Chriſt, that they are your mothers, brothers, ſiſters, wives, children, kinſmen, which do the will of God the Father. To which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end, Amen.

Your loving and faithful brother
in Chriſt, in captivity,
JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER VII.

From Mr. PHILPOT *to* Mr. ROBERT HARRINGTON.

GENTLE Mr. Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in reſpect of the great gentleneſs and pains which you have taken for the relief of me and of our other afflicted brethren in Chriſt. God be praiſed for his mercy, whoſe loving providence we have ſeen towards us by ſuch faithful ſtewards as you have been towards a great many. Bleſſed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reſerved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, leſt I might ſeem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reſerved for a better place. I thank God for that which I have found by your faithful and diligent induſtry, and God forgive me my unworthineſs of ſo great benefits. God give me grace to ſerve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the courſe of the martyrs of Chriſt at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be aſſured under the croſs, that they are Chriſt's diſciples for ever.

Methinks I ſee you deſiring to be under the ſame. The fleſh draweth back, but the ſpirit ſaith, It muſt be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is the true faith, and everlaſting glory. Who is he which deſireth not to be found faithful to his maſter? And now is the time that every faithful ſervant of Chriſt hath juſt opportunity to ſhew himſelf a glorious ſoldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Iſraelites, that the Iſraelites might with ſpeed be glorified; I need not for want of underſtanding to admoniſh you hereof, but as a willing ſoldier in Chriſt, to exhort you ſo to run as you may get the victory, and that ſpeedily with us. A man that is invited to a glorious feaſt, deſireth his friend may go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me, moſt unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we ſhall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to ſit at the right hand and at the left hand of Chriſt. O what unſpeakable condition is that? May any worldly thing hinder us from the deſire thereof? Since we ſeek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being ſo near offered unto us?

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the ſavour of his ſweet ointments. Chriſt anoint us, that we may be ſuppled in theſe evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, impriſonment,

ſonment, loſs of goods, and ſhedding of our blood, be the juſt price which we muſt willingly beſtow for the ſame. Wherefore (dearly beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thouſand fold greater than the price.

That you have married a wife, whom God bleſs, I cannot excuſe you from this mart, but you muſt bring your wife for an uſury to the Lord, whoſe pleaſure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wiſh you to be as I am, except theſe horrible bands, but yet moſt comfortable to the ſpirit, aſſuring you, that we are made worthy, through Chriſt, of the kingdom for which we ſuffer. Praiſed be the Lord for the affliction which we ſuffer, and may he give us ſtrength to continue to the end.

Commend me to Mr. Heath, and tell him that I would wiſh him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the croſs of Chriſt. I pray for his continuance in Chriſt, as for mine own. Commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the ſame, but be raiſed up from hell to heaven, through the word that ſanctifieth us. Commend me to Mr. Elfing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide for me ſome eaſe in priſon; and tell them, that though my lord's coal-houſe be but very black, yet it is more to be deſired by the faithful than the queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preſerve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewel, dear brother. Written in poſt-haſte becauſe of ſtrait keeping.

This day I expect to be called before the commiſſioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the Spirit of wiſdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have ſent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them that I am cheerful in Chriſt, wiſhing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to deſpiſe earneſtly the vanities of this world; deſiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

Letters VIII, IX, and X. are addreſſed to the Lady Vane, regretting in the firſt that the glorious light, which had been diſplayed to England, was now changed into ſuch huge darkneſs, and that the plagues hanging over England were great, though the goſpel ſhould be again reſtored. "Happy," ſays he, "ſhall that perſon be whom the Lord ſhall take out of this world, not to ſee them." He adviſes to rejoice "in the croſs of Chriſt, to be of good comfort, and hold the buckler of faith; for by the ſtrength of the Lord they would ſhortly meet in eternal glory." This was dated the 10th of December, 1555. Another to the ſame Lady, who was a great ſupport to him, is dated from the King's Bench priſon on the laſt of May of that year; wherein he remarks, that "neither the fear of impriſonment, neither the poſſeſſion of the world, wherewithal ſhe was ſufficiently endued above a great many, could ſeparate her from the love of the truth." He exhorts her to "pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Chriſt's ſake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England." And in the tenth letter which was written on the 20th of Auguſt, wherein, after he had bleſſed "God that made her ſo worthy a member in his kingdom," he adds, "for it cannot be but ſuch ſhall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do ſow ſo plenteouſly in well-doing; although I am moſt unworthy to receive any ſuch benefits at your hands as in reſpect of of a pillar of Chriſt's church in you wiſheth me to be ſuch an one as the time doth require. God fulfil your deſire of me, that I may be found conſtant, and no wandering ſtar." In this truly primitive and apoſtolical manner did this faithful ſervant of Chriſt employ every moment he could procure, to fulfil the object and diſcharge the miſſion of a diligent paſtor and faithful martyr. As a true ſpecimen of his manner and ſincerity, we have given the following Letter at large.

LETTER XI.

To the ſame Lady.

THE mercy of God the Father, and the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt through Jeſus Chriſt, be with you, and ſtrengthen you, my dear mother and ſiſter in the Lord, in theſe dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful ſoldiers in the goſpel, Amen.

As your good ladyſhip doth deſire to hear from me, ſo am I deſirous to write, as your gentleneſs and daily goodneſs bind me. But Satan of late hath hindered me, who envying all good exerciſes which I have had and received by mine eaſy impriſonment in times paſt, hath brought me out of the King's-Bench into the biſhop of London's coal-houſe, a dark and an ugly priſon as any about London, (but my dark body of ſin hath well deſerved the ſame, and the Lord hath now brought me into outward darkneſs, that I might the more be enlightened by him, as he is moſt preſent with his children in the midſt of darkneſs) where I cannot be ſuffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by ſtealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Chriſt, my maſter, was ſent from Annas to Caiaphas, ſo am I ſent from Wincheſter dioceſe to London, I truſt to make a ſpeedy end of my courſe; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my maſter. I have been already a week in this coal-houſe, and have of late been four times called to mine anſwer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by ſtrait impriſonment a while, in which God's will be done.

Pray (dear lady) that my faith faint not, which I praiſe God is now more lively with me than it hath been in times paſt, I taſte and feel the faithfulneſs of God in his promiſe, who hath promiſed to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord I am not alone, but have ſix other faithful companions; who in our darkneſs do faithfully ſing hymns and praiſes unto God for his great goodneſs. We are ſo joyful, that I wiſh you part of my joy; but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleaſed him to make me, moſt wretched ſinner, worthy to ſuffer any thing for his ſake. Hitherto we have not reſiſted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear ſiſter, I thank you again for the laſt letter you ſent me; it is a ſingular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the ſame. I have it in my boſom, and will carry the ſame even to the ſtake with me, in witneſs that Chriſt hath ſo conſtant and faithful a lady in England. God ſuccour and keep that ſpirit in you; for it is the very ſpirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy ſpirits under the croſs are acceptable ſacrifices in the ſight of God; for Chriſt came to caſt fire into the earth, and looketh that it ſhould be kindled. Be you fervent in ſpirit in our Chriſt's cauſe, as you have begun, for that is the principal ſpirit wherewithal David deſired to be confirmed. O, how do I rejoice, your ladyſhip to go arm in arm with me unto Chriſt, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of ſuch a worſhipful fellow. Methinks I ſee you mourn, and deſire to be looſed out of the earthly and frail habitation of this body. O how amiable and pleaſant is it to dwell in God's tabernacle! Our Chriſt and his heavenly company look for us; let us haſte and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord, be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which moſt unworthily I do receive ſtill of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear mother) you need not burden yourſelf ſo much (as my laſt letters did ſignify) for that my chargeable impriſonment is cut off, and a little now ſerveth me; wherefore I pray you ſend no more until I ſend to you, for I have ſufficient, and do abound. God's peace be with you for ever. Out of my lord of London's coal-houſe, the laſt of October.

Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LET-

LETTER XII.

From Mr. PHILPOT *to the ſaid* Lady, *wherein he partly complains of the Diſſimulation and Perjury of* Engliſhmen *falling again to the* Pope, *and partly expreſſes his Joy in his* Afflictions.

I Cannot but joy with you (my heartily beloved in Chriſt) of the fall of Sennacherib: ſince it is to the glory of God, and to the conſolation of his church, to ſee the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, "The juſt ſhall rejoice, when he ſeeth the vengeance of the wicked." God make this joy perfect; for as concerning myſelf I count not to ſee thoſe good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his peſtilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, ſtill live. But a great hope there is of their ſhort confuſion, becauſe God doth not proſper their doings according to their expectation. Moſt happy ſhall he be, whom the Lord ſhall ſooneſt take out of this life, that he may not ſee the plagues which the manifeſt perjury, and the manifold idolatry and deteſtable diſſimulation, and that of ſuch as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is juſt, and all unrighteouſneſs diſpleaſeth him, and either here or elſe in another world he will puniſh this groſs infidelity of the world: but his elect, and ſuch as he loveth, will he puniſh here, that they ſhould not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing ſo much to rejoice in, as in the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which are the earneſt-penny of that eternal kingdom which he upon the croſs for us hath purchaſed. For as Paul, his faithful witneſs, ſaith, "If we ſuffer with him, we ſhall reign with him. If we die with him, we ſhall live with him."

Wherefore (mine own dear bowels) praiſe God with me moſt intirely, that it hath pleaſed him now mercifully to viſit the ſins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulneſs, and by the ſame doth give me much conſolation, that he aſſureth me of his great goodneſs and mercy, and turneth his fatherly chaſtiſement into my crown of glory. O good God, what am I on whom he ſhould ſhew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, inviſible, and only wiſe, be all honour, praiſe and glory therefore, Amen.

This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the ſame. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliſs. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am ſo near the apprehenſion thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulneſs and unworthineſs of ſo great glory. The ſword which pierced Mary's heart in the paſſion of our Saviour, which daily alſo goes through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be deſired than the golden ſceptres of this world. O bleſſed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they ſhall eternally be comforted: God make my ſtony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have ſo much joy of the reward that is prepared for thee, moſt wretched ſinner, that though I be in a place of darkneſs and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day I am ſo joyful, as though I were under no croſs at all; yea, in all the days of my life I was never ſo merry, the name of the Lord be praiſed therefore for ever and ever, and may he pardon mine unthankfulneſs. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnaſh their teeth, to ſee and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be ſo merry. We are by them counted as deſperate perſons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlaſting ſalvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God, they being mere fooliſhneſs and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto our God, (mine own dear helper) for his wondrous working in his choſen people. Pray inſtantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it paſſeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which ſurmounteth all underſtanding: this peace, the more his choſen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, nor for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and ſiſters' ſake, that it may pleaſe God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of theſe cruel days. But touching ourſelves, let us heartily beſeech our Saviour to vouchſafe to give us this glorious gift to ſuffer for his goſpel's ſake, and that we may think the ſhame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increaſe our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praiſe be to God. I truſt my marriage-garment is ready. I will ſend you my examinations as ſoon as I can get them written, if you be deſirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and conſolation of the hope to come. Out of the coal-houſe, the 19th of November.

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XIII.

From Mr. PHILPOT *to a* Friend *of his,* Priſoner *the ſame time in* Newgate, *wherein is debated and diſcuſſed the* Matter *or* Queſtion *of the Baptizing of* Infants.

THE God of all light and underſtanding enlighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yeſternight from you (dear brother, ſaint and fellow-priſoner for the truth of Chriſt's goſpel) a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptiſm of infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I do ſhew you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the ſame, I think it not out of the matter firſt to declare what viſion I had the ſame night: while muſing on your letter I fell faſt aſleep, knowing that God doth not without cauſe reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, ſpecial and ſpiritual revelation to their comfort, as a taſte of their joy and kingdom to come, which fleſh and blood cannot comprehend.

Being in the midſt of my ſweet reſt, it ſeemed as if I ſaw a great beautiful city, of the colour of azure and white, four-ſquare, in a beautiful compoſition in the midſt of the ſky, the ſight whereof ſo inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to expreſs the conſolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof cauſeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would wiſh others to be partakers of his delight, ſo methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and while they came and we together beheld the ſame, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

This dream I think not to have come of the illuſion of the ſenſes, becauſe it brought with it ſo much ſpiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your requeſt, as he wrought in Peter to ſatisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Chriſt; and the appearance of it in the ſky, ſignifieth the heavenly ſtate thereof, whoſe converſation is in heaven; and that according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to meaſure and judge the church of Chriſt now on earth: for as the prophet David ſaith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be ſpoken of the city of God." And the marvellous quadrature of the ſame, I take to ſignify the univerſal agreement of the ſame, and that all the church here militant ought to conſent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world; as the prophet affirmeth, ſaying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one houſe." And that I conceived ſo wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I underſtand the unſpeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Chriſt's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghoſt, and peace, which paſſeth all underſtanding; as it is written in the Pſalms, as of joyful perſons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this viſion, and to behold this wonderful city, I conſtrue it by the will of God this viſion to have come upon me muſing on your letter, to the end that under this figure I might have occaſion to move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourſelf in all points to the ſame, which is the pillar and eſtabliſhment of the truth, and teacheth the true uſe of the ſacraments, and having with a greater fulneſs than we have now, the firſt fruits of the Holy Ghoſt, did declare the true interpretation of the ſcriptures, according to all verity, even as our Saviour promiſed to ſend them another Comforter, which ſhould teach them all truth.

And ſince all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all, that be obedient children of God, ſubmit ourſelves to the judgment of the church, for the better underſtanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful ſentences of the ſcripture. Let us not go about to ſhew in us (by following any private man's interpretation upon the word) another ſpirit than they of the primitive church had, leſt we deceive ourſelves. For there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himſelf, neither otherwiſe now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the ſcriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace will aſſuredly be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miſeries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliſs, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to aſk of the elder generation, and to ſearch diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yeſterday's children, and are ignorant, and our days are like a ſhadow, and they ſhall teach thee, ſaith the Lord, and ſpeak to thee, and ſhall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your ſteps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For as St. Paul writeth, "If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God hath any ſuch cuſtom."

Hitherto I have ſhewed you (good brother) my judgment generally of that you ſtand in doubt and diſſent from others, to which I wiſh you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtleſs you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you ſhall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occaſion of a viſion before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to ſatisfy you with uncertain viſions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and eſpecially anſwer to the ſame by ſcriptures, and by infallible reaſons deduced out of the ſame, will prove the baptiſm of infants to be lawful, commendable, and neceſſary, whereof you ſeem to ſtand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papiſtical ſynagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by falſe interpretations, and hath perverted the true uſe of Chriſt's ſacraments, you might ſeem to have good handfaſt of your opinion againſt the baptiſm of infants. But foraſmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath it's beginning from God's word, and from the uſe of the primitive church, it muſt not in reſpect of the abuſe in the popiſh church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be uſed in Chriſt's church. Auxentius, one of the Arian ſect, with his adherents, was one of the firſt that denied the baptiſm of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and ſome others that were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptiſts, an inordinate kind of men ſtirred up by the devil, to the deſtruction of the goſpel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the ſcriptures, plainly determineth, that all ſuch are to be baptized, whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of ſanctification or remiſſion of their ſins. Therefore ſince that infants be in the number or ſcroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promiſe by their purification in Chriſt, it muſt needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as thoſe that can profeſs their faith. For we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promiſe of God, as by the confeſſion of faith. For to whomſoever God promiſeth himſelf to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, thoſe no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiſeth that he will not only be the God of ſuch as do profeſs him, but alſo of infants, promiſing them his grace and remiſſion of ſins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham. "I will ſet my covenant between thee and me, ſaith the Lord, and between thy ſeed after thee in their generations, with an everlaſting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed after thee." To which covenant circumciſion was added, to be a ſign of ſanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promiſe is abrogated with circumciſion and other ceremonial laws. For Chriſt came to fulfil the promiſes, and not to diſſolve them. Therefore in the goſpel he ſaith of infants, that is, of ſuch as yet believed not, "Let the little ones come unto me and forbid them not, for of ſuch is the kingdom of heaven." Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any one of theſe little ones do periſh." Alſo, "He that receiveth one of theſe little ones receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye deſpiſe not one of theſe babes, for I tell you their angels do continually ſee in heaven my Father's face." And what may be ſaid more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father that the infants ſhould periſh; whereby we may gather, that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as yet they confeſs not their faith. Since then that the word of the promiſes, which is contained in baptiſm, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why ſhould the ſign of the promiſe, which is baptiſm in water, be withdrawn from children, when Chriſt himſelf commandeth them to be received of us, and promiſeth the reward of a prophet to thoſe that receive ſuch a little infant, as he for an example did put before his diſciples?

Now will I prove with manifeſt arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apoſtles of Chriſt did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apoſtles to baptize all nations; therefore alſo children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, All nations.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was ſaid to Peter, "That thing which God hath purified, thou ſhall not ſay to be common or unclean." But God doth repute children among the faithful: therefore, they are faithful, except we had rather to reſiſt God, and ſeem ſtronger and wiſer than he.

And without all doubt the apoſtles baptized thoſe which Chriſt commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among which infants are reckoned: the apoſtles then baptized infants.

The goſpel is more than baptiſm, for Paul ſaid, "The Lord ſent me to preach the goſpel, and not to baptize:" not that he denied abſolutely that he was ſent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptiſm, for the Lord commanded both to the apoſtles: but children be received by the doctrine of the goſpel of God, and not refuſed: therefore what perſon being of reaſon may deny them baptiſm, which is a thing leſs than the goſpel? For in the ſacraments be two things to be conſidered, the thing ſignified, and the ſign, and the thing ſignified is greater than the ſign; and from the thing ſignified in baptiſm, children are not excluded; who therefore may deny them the ſign, which is baptiſm in water?

St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt given, which is the certain ſign of God's people: for he ſaith in the Acts, "May any body forbid them to be baptized in water who have received the Holy Ghoſt as well as we?" Therefore St. Peter denied not baptiſm to infants, for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of Chriſt, and by the covenant which is everlaſting, that the kingdom of heaven pertaineth to infants.

None are received into the kingdom of heaven but ſuch as God loveth, and which are indued with the Spirit: for whoſo hath no the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants are beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withſtand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

The apoſtles in times paſt, being yet not ſufficiently inſtructed, did murmur againſt thoſe which brought their children unto the Lord, but the Lord rebuked them, and ſaid, "Let the babes come unto me." Why then do not theſe rebellious Anabaptiſts obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days elſe that bring their children to baptiſm, than that they did in times paſt which brought their children unto the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, bleſſed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifeſtly that children be the people of God, and intirely beloved by him. But ſome will ſay, Why then did not Chriſt baptize them? Becauſe it is written, Jeſus himſelf baptized not, but his diſciples.

Moreover, circumciſion in the old law was adminiſtered to infants: therefore baptiſm ought to be adminiſtered in the new law unto children. For baptiſm is come in the ſtead of circumciſion, as St. Paul witneſſeth, ſaying to the Coloſſians, "By Chriſt ye are circumciſed with a circumciſion which is without hands, when ye put off the body of ſin of the fleſh, by the circumciſion of Chriſt, being buried together with him through baptiſm." Behold, Paul calleth baptiſm the circumciſion of a chriſtian man, which is done without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumciſed, although the myſtery of circumciſion do ſtill remain in faithful people.

To this I may add, that the ſervants of God were always ready to adminiſter the ſacraments to them for whom they were inſtituted. As for an example, we may behold Joſhua, who moſt diligently procured the people of Iſrael to be circumciſed before they entered into the land of promiſe; but ſince the apoſtles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, ſince baptiſm is in the place of circumciſion.

Item, The apoſtles did attemperate all their doings to the ſhadows and figures of the old Teſtament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptiſm accordingly to circumciſion, and baptized children becauſe they were under the figure of baptiſm; for the people of Iſrael paſſed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expreſſed, neither the women in the holy ſcriptures, yet they are comprehended and underſtood in the ſame.

Alſo the ſcripture evidently telleth us, that the apoſtles baptized whole families or houſholds; but the children are comprehended in a family or houſhold, as the chiefeſt and deareſt part thereof; therefore we may conclude, the apoſtles did baptize infants or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the houſe or houſhold is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifeſt in the 17th of Geneſis; and alſo in that Joſeph doth call Jacob with all his houſe, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptiſm of infants hath continued from the apoſtles' time unto ours, neither was it inſtituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the ſcripture by the apoſtles themſelves. Origen, upon the declaration of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Romans, expounding the 6th chapter ſaith, "That the church of Chriſt received the baptiſm of infants from the very apoſtles." St. Jerom maketh mention of the baptiſm of infants in the third book againſt the Pelagians, and in his epiſtle to Leta. St. Auguſtine reciteth, for this purpoſe, a place out of John, biſhop of Conſtantinople, in his firſt book againſt Julian, chap 2. and he again writing to St. Jerom, epiſt. 28. ſaith, "That St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly obſerving the faith of the church, judged with his fellow biſhops, that as ſoon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized." The place of Cyprian is to be ſeen in his epiſtle to Fidus.

Alſo St. Auguſtine, in writing againſt the Donatiſts, in the fourth book, chap. 23 and 24, ſaith, That the baptiſm of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apoſtles.

Cyril, upon Leviticus, chap. 8, approveth the baptiſm of children and condemneth the iteration of baptiſm. Theſe authorities of men I do alledge, not to tie the baptiſm of children unto the teſtimonies of men, but to ſhew how men's teſtimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our ſide, and that the Anabaptiſts have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptiſm of children to be the pope's commandment.

After this will I anſwer to the ſum of your arguments for the contrary. The firſt, which includeth all the reſt, is, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: but he that believeth not, ſhall be damned," &c.

To this I anſwer, That nothing is added to God's word by baptiſm of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the ſame word doth require, for that children are accounted of Chriſt in the goſpel among the number of ſuch as believe, as it appeareth by theſe words, "He that offendeth one of theſe little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-ſtone tied about his neck, and to be caſt into the bottom of the ſea." Where plainly Chriſt calleth ſuch as be not able to confeſs their faith, Believers, becauſe of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder ſo to be taken, ſince God imputeth faith for righteouſneſs unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteouſneſs, acceptation, ſanctification, is of mere grace, and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praiſed.

And that children of faithful parents are ſanctified, and that among ſuch as do believe, is apparent in the ſeventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the ſaid commandment of Chriſt, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you alledge many places out of the Acts, proving that ſuch as confeſſed their faith firſt, were baptized: I anſwer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cauſe, we have the ſcripture that maketh as well for us. For in St. Mark we read that John did baptize in the deſert, preaching the baptiſm of repentance. In which place we ſee baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after.

And alſo I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly conſidered, to make for the uſe of baptiſm in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wiſe, "All power is given me (ſaith the Lord) in heaven and in earth," therefore going forth MATHETEUSATE, that is, Diſciple ye, (as I may expreſs the ſignification of the word) or, Make or gather to me diſciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they ſhould gather to him diſciples out of all nations, "Baptizing them and teaching;" by baptizing and teaching ye ſhall procure a church to me. And both theſe aptly and briefly ſeverally he ſetteth forth, ſaying, "Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you." Now then, baptiſm goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles who never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghoſt, ought to be baptized, neither would they permit themſelves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared to ſhew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptiſts be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command ſuch to be baptized whom the apoſtles had firſt of all taught. Neither here verily is ſignified who only are to be baptized, but he ſpeaketh of ſuch as be at perfect age, and of the firſt foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confeſs that which is preached and taught, but infants cannot: therefore we may juſtly collect, that he ſpeaketh nothing here of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptiſm.

It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour muſt not eat." But who is ſo barbarous as to think hereby, that children ſhould be famiſhed?

The Lord ſent his apoſtles, at the beginning of his ſetting up his true religion, unto all nations, unto ſuch as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly ſuch perſons it behoved not firſt to be baptized, and afterward taught; but firſt to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we ſhould go to the Turks to convert them to the faith of Chriſt, verily firſt we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize ſuch as would yield to be the ſervants of Chriſt. Likewiſe the Lord himſelf in time paſt did, when firſt he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumciſion to be a ſeal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumciſed. But he, when he perceived the infants alſo to pertain to the covenant, and that circumciſion was the ſealing up of the covenant, did not only circumciſe Iſhmael his ſon, that was 13 years of age, but all other infants that were born in his houſe, among whom we reckon Iſaac.

Even ſo, faithful people who were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the goſpel, and confeſſing the faith, were baptized; when they underſtood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptiſm was the token of the children of God, they procured alſo their children to be baptized. Therefore, it is written, "Abraham circumciſed all the male children in his houſe." In like manner we read in the Acts and writings of the apoſtles, that after the maſter of the houſe was turned to the faith, all the whole houſe was baptized. And as concerning thoſe which of old time were compelled to confeſs their faith before they received baptiſm, which were called Catechumeni, they were ſuch as with our fore-fathers came from the Gentiles into the church, who being yet rude of faith, they did inſtruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the ſame ancient fathers notwithſtanding did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And becauſe you do require a haſty anſwer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to ceaſe particularly to go through your letter in anſwering thereto, knowing that I have fully anſwered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in ſuch order as it had been meet, and as I purpoſed. But foraſmuch as I underſtand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, nor in any other contrary to the judgment of Chriſt's primitive church, which is the body and fulneſs of Chriſt, I deſire you in the fulneſs of him, or rather Chriſt deſireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called) to ſubmit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the ſame; that the coat of Chriſt, which ought to be without ſeam, but now, alas, moſt miſerably torn in pieces by many dangerous ſects and damnable opinions, may appear to you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in theſe dog-days, might take an example by you to diſſent from Chriſt's true church: I beſeech thee, dear brother in the goſpel, follow the ſteps of the faith of the glorious in the primitive church, and of ſuch as at this day follow the ſame; decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then ſhall death, be it ever ſo bitter, be more ſweet than this life: then ſhall Chriſt with all the heavenly Jeruſalem triumphantly embrace your ſpirit with unſpeakable gladneſs and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your ſpirit with their ſpirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the ſpirit of the prophets ſhould be ſubject to the prophets. One thing aſk with David ere you depart, and require the ſame, that you may dwell with a full accord in his houſe, for there is glory and worſhip: and ſo with Simeon in the temple embracing Chriſt, depart in peace: to which peace Chriſt bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by ſuch ways as ſhall pleaſe him, to his glory. Let the bitter paſſion of Chriſt, which he ſuffered for your ſake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Chriſt have endured before us, and alſo the ineſtimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Chriſt, ſtrengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in, Amen.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity
of Chriſt's goſpel, to live and die with you
in the unity of faith.

John Philpot.

Other letters were written by Mr. Philpot to divers perſons, but theſe, as moſt principal, I have inſerted. Amongſt which I thought here not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous goſpeller (whoſe name in her writing doth not appear), who in defending and commending the quarrel of Mr. John Philpot, the famous and worthy martyr of Chriſt, was therefore troubled and brought before biſhop Bonner. And therefore being appointed by the ſaid biſhop to appear upon a certain day to anſwer for herſelf: indeed kept not her day with the biſhop, but inſtead of her appearance, ſent him this letter here following:

"Woe be unto the idolatrous ſhepherds of England, that feed themſelves. Should not the ſhepherds feed the flock? but ye have eaten the fat, ye have cloathed you with the wool; the beſt fed have ye ſlain, but the flock have ye not nouriſhed, the weak have ye not holden up, the ſick have ye not healed, the broken have ye not bound together, the outcaſts have ye not brought again, the loſt have ye not ſought, but churliſhly and cruelly have ye uſed them," Ezekiel xxxiv.

FORASMUCH (my lord) as my buſineſs is ſuch that I cannot come to your lordſhip, according to my promiſe, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, partly to excuſe mine abſence, and partly to anſwer your lordſhip's damands at my laſt moſt happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promiſe with you in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordſhip ſhall underſtand that I take the counſel of the angel, which warned the wiſe men not to come again to Herod according to their promiſe, but to return home again another way. Now, my lord, I perceive your lordſhip to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more deſirous to deſtroy Chriſt in his poor members than ever he was, who to deſtroy Chriſt killed his own ſon, I thought good to take the angel's counſel, and to come no more to you; for I ſee that you are ſet all in a rage like a ravening wolf againſt the poor lambs of Chriſt, appointed to the ſlaughter for the teſtimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat, and general ſlaughter-ſlave to all the biſhops in England; and therefore it is wiſdom for me and all other ſimple ſheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's ſtall as long as we can: eſpecially ſeeing that you have ſuch ſtore already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, leſt you ſhould break your belly; and therefore let them lie ſtill and die with hunger. Therefore (my lord) I thought it good to tarry a while until your lordſhip's ſtomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's fleſh yet, and belike you are almoſt glutted with ſupping ſo much blood, and therefore you will let ſome of the leaneſt die in priſon, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpſfield and his fellows: but yet, my lord, it were a great deal more for your lordſhip's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roaſted in Smithfield at the fire of the ſtake, yea, and when it is ſomething fat, and fair liking; for now they have nothing but ſkin and bones, and if the dogs come haſtily to it, they may chance ſhortly to be choaked, and then your hunting will be greatly hindered, if it be not altogether marred. I hear ſay, my lord, that ſome of the butcherly curs came of late to my houſe to ſeek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David ſaith) grinning and grudging that they have not meat enough: therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and ſiſters, that have lain ſo long upon the butcherly ſtall, and eaten them up: for I hear ſay their friends could not be ſuffered to ſee them theſe three days and more; therefore I perceive now that if I had come again according to my promiſe, your lordſhip, like a ravening wolf, or elſe ſome of your hell-hounds, would quickly have worried me: but I ſee well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank God for my deliverance with continual ſongs of laud and praiſe. Thus have I been bold to trouble your lordſhip with telling you the truth, and the very cauſe that I came not to you again according to my unpurpoſed promiſe. I truſt your lordſhip will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuſe, and not doubting but your lordſhip would have done the like if you had been in my caſe.

Now concerning the ſecond part that cauſed me to write unto your lordſhip, which is to anſwer unto your ſubtle or rather cruel demand of my judgment of the death of that bleſſed martyr of Chriſt Jeſus, good Mr. Philpot, I will anſwer your lordſhip ſimply and plainly, what peril ſoever ſhall come thereof. Truly, my lord, I do not only think, but I am alſo moſt certain and ſure, that he was a very man of God, died a true martyr, and conſtant confeſſor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whom he did moſt faithfully commit his dear ſoul, who will ſurely keep the ſame with him in joy for evermore. Alſo, my lord, I do verily believe and know, that your lordſhip hath committed a moſt cruel murder in the unjuſt condemning and killing of him, and that you ſhall make as heavy an account for his blood, which ſhortly ſhall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather, cruel Cain, did or ſhall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, becauſe I am credibly informed, that your lordſhip doth believe, and have in ſecret ſaid, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your lordſhip never did any thing in all your life that did ſo much redound to your lordſhip's diſhonour, and perpetual ſhame and infamy, as your killing the body of this bleſſed prophet doth; eſpecially ſeeing that he was none of your dioceſe; nor had offended any of your lordſhip's deviliſh and cruel laws. Verily I hear almoſt every body ſay in all places where I come, that your lordſhip is made the common ſlaughter-ſlave to all your fellows, bite-ſheep biſhops I would ſay; yea, the very papiſts themſelves begin now to abhor your blood-thirſtineſs, and ſpeak ſhame of your tyranny and cruelty. Believe me, my lord, every child that can any whit ſpeak, can call upon your name and ſay, Bloody Bonner is biſhop of London; and every man hath it as perfectly upon his finger ends as his Pater-noſter, how many have you for your part burned with fire, and famiſhed in priſon; they ſay the whole ſum amounteth to forty perſons within this three quarters of a year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordſhip believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your lordſhip loves your own honeſty, which was loſt long ago, you were beſt to ceaſe from this cruel burning of true chriſtian men, and alſo from murdering of ſome in priſon; for that indeed offendeth men's minds moſt; yea, even your old friends, the rankeſt papiſts that be. For, ſay they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to viſit him in priſon, and to bring him neceſſary relief; and therefore it is a very great ſhame and ſin, to ſee a biſhop that beareth the name of a chriſtian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than an Heathen, Turk, or Infidel.

Theſe are men's ſayings in every place, not only of this realm, but alſo of the moſt part of the world, and the common talk they have of your lordſhip; therefore I thought to be ſo bold with your lordſhip, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but ſmall thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your lordſhip's choice, for I have as much already as I look for: finally, my lord, I will give you to underſtand, that the death of this conſtant martyr and valiant ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, hath given a greater ſhake towards the overthrowing of your papiſtical kingdom, than you ſhall ever be able to recover again theſe ſeven years, do the beſt you can, and ſet as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pentleton, that wicked apoſtate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all men's reports, his bleſſed life could never have done the like ſorrow to Satan's ſynagogue, whereof ſome ſay your lordſhip is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious word contained therein is ſo notably therewith ſhed abroad, that the ſweet ſavour thereof hath wonderfully well refreſhed all the true houſhold or congregation of Chriſt, that they cannot abide any more the ſtinking ſavour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your lordſhip's Judaſes do ſet them to ſale every where to fill your bags. I put your lordſhip out of doubt, that if you do break any more ſuch pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promiſe you, moſt men begin to miſlike your deviliſh doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popiſh pedlary wares.

Thus have I (according to your lordſhip's command) ſhewed you ſimply what I think of that good man's death, whoſe blood crieth for vengeance againſt your lordſhip's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of Hoſts, who will ſhortly revenge the ſame upon your pilled pate, and upon the reſt of your pollſhorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great Antichriſt of Rome. The meaſure of his iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore God will ſhortly pour in double unto your deſerved deſtruction. And then your new made proſelytes will be glad to cover their crowns with filth and dirt (ſaving your lordſhip's reverence I ſhould have ſaid firſt). Well, I rather deſire their converſion than confuſion, the Lord ſend one of them ſhortly, as may be moſt to his glory, Amen.

I ſignify alſo unto your lordſhip, that the railing words which your lying preacher ſhewed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday, againſt the dear ſervant of God, good Mr. Philpot, do greatly redound to your lordſhip's diſhoneſty, and much deface your ſpiritual honour. Verily I ſee that the great wrath of God hath ſo blinded your eyes, that you ſee not what is with you, nor what is againſt you, but ſtill you vomit out your own ſhame, and make all the world to wonder at you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him moſt unjuſtly, yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body moſt tyrannouſly, but you muſt alſo ſet a lying limb of the devil to blaſpheme, ſlander, and belie him, now he is dead? O viperous generation, ſeed of the ſerpent, and right children of the devil: full well do you counterfeit your father's ſteps, whom Chriſt calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things are the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your miſchief, that is to ſay, lying and murder; for thoſe whom you cannot overcome with your lying perſuaſions, them you kill moſt cruelly, and then blaſpheme and belie them with railing ſentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the leſs believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof, yea, it is a true ſign and a token that they are the very diſciples of Chriſt; for he hath ſaid, "Bleſſed are ye when men revile you, and ſay all manner of evil ſayings againſt you for my name's ſake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubtleſs great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your lordſhip's damnation ſhall be great in hell, except you repent and ceaſe from ſhedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharoah's was, ſeeing that with Judas you have ſold and betrayed your maſter. Take heed, my lord, leſt you come to the ſame end, or a worſe than he did: for verily I cannot perceive how you ſhould eſcape it long; therefore ſay not but that a woman gave you warning, if you like to take it. And as for the obtaining your popiſh purpoſe in ſuppreſſing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you ſhall not obtain it ſo long as you go the way to work as you do; for verily I believe that you have loſt the hearts of twenty thouſand that were rank papiſts within theſe twelve months.

It is found very true what one holy doctor ſaith, The blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the goſpel; when one is put to death, a thouſand do riſe from him. And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people ſhewed unto good Mr. Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adders' brood would have men imagine; but they worſhipped God who gave ſuch ſtrength to his dear child, to die ſo conſtantly for the teſtimony of his truth, to the utter deſtruction of that deteſtable idolatry which your lordſhip doth moſt deviliſhly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and ſword; yea, and rather than fail, to famiſh men in priſon again, as you have done already. It is reported by your own tormentors, that the ſix priſoners which you have in your priſon, are put in ſix ſeveral places all the day, and every night brought together, and ſet in the ſtocks. Forſooth, my lord, this doth get you a foul name all about the country, and yet all will not help your lordſhip's peſtilent purpoſe, but every way hinder the ſame. For Zorobbabel will be found no liar, who ſaid, The truth ſhall have victory. You do but ſtrive againſt the ſtream, and kick againſt the pricks; the Lord doth laugh your doings to ſcorn, and will bring all your counſels and devices to nought (as knoweth the Lord God), who of his great mercy ſhortly convert your lordſhip, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you, Amen.

> Your lordſhip's ſuppliant, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds, Anno 1556.

Then follows an account of ſeven martyrs who ſuffered together at London for the true faith of the goſpel, on the 27th of January, 1555; whoſe names were, Thomas Whittle, prieſt; Bartlet Green, gentleman; Thomas Browne, John Tudſon, and John Went, artificers; Iſabel Forſter, a married woman; and Joan Laſhford, alias Warne, a ſingle woman, whoſe parents had ſuffered martyrdom in the preceding year. To ſay nothing of their various private examinations in the biſhop's houſe, to which their replies were no way ſatisfactory; he cauſed to be prepared nine articles, and to be adminiſtered to them in his conſiſtory, which, with their anſwers, were in ſubſtance to this effect. The firſt reſpected a catholic church, to which they all agreed, but John Judſon and Thomas Brown added, that the church of England, as then uſed, was no part of that church. The ſecond of the ſeven ſacraments was denied by all of them, who acknowledged but two; and John Went and Judſon farther aſſerted, that the ſacrament of the altar, as then uſed, was an idol, and no ſacrament. The third, relative to their baptiſm in the faith of the catholic church, was admitted as done in the faith of Chriſt, and the church then taught. The fourth had relation to a departure from their faith, which they aſſerted they had not; but John Went obſerved his diſlike of the ſacrament of the altar ſeven years before, and John Judſon and Iſabel Forſter to the like effect. The fifth charged them with ſwerving from the catholic faith, which they denied, as they had only ſwerved from the church of Rome. To the ſixth, on their being reconciled to the unity of the church, they were not averſe, but could not be reconciled to the church of Rome. The ſeventh related to the ſacrament of the altar and the real preſence, which laſt they denied. The eighth ſtated their being delivered over to him for contumacy, which they ſeverally explained; and the ninth, which related to the truth of the premiſes, was admitted, as they had reſpectively anſwered.

The Hiſtory *of the Rev.* Thomas Whittle, *Martyr.*

Having ſerved a pariſh in Eſſex, he had been induced to ſign a recantation of what he had taught in king Edward's days. After being expelled from this place, he for ſome time preached as an itinerant, until he was apprehended by a gaping ſycophant with the hope of reward and promotion; who firſt brought him as a priſoner to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and afterwards to the biſhop of London. The latter uſed him very rudely; but, after ſeveral conferences, committed him to the care of Dr. Harpsfield, whilſt he retired to Fulham. In theſe intervals he had been found in the coal-houſe by Mr. Philpot, of whom an account has been lately given; and when Dr. Harpsfield came to him, inſtead of endeavouring by arguments to convince him, a bill of ſubmiſſion was tendered to him, which his afflictions preſſed him to ſign. But this had been no ſooner done, than he felt much ſorrow and remorſe for ſuch an act; for as he ſays, in his own narrative, his mind and conſcience told him by God's word, that he had done wrong. On which he makes this important reflection:

Let every man that God ſhall deliver into their hands take good heed and cleave faſt to Chriſt: for they will leave no corner of his conſcience unſought, but will attempt all guileful and ſubtil means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man deſpair of God's help, for Peter did fall and riſe again. And David ſaith, "A righteous man, though he fall, he ſhall not be caſt away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand." For my own part, I have felt my infirmities, and yet I found God's preſent help and comfort in time of need, I thank him therefore.

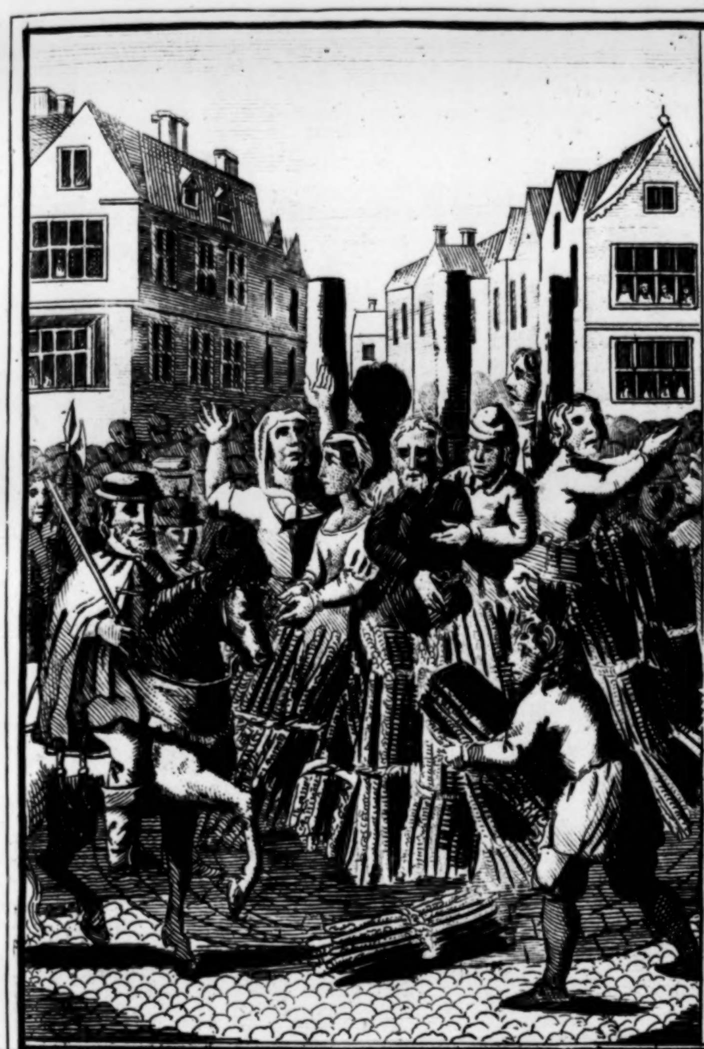
The night after I had ſubſcribed I was ſore grieved, and for ſorrow of conſcience could not ſleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but ſtill was in my conſcience tormented more and more, being aſſured by God's Spirit and his word, that I through evil counſel and advice had done amiſs. And both with diſquietude of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was ſickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and ſo I deſired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and ſo he did.

And when he came, and the regiſter with him, I told him that I was not well at eaſe, but eſpecially I told him I was grieved very much in my conſcience and mind becauſe I had ſubſcribed. And I ſaid that my conſcience had ſo accuſed me, through the juſt judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conſcience, and Satan ready to devour me: and therefore I pray you, Mr. Harpsfield, (ſaid I) let me have the bill again, for I will not ſtand to it. So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me and ſuffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had ſo done, although death ſhould follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and ſuffereth them to fall, but not to be loſt: for in the midſt of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and alſo delivered me; his name be praiſed for evermore, Amen.

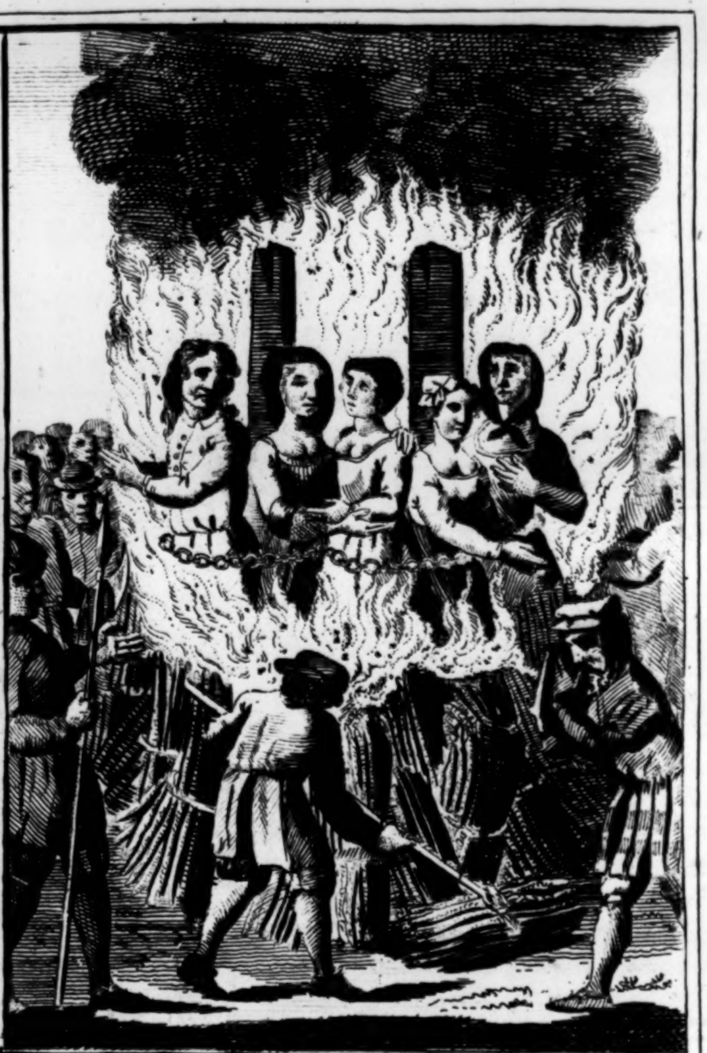
Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Chriſt's ſheep out of his hand. Of which flock of Chriſt's ſheep I truſt undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-ſhedding, which ſhall at the laſt day ſtand at his right-hand, and receive with others his bleſſed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conſcience and mind, I praiſe God, is quiet in Chriſt, and I by his grace am very willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the teſtimony of his truth and pure religion, againſt Antichriſt and all his falſe religion and doctrine. They that report otherwiſe of me, ſpeak not truly. And as for Fountain, I ſaw him not all this while.

By me Thomas Whittle, Miniſter.

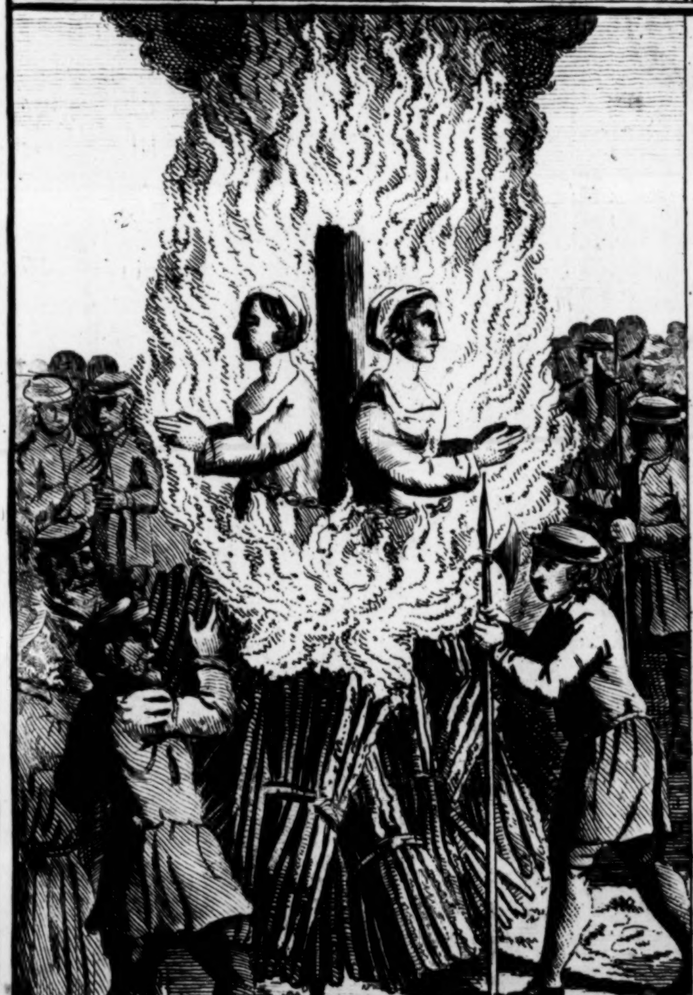
Concerning



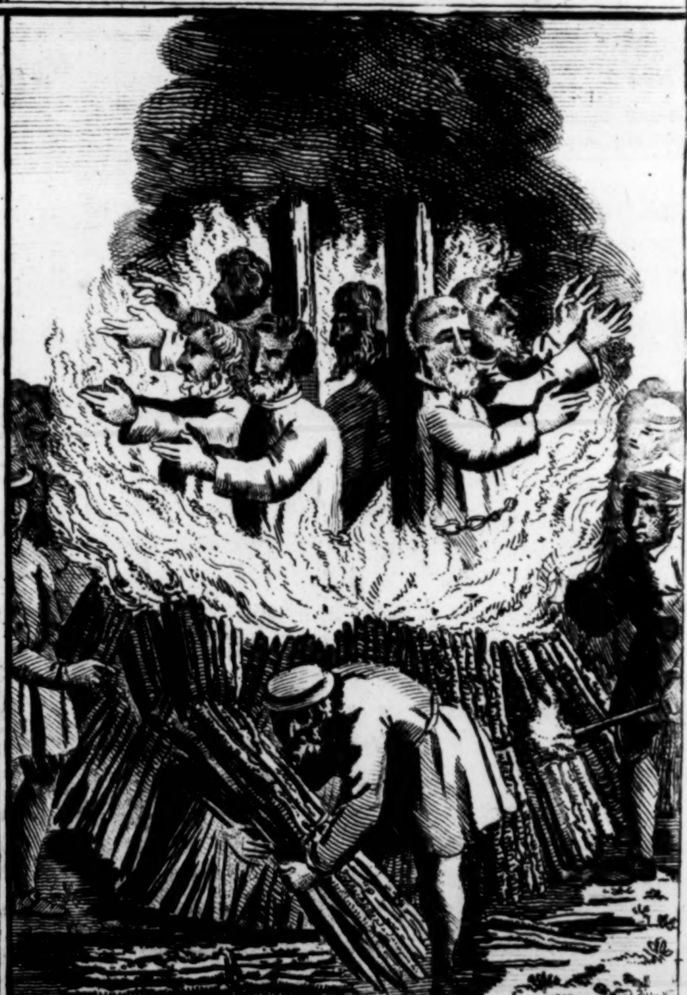
The Burning *of* T.Whittle, B.Green, I.Tutſon, I.Went,
I.Brown, Iſabella Foſter, *&* Joan Warne, *in* Smithfield.



The Burning *of* Inº Lomas, A.Albright, I.Catmer,
A Snoth, *and* I.Sole, *at* Canterbury.



The Burning *of* Agnes Potten, *and*
Joan Trunch -field, *at* Ipſwich.



The Burning *of* Lyſter, Mace, Spencer, Joyne
Nichols *&* Hammond *at* Canterbury.

5 O. last page.

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Concerning the troubled mind of this good man, and tearing his name out of the bill, a report thereof was made to the biſhop by Mr. Harpsfield and Robert Johnſon, Regiſter.

The Condemnation *and* Martyrdom *of* Mr. THOMAS WHITTLE.

AT his laſt examination before the biſhop upon the 14th day of January, 1556, biſhop Bonner, with others ſitting in his conſiſtory in the afternoon, firſt called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: Becauſe you be a prieſt (ſaid he) as I and other biſhops here be, and did receive the order of prieſthood after the right and form of the catholic church, you ſhall not think but I will adminiſter juſtice as well unto you as unto others. And then the ſaid Bonner, in further communication, did charge him, that where in times paſt he ſaid maſs according to the order then uſed, the ſame Whittle now of late had ſpoken and railed againſt the ſame, ſaying, that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle anſwering again, ſaid, That at ſuch a time as he ſo ſaid maſs, he was then ignorant, &c. adding that the elevation of the ſacrament at the maſs, giveth occaſion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.

After this the biſhop making haſte to the articles came to this, That thou waſt in times paſt baptized in the faith of the catholic church.

To this Whittle replied, I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forſake the church of Rome. And you, my lord, do call theſe hereſies which are no hereſies, and do charge me therewith as hereſies, and you ground yourſelf upon that religion which is not agreeable to God's word, &c.

Thomas Whittle was again admoniſhed, and with perſuaſions intreated by the biſhop; who becauſe he would not agree unto the ſame, the biſhop forthwith proceeded firſt to his degradation. The order and manner of which their popiſh and moſt vain degradation, may be ſeen before in the hiſtory of biſhop Hooper.

Then Whittle, in the midſt of the ceremonies, when he ſaw them ſo buſy in degrading him, after their father the pope's pontifical faſhion, ſaid unto them, Paul and Titus had not ſo much to do with their prieſts and biſhops. And farther, ſpeaking to the biſhop, he ſaid unto him, My lord, your religion ſtandeth moſt with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Chriſt.

The biſhop after this, according to his accuſtomed formal proceedings, tried him yet again with words, rather than with ſubſtantial arguments, to conform him to his religion. Who then refuſing ſo to do, ſaid, As for your religion, I cannot be perſuaded that it is according to God's word.

The biſhop then aſked, what fault he found in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament of the altar?

Whittle anſwered and ſaid, It is not uſed according to Chriſt's inſtitution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And alſo becauſe it is adminiſtered but in one kind to the lay-people, which is againſt Chriſt's ordinance. Farther, Chriſt commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by ſcripture.

Well, ſaid Bonner, my lords here and other learned men have ſhewed great learning for thy converſion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the ſecular power, &c. To make ſhort, Whittle, ſtrengthened with the grace of the Lord, ſtood ſtrong and immoveable in what he had affirmed. Wherefore the ſentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo in a few days after brought to the fire with the other ſix above-named, ſealing up the teſtimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witneſs of the truth.

Mr. Whittle wrote ſeveral letters during his confinement. Letter I. is addreſſed to Mr. J. Careleſs, priſoner at the ſame time; and Letter II. to his friend John Went and other priſoners.

LETTER III.

From Mr. WHITTLE *to all the true* Profeſſers *and* Lovers *of* GOD's Holy Goſpel, *within the* City *of* London.

DEARLY beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongſt you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's paſſions, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of theſe words of St. Peter I gather more eſpecially theſe four notes. Firſt, that perſecution happeneth to Chriſt's church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, ſo will he have it made manifeſt to the whole world through perſecution, that ſo it may evidently appear that he hath ſuch a church and people upon earth, which ſo truſteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of perſecution, pains, nor death, ſhall be able to ſeparate them from the love of him. And thus was Abraham tried, and Job tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almoſt in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be ſo ſtedfaſt and ſtrong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby alſo God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and alſo ſtandeth by them in the midſt of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he ſeeth beſt: like as he aſſiſted Lot and delivered him out of his enemy's hands; Joſeph out of the hands of his brethren, and out of priſon; Paul from his enemies in Damaſcus, and the apoſtles out of the ſtocks and priſon.

Theſe with many more he delivered to life; and alſo he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen and John Baptiſt, with many others by death, and hath alſo by the trial of their faith made them good precedents and examples to us and all that come after, to ſuffer affliction in the like cauſe: as St. James ſaith, Take, my brethren (ſaith he) the prophets for an example of ſuffering adverſity and of long patience, which ſpake unto you in the name of the Lord: behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Alſo the Lord trieth us, to let us ſee our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocriſy or ambition deceive us, and that the ſtrong in Chriſt may pray that he fall not but endure to the end; and that thoſe that fall through fearful infirmity, might ſpeedily repent and riſe again with Peter, and alſo that the weak ones might bewail their weakneſs, and cry with David, Pſal. vi. "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak: O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed." Abide the trial (dear friends), that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cauſe, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive greater reward in heaven hereafter.

As ye are called chriſtians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, ſo declare your chriſtianity by following the ſteps of Chriſt, whoſe name ye bear; ſuffer with him and for his goſpel's ſake, rather than deny him or defile your faith and conſcience with falſe worſhipping of Romiſh religion.

Take up your croſs (my hearts) now when it is offered you, and go up with Chriſt to Jeruſalem amongſt the biſhops, prieſts, and rulers, if God call you thereto, and they will anon ſend you to Calvary: from whence (dying in the cauſe of the goſpel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives) your ſouls (I warrant you) through Chriſt Jeſus ſhall aſcend to God that gave them, and that body ſhall come after at the laſt day, and ſo ſhall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unſpeakable joy and bliſs. O bleſſed are they that ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs' ſake as Chriſt's people in this Jewiſh England now doth, for theirs i the kingdom of heaven. O my beloved, ſet your minds on this kingdom, where Chriſt our head and king is; conſidering that as the brute beaſt looketh downwards with the face towards the earth; ſo man is made contrariwiſe with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, becauſe his converſation ſhould be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul ſaith, Coloſſ. iii. Set your mind on things that are above, where Chriſt is. And again he ſaith, Phil. iii. Our converſation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body. O the glorious eſtate that we be called unto! The Lord preſerve us harmleſs unto his eternal kingdom through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

The ſecond thing that I note in the aforeſaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth perſecution no ſtrange thing. And truth it is: for which of the prophets were not perſecuted, with Chriſt and his apoſtles, and ſome of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's ſake? Cain killed Abel, Iſaac was perſecuted of Iſhmael, Jacob was hated of Eſau, Joſeph was impriſoned and ſet in the ſtocks, the prophet Iſaiah was cut in two with a ſaw, Jeremiah was ſtoned, Micaiah was buffetted and fed with bread and water, Elias was ſore perſecuted, Eleazar, and the woman with her ſeven ſons, were cruelly killed. What Chriſt and the apoſtles ſuffered is well known. So that by many tribulations (as Paul ſaith, Acts xiv.) we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Chriſt and his apoſtles, ſuffered ſuch afflictions not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking the world of ſin, and for their faith in Jeſus Chriſt.

Thsi is the ordinance of God (my friends), this is the high way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life, as Chriſt ſaith, John v. He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that ſent me, hath eternal life, and ſhall not come into judgment, but is eſcaped from death to life. Let us never fear death, which is killed by Chriſt, but believe in him, and live for ever, as St. Paul ſaith, Rom. viii. There is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, which walk not after the fleſh but after the ſpirit. And again, Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. xv. Death, where is thy ſting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, which hath given us the victory through Jeſus Chriſt.

Beſides this, ye have ſeen, and daily do ſee, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been ſhed in the goſpel's cauſe in this ſinful Sodom, this bloody Jeruſalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good biſhop Ridley, who like a ſhepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his ſheep. Good St. Paul ſaith, Heb. xiii. Remember them that have ſpoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their converſation, and follow their faith.

The devil ever ſtirreth up falſe teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude propheſied it ſhould be, to poiſon and kill our ſouls with the falſe doctrine. And where he faileth of his purpoſe that way, then moveth he his members to perſecute the ſilly carcaſſes of the ſaints, becauſe they will not deny nor diſſemble their pure faith in our living Chriſt, and confeſs a dead breadly Chriſt, and honour the ſame as Chriſt, God and man, contrary to God's commandment, Exod. xx.

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his own juſt damnation, would have all mankind to be partakers with him of the ſame; ſuch a mortal hatred beareth he againſt God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Chriſt, with ſubtil temptation to fall down and worſhip him, then he ſtirred up his ſervants the biſhops and phariſees to kill his body, whereby notwithſtanding the devil loſt his title and intereſt which he had to man's ſoul, and man by his precious paſſion and death was ranſomed from the devil, death and hell, to immortality and life everlaſting: and ſo when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Chriſt, he loſt all: and ſo ſhall he do in us, if we abide conſtant and ſtrong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt unto the end. God grant it for his mercy's ſake in Chriſt. Bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him. Amen.

Wherefore (my hearty beloved brethren and ſiſters) be of good comfort through Jeſus Chriſt, for he that is in us is ſtronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Reſiſt the devil, and he will (as St. James ſaith) flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the phariſees. Touch not pitch leſt ye be defiled therewith. Eat no ſwine's fleſh, for it is againſt the law; I mean, defile not yourſelves either inwardly or outwardly with this falſe and wicked religion of Antichriſt: for it is nothing elſe but pitch and ſwine's fleſh. Beware of the beaſt's mark, leſt ye drink of the cup of God's wrath. If God hath given you knowledge and faith, diſſemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, leſt Chriſt deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as St. John biddeth you, Rev. xviii. and touch no unclean thing, but ſeparate yourſelves from the company of the ungodly, as St. Paul commandeth you. Whatſoever you have done amiſs heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption.

The third thing and note which I gather out of the aforeſaid words of Peter, is this, that he ſaith, Rejoice, becauſe ye are partakers of Chriſt's paſſion. Our ſufferings (my well beloved) are Chriſt's ſufferings, and that injury that is done to us for his ſake, he reckoneth it to be done to himſelf, as he ſaid to St. Paul, Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoice in our ſufferings, as St. Paul writeth, which we ſuffer with Chriſt, and one with another, as St. Peter ſaid, and to fulfil that which is behind of the paſſions of Chriſt in our fleſh; which Chriſt hath, by his paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaved us in his own perſon: howbeit, his elect muſt ſuffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleanſed from ſin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghoſt, and alſo obtain a great reward in heaven for their ſuffering for righteouſneſs' ſake, according to his promiſe. And therefore I ſay (my brethren) rejoice in the Lord always, and again I ſay, rejoice. Let us rejoice in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to the world.

And why ſhould we ſo greatly rejoice in the croſs of Chriſt, which we now ſuffer? Becauſe (ſaith St. Peter) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is ſet out the reward of ſuffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment when we ſhall be raiſed again; and then ſhall they that have ſown in tears reap in joy, as Chriſt ſaith, Bleſſed are they that weep here, for they ſhall laugh. Bleſſed are ye when men hate you, thruſt you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's ſake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promiſed (which joy is ſo great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath ſeen, nor the heart can think, where we ſhall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the celeſtial Jeruſalem, in the preſence of God the Father, and Jeſus Chriſt our Mediator, as Paul ſaith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the ſpirits and ſouls of all faithful and juſt men), rejoice and be glad: and ſeeing ye be called to ſo great glory, ſee that you make your election and vocation ſure by good works, and eſpecially by ſuffering adverſity for the goſpel's ſake: for it is given us of God, ſaith St. Paul, not only to believe in Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me, that I may end my courſe with joy. Have brotherly love amongſt youſelves, which is a token that ye be Chriſt's diſciples. Edify and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, Amen. For your liberality and kindneſs ſhewed upon the priſoners and afflicted people of God in this time of perſecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water beſtowed upon his faithful people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having ſufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you always, Amen.

Your brother now in bonds for the goſpel,

Thomas Whittle.

The remaining letters are to the ſame purport, addreſſed to other godly and perſecuted brethren.

History *of the* Apprehension, Sufferings, &c. *of* Mr. BARTLET GREEN.

AFTER the martyrdom of Mr. Whittle, Bartlet Green the next day was likewiſe condemned. Mr. Green was of a good houſe, and had ſuch parents, as both favoured learning, and were alſo willing to bring up this their child in the ſame. After ſome entrance in other inferior ſchools, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford; where through exerciſe and diligent ſtudy he ſo profited, that in a ſhort time he attained, as well to the knowledge of ſundry profane ſciences, as alſo now in his laſt years unto the godly underſtanding of divinity. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at firſt an utter enemy, until ſuch time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity-lecture in the ſame univerſity, ſo that thereby he ſaw the true light of Chriſt's goſpel.

When he was called by his friends from the univerſity, he was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm; he continued ſtill in his former ſtudy and earneſt profeſſion of the goſpel; wherein alſo he greatly profited. For the better maintenance of himſelf in theſe his ſtudies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, Mr. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green's impriſonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forſaking the truth and the goſpel of Chriſt) come home again to the church and ſynagogue of Rome. But his perſuaſions took ſmall effect in his faithful heart. He was a man beloved of all men (except the papiſts, who love none that love the truth), and ſo he well deſerved: for he was of a meek, humble, diſcreet, and moſt gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, eſpecially to thoſe who were of the houſhold of faith, as appeareth, amongſt others, by his friendly dealing with Mr. Chriſtopher Goodman, at that time a poor exile beyond the ſeas. With whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as alſo for his ſober and godly behaviour) had often ſociety in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward: who now, notwithſtanding his friend's miſery and baniſhment, he did not lightly forget; conſequently his letters, by the apprehenſion of the bearer, fell into the hands of the king and queen's council. Who, at their convenient leiſure, peruſed the whole number; in the contents whereof (amongſt other news and private matters) they found theſe words, The queen is not yet dead. Which words were only written as an anſwer, to certify Mr. Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit (to ſome of the council) they ſeemed very heinous words, but not being able to prove them treaſonable, they then examined him upon his faith in religion, and his anſwers being ſuch as little pleaſed them after they had detained him in priſon, as well in the Tower of London as elſewhere, they ſent him to Bonner, biſhop of London, to be ordered according to his eccleſiaſtical law, as appeareth by their letters ſent to the biſhop, with the ſaid priſoner alſo: wherein it may appear that Sir John Bourne (then ſecretary to the queen) was a chief ſtirrer in ſuch caſes, yea and an enticer of the council: who otherwiſe (if for fear they durſt) would have been content to have let ſuch matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakneſs, if it be his good pleaſure, and give all ſuch men true repentance, Amen.

A LETTER

Of BARTLET GREEN, *written to* JOHN PHILPOT, *containing, beſides other particular Matters betwixt him and* Mr. PHILPOT, *a brief Rehearſal of his* Conferences *with* Biſhop Bonner *and others, at his firſt coming before them.*

THAT which was wanting in taſk (through my default) at your being here, I have ſupplied by writing in your abſence, now at length getting ſome opportunity and leiſure. The 17th day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock in the afternoon, I was preſented before my lord of London, and other two biſhops, Mr. Deane, Mr. Roper, Mr. Welch, Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and two or three others, all ſitting at one table. There were preſent Dr. Dale, Mr. George Mordaunt, Mr. Dee. Then after the biſhop of London had read unto himſelf the letter that came from the council, he ſpake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cauſe of their aſſembly was, to hear my examination, whereunto he had authority by the council, and had provided Mr. Welch and another, whoſe name I know not, (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet deſired he my lord, that I might hear the council's letters) to be there if any matters of the common law ariſe, to diſcuſs them, he intreated my lord to determine all controverſies of ſcriptures; and for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale ſhould take on them.

Wherefore he demanded of me the cauſe of my impriſonment: I ſaid, that the occaſion of my apprehenſion was a letter which I wrote to one Chriſtopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of ſuch news as happened here) among the reſt, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of queſtions ſcattered abroad. Whereupon, being ſuſpected to be privy to the deviſing or publiſhing of the ſame, I was committed to the Fleet: but, after the commiſſioners had received my ſubmiſſion, I heard nothing thereof. The ſum whereof was, that as I was ſure there neither could be true witneſſes, nor probable conjecture againſt me in that behalf, ſo refuſed I no puniſhment, if they of their conſciences would judge me privy to the deviſing, printing, or publiſhing of thoſe queſtions. But my lord affirming that there was another cauſe of my impriſonment, demanded if I had not after, ſince I was committed to the Fleet, ſpoken or written ſomewhat againſt the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

Then I deſired his lordſhip to be good unto me, truſting that he would not put anſwer to new matters, except I were firſt diſcharged of the old. And when I ſtood long in that, Mr. Welch anſwered, that it was procured that I ſhould ſo do, right well. For albeit I were impriſoned for treaſon, if during the time of my confinement I had maintained hereſy, that were no ſufficient allegation againſt the ordinary; neither whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, ſhould it take away the former fault. Then my lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for hereſy, and the other gentlemen ſaying, that doubtleſs I was diſcharged of my former matter; my deſire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accuſers.

Then Dr. Chedſey was ſent for, who reported, that in the preſence of Mr. Moſley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I ſpake againſt the real preſence and the ſacrifice of the maſs, and that I affirmed their church was the church of Antichriſt.

Is not this true? ſaid my lord. I ſaid, Yea. Will you continue therein? ſaid he. Yea, ſaid I. Wilt thou then maintain it by learning? ſaid he. Therein, quoth I, I ſhould ſhew myſelf to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controverſy againſt ſo many grave and learned men. But my conſcience was ſatisfied in the truth, which was ſufficient to my ſalvation.

Conſcience! ſaid Mr. Roper, ſo ſhall every Jew and Turk be ſaved.

We had hereafter much talk to no purpoſe, and eſpecially on my part, who felt in myſelf, through cold and open air, much dulneſs of wit and memory. At length I was aſked what conſcience was: and I ſaid, the certifying of the truth.

With that Mr. Welch roſe up, deſiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aſide into another chamber, ſaid that he was ſorry for my trouble, and would gladly ſee me at liberty: he marvelled that I being a young man, would ſtand againſt all the learned men of the realm, yea and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Chriſt's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning; I muſt not think mine own wit better than all men's, but I ſhould believe them that were learned. I promiſe you (quoth he) I have read all Peter Martyr's book, and Cranmer's, and all the reſt of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as the biſhop of Wincheſter, &c. and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and thoſe which at any time ſevered from this unity, were anſwered and anſwered again. This was the ſum of his tale, which lacked both wit and eloquence.

Mr. Green. Foraſmuch as it pleaſeth your maſterſhip to uſe me ſo familiarly (for ſo he behaved himſelf towards me, as though I had been his equal) I ſhall open my mind freely unto you, deſiring you to take it in good part. I conſider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would to God it were but a little under the opinion that ſome men have of me. But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chuſeth the weak of the world that they may confound the ſtrong; neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: For, I will have compaſſion, ſaith he, on whom I will ſhew mercy. There is no reſpect of perſons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wiſe or fooliſh, fiſher or baſket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free grace, to whom he liſt, James i. Neither do I think myſelf only to have the truth, but ſtedfaſtly believe that Chriſt hath his ſpouſe, the catholic and univerſal church, diſperſed in many realms where it pleaſeth him, the Spirit blowing where it liſteth: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the perſon and quality of any one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myſelf to be a member, truſting to be ſaved by the faith that is taught in the ſame. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controverſy. And the true marks of Chriſt's church are the true preaching of his word, and adminiſtering of his ſacraments. Theſe marks were ſealed by the apoſtles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at length they were, through the wickedneſs of men and the devil, almoſt utterly taken away. But God be praiſed that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myſelf, I call God to witneſs, I have no hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very ſmall; but I was perſuaded thereto by him, as by an inſtrument, that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I ſought it of him by continual prayer with tears.

Furthermore, what I have done herein, is not needful for me to ſpeak: but one thing, I ſay, I wiſh of God with all my heart, that all men which are of contrary judgment, would ſeek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many biſhops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughingſtock, but I value it not a ruſh; for God knoweth that my whole ſtudy is to pleaſe him: beſide that, I care not for man's pleaſure or diſpleaſure.

Mr. Welch. No, Mr. Green, ſaid he, think not ſo uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your ſoul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers? Or how can you think yourſelf to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?

Green. Sir, I have no authority to judge any man; nevertheleſs, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howſoever our learned men here judge of me.

Welch. Why, then, do you ſuppoſe your own wit and learning better than all their's? If you do not give credit only to them, other learned men ſhall reſort unto you, that ſhall perſuade you by the ſcriptures and doctors.

Green. Sir, God knoweth that I refuſe not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing, wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things, ſaving my faith: but concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly perſuaded, I cannot ſubmit myſelf to learn, unleſs it be, as your maſterſhip ſaid, that I peruſed books on both ſides. For ſo might I make myſelf an indifferent judge; otherwiſe I may be ſeduced.

And here we had a long diſcourſe of the church, wherein his learning and wit was much above mine: but in the end I told him I was perſuaded, and that he did but loſe his labour.

Welch. Why then, what ſhall I report to my lord?

Green. Even as it pleaſeth you; or elſe you may ſay that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both ſides.

So he going in, the biſhops (being riſen and ready to depart) aſked how he liked me? He anſwered, In faith, my lord, he will be glad to learn. Which words when they were ſpoken, leſt they ſhould miſtake his meaning and mine, I ſaid, Yea, my lord, ſo that I have books on both ſides, as Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books, and ſuch others. Well, ſaid my lord, I will ſatisfy thy mind therein alſo: and they were all in great hopes, that ſhortly I ſhould become a good catholic, as they call it.

Then I was brought into my lord's inner chamber (where you were) and there was put in a chamber with Mr. Dee, who treated me very friendly. That night I ſupped at my lord's table, and lay with Mr. Dee in the chamber you did ſee. On the morrow I was ſerved at dinner from my lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentleman; where I have been placed ever ſince, and fared wonderfully well. Yea, to ſay the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his lordſhip's houſe: for my lodgings and fare, ſcarce have I been at any time abroad in better caſe ſo long together, and have found ſo much gentleneſs of my lord and his chaplains, and other ſervants, that I ſhould eaſily have forgotten that I was in priſon, were it not that this good cheer was often powdered with unſavoury ſauces of examinations, exhortations, poſings, and diſputations.

For ſhortly after ſupper, the firſt Monday at night, I was had into my lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came firſt into theſe hereſies: I ſaid, I was perſuaded thereto by the ſcriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alledged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon the eleventh chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, while he treated there on that place of the Lord's ſupper for a month together. But then my lord inforced the plainneſs of Chriſt's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reaſon ſhould move me from the literal ſenſe of the words: but I having no luſt to thoſe matters, would have alledged that there were books ſufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Oecolampadius: nevertheleſs, when this ſhift would not ſerve, but I was conſtrained to ſay ſomewhat, I ſaid I was moved from the literal ſenſe by the manner of ſpeaking, by the circumſtance, and by conference of other places of the ſcriptures. It is evident that Chriſt took bread, and that he ſhewed them (they ſeeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

Chriſt affirmed that bread was his body.

But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true.

Therefore, The words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

For this predication, *Panis eſt corpus Chriſti*, or *Corpus Chriſti eſt panis*, is neither *Identica* nor *Accidentalis*, nor *Eſſentialis prædicatio*. Wherefore of neceſſity I muſt ſay it was ſpoken in the ſame ſenſe, as Chriſt was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it ſerve to ſay, that it was not bread that he affirmed to be his body, and that for two cauſes.

For whatſoever he ſhewed, that was bread, for nought elſe was ſeen.

But that which he ſhewed he affirmed to be his body.

The ſecond reaſon is, For that it was not changed before, ſeeing *Benedixit*, is *Gratias egit*, or elſe Chriſt affirmed no true propoſition, and you are without authority.

In the end of this letter there were noted theſe ſentences following, collected for confirmation of his former aſſertions, viz.

Eadem locutio poculi, that is, The phraſe is uſed and ſpoken upon the cup.

Dicitur poſtea panis. It is called bread in the ſame place afterwards.

Eadem ratione rejecero corpus, qua tu panem, that is, By the ſame reaſon as it may be denied to the bread, it may be denied to be the body.

Aſcendit in cœlum, that is, His body aſcended into heaven.

Corpore nobis factus eſt ſimilis in omnibus poſt nativitatem. At noſtrum corpus non poteſt eſſe in duobus locis. Therefore, &c. In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (ſin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once: therefore, neither his.

Diſcipuli non ſtupebant, &c. His diſciples took it as no miracle nor wonder.

The laſt Examination *and* Condemnation *of* Mr. GREEN.

THUS, as it ſeemeth, for this time they left off. But not long after the biſhop perceiving Green's learning and conſtancy to be ſuch, as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains could by the ſcriptures refute, began then to object and put in practice his chief and ſtrongeſt argument againſt him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument, I aſſure you, which without the ſpecial grace of our God to fleſh is inſupportable. And therefore uſing law as a cloak of his tyranny, the 28th day of November, the ſaid biſhop examined him upon certain points of chriſtian religion. Whereunto when he had anſwered, the biſhop appointed the regiſter (as their moſt common manner is) there to draw out an order of confeſſion: which being afterwards read unto Green, was alſo ſubſcribed by him, as a confirmation of his former aſſertions: the tenor whereof here enſueth.

The Confeſſion *of* BARTLET GREEN.

BARTLET GREEN, born in the city of London, in the pariſh of Baſing-hall, of the dioceſe of London, and of the age of 25 years, being examined in the biſhop's palace the 27th day of November, Anno 1555, upon certain articles, anſwered as followeth, viz. That neither in the time of king Edward, after the maſs by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary after the maſs was reſtored again, he hath heard any maſs at all; but he ſaith that in the reign of the ſaid queen's majeſty, he the ſaid Bartlet, two times, to wit, at two Eaſter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the pariſh of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the dioceſe of London, did receive the communion with the ſaid Pulline, and Chriſtopher Goodman, ſometime reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the ſea; and the ſecond time with the ſaid Pulline, and with one Rimneger, Maſter of Arts, of Magdalen college, in Oxford: and this examinate alſo ſaith, that at both the ſaid communions, he and the other before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called ſacramental bread, and ſacramental wine, which he ſaith were uſed there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the inſtitution, expreſſed in the book of communion.

In which receiving and uſing, this examinate ſaith, that the others aforenamed did receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no ſubſtance thereof changed, and ſo no real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examinate ſaith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majeſty aforeſaid, refuſed, and ſo now doth refuſe to come and hear maſs, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar, as they are now uſed and adminiſtered in this church of England, becauſe he ſaith, that concerning the maſs, he cannot be perſuaded in his conſcience, that the ſacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the ſame: and that without deadly offence he cannot worſhip the body and blood of Chriſt that is pretended to be there. And as concerning the ſacrament of the altar, this examinate ſaith, that he heretofore during the ſaid reign, hath refuſed, and now doth refuſe to receive the ſame, as is now uſed in this church of England, becauſe it is not uſed according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but both in a ſtrange tongue, and alſo miniſtered in both kinds; and beſides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there adminiſtered 4 is to be adored, as the real and true body of Chriſt. And furthermore this examinate ſaith, that during the ſaid reign he hath not been confeſſed to the prieſt, nor received abſolution at his hands, becauſe he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confeſſion.

BARTLET GREEN.

Many other conferences and examinations they brought him unto. But in the end (ſeeing his ſteadineſs of faith to be ſuch, againſt which neither their threatenings, nor yet their flattering promiſes could prevail) the 15th day of January the biſhop cauſed him with the reſt before mentioned, to be brought into the conſiſtory of St. Paul's; where being ſet in his judgment ſeat, accompanied by Mr. Fecknam, then dean of the ſame church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other ſix, he then calling for Bartlet Green, began with theſe, or the like words:

Honourable audience, I think it beſt to open unto you the converſation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And becauſe you ſhall not charge me, that I go about to ſeek any man's blood, here you ſhall hear the council's letters, which they ſent with him unto me. The effect whereof is; that whereas he had been a long time confined in the tower of London for hereſy, they have now ſent him unto me to be ordered, according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propoſe theſe nine articles. Then he read the articles before mentioned, which were generally objected to all theſe ſeven priſoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudſon, John Went, Thomas Brown, Iſabel Foſter, Joan Laſhford, Bartlet Green.

But when Mr. Green would have anſwered them particularly, he was put to ſilence, with promiſe that he ſhould have time to anſwer ſufficiently, and therefore the biſhop proceeding, ſaid, that when Green came firſt to his houſe, he deſired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he ſaid he granted him.

Whereunto Green anſwered, and ſaid, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them.

Upon which words, Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, ſtood up, and marvelling why he ſaid ſo, aſked him if he would be content to ſtand to the judgment of the doctors.

Green then ſaid, that he was content to ſtand to the doctors' judgment.

I will then propound unto you (ſaid Fecknam) the doctors, and interpret them yourſelf. So he alledged a place of Chryſoſtom, *Ad popul. Antioch.* which was this: *Elias aſcendens melotam ſuam poſt ſe reliquit: Chriſtus vero aſcendens carnem ſuam aſſumpſit & eandem poſt ſe reliquit.* "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Chriſt aſcending up took his fleſh, and alſo left it behind him." And he demanded of Green how he underſtood the place.

Then Green deſired him that he would confer the doctor's ſayings together, and therefore alledged the ſame doctor again, writing upon 1 Cor. x. "Is not the bread which we bleſs the communication of the Lord's body?" Whereby he proved that this doctor called this ſacrament but a ſign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and trial were between them.

At laſt Fecknam demanded of him, how long he had been of this opinion. For, Mr. Green, ſaid he, you confeſſed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at ſchool, you were called the rankeſt papiſt in that houſe, and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine.

And Green confeſſed the ſame.

Then Fecknam ſaid, that Green told him the ſaid Peter Martyr was a papiſt at his firſt coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to conſider how vain his doctrine was that he profeſſed, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon ſo inconſtant a man as Peter Martyr, who perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to pleaſe them, and forſake the true and catholic faith.

Green ſaid, that he grounded not his faith upon Peter Martyr nor any other, nor did believe ſo becauſe Peter Martyr believed the ſame; but becauſe he had heard the ſcriptures, and the doctors of the church, truly and wholeſomely expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he ſpake. And further he ſaid, that he heard the ſaid Peter Martyr ſay often, that he had not, while he was a papiſt, read Chryſoſtom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well conſidered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having firſt humbled himſelf in prayer, deſiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true underſtanding of the ſcripture. Which thing (ſaid Green) if you, my lord, would do, I do not doubt but God would open your eyes, and ſhew you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that ſaith, "Aſk, and it ſhall be given to you; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you," &c.

Then Fecknam aſked him what he thought of this article, The holy catholic church.

And Green anſwered, that he did believe one holy and univerſal church throughout all the world.

Then Fecknam ſaid, that he would fain have a ſure mark and token, whereby he might know this church: and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church.

Green anſwered, that this church did agree in verity with the true doctrine of Chriſt, and was known by the true adminiſtration of his ſacraments.

Whereupon Fecknam ſaid, that he would prove the church whereof he was to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controverſy in their religion. For, ſaid he, Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or ſayings, nor Oecolampadius with Ciroloſtadius, nor Caroloſtadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, &c. for Luther, writing upon the ſacrament of the altar, ſaid, that in this bread, or under this bread we receive the body of the Lord. Zuinglius controuling him, ſaid, Under the ſign of the bread we receive the body of the Lord. And the other controuled him in like caſe.

Then Mr. Green proved their opinions of the ſacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed, and though their words did not ſound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Then Fecknam deſired him that he would not ſo wilfully caſt himſelf away, but to be rather conformable to reaſon, and that my lord biſhop there preſent would be good unto him, and grant him reſpite for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he ſhould chuſe any learned man whom he would, and ſhould go with him home to his houſe.

Then biſhop Bonner ſaid, that he was a proud and an obſtinate boy; and therefore he deſired Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more Mr. Green: for (ſaid he) you ought not to call an heretic maſter.

After this Dr. Pendleton alledged to him this text out of the xxii of Luke, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." Here, ſaid he, you muſt confeſs your opinion to be falſe, elſe you muſt ſay that Chriſt was a liar: for Chriſt ſaid, "I will eat no more of this, until it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom." If Chriſt did eat no more the bread when he ſpake theſe words, then muſt you ſay that he was a liar: for he did eat bread after with his diſciples, before he aſcended. But if you ſay he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the ſcriptures, nor with good reaſon.

Then Green anſwered, and ſaid, that this was ſpoken by an anticipation, as one of their own biſhops (who is now dead) did ſay.

Then Dr. Pendleton ſaid, that that was no ſufficient diſcharge, nor no ſufficient anſwer for him in this caſe: for, ſaid he, it is well known that that biſhop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good chriſtian man.

To which words Green ſaid, I do not call him to witneſs in this caſe, as though he were a ſufficient man to prove my ſaying to be true in this matter: but I do alledge him againſt you, as Paul did the ſcripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, againſt themſelves, To the unknown God.

Theſe, with many other words, were between them, which I paſs over, becauſe it were too long to ſtand upon recital of every thing. Laſt of all the biſhop aſked him if he would recant. He ſaid nay, he would not. But, my lord, ſaid he, in old time there were no men put to death for their conſcience, until ſuch times as biſhops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them, but excommunication, my lord, was the greateſt penalty which men had for their conſcience; yea, inſomuch that St. Auguſtine wrote, and commanded that no man ſhould be put to death for his opinion.

Then Bonner ſaid, that when Auguſtine ſaw what inconveniences followed that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to puniſh their bodies.

But, ſaid Green, he ordered not to put them to death.

He ſaid, puniſh them, quoth Bonner.

Yea, ſaid Green, but not put them to death.

That they ſhould be puniſhed, quoth Bonner, again.

This talk ended, he aſked Green if he would recant, and return to his Romiſh mother. Which when he denied, the biſhop pronounced the ſentence definitive againſt him, and ſo committed him to the ſheriffs of London, who cauſed him to be carried to Newgate.

And as he was going thither, he met two gentlemen, his ſpecial friends, minding alike to comfort this their perſecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts were manifeſted by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green ſaw them, he ſaid, Ah, my dear friends, is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occaſion of heavineſs? Muſt I, who needed to have comfort miniſtered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his moſt quiet peaceable mind and conſcience, he cheerfully ſpake to them and others, until he came to the priſon door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always much in godly meditations, until the 28th day of January, when he with his other beforementioned brethren, endured cheerfully the torments of the fire.

There were divers letters and other works of this ſervant of God, particularly notes and extracts in Latin out of the doctors and other authors, for his memory, whereby is declared how ſtudious he was in the ſearching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profeſſion was the temporal law. Where I would to God he were not among the lawyers ſuch a phenix, that he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his ſteps. But God is to be praiſed, that although we read of few or none among that ſort that died as he did, yet good witneſſes do daily ſpring up of the ſame profeſſion, to ſuch forwardneſs and godly zeal, that ſome hope already appeareth ſhortly to come to paſs, that this godly phenix ſhall not fly alone. Theſe aforeſaid notes and gatherings of his out of the doctors, were taken from him by biſhop Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the reſt was firſt apprehended, but the laſt of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterwards burned with other martyrs the 27th of the ſame month.

Of the other five martyrs, who ſuffered with Whittle and Green, we have only to add to what has been ſaid on the nine articles, that Thomas Brown, a native of Hiſton pariſh in Ely dioceſe, was a married man, and then lived in St. Bride's pariſh in Fleet-ſtreet, London, aged 37, who was preſented for not coming to his pariſh church. On his final examination, Jan. 15, he avowed his aſſertion that biſhop Bonner was a bloodſucker; and on being interrogated again about the articles and forſaking hereſy, he called on the biſhop to prove that his opinions were hereſies, and that done, he would relinquiſh them. But this impoſſibility was not even attempted; and when promiſes and allurements of pardon had no better effect, ſentence of condemnation was paſſed, and he was committed to the ſheriffs.

John Tudſon alſo was condemned on the ſame day. He was a native of Ipſwich in Suffolk, but then reſided in London in the pariſh of St. Mary Botolph; and before his condemnation, was interrogated in a ſimilar manner, and ſimilar alluring promiſes made, but to no purpoſe.

John Went, aged 27 years, a native of Langham in Eſſex, within the dioceſe of London, was conſigned by Dr. Story to the biſhop, after being examined on the ſacrament of the altar. He was treated exactly in the ſame way, and the ſame allurements held out, with no better effect; on which he was condemned to ſuffer with the reſt, and committed to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs.

Iſabel Foſter, the wife of John Foſter, cutler in St. Bride's pariſh, Fleet Street, London, but a native of Graſeſtock in Carliſle dioceſe, aged 55, was impriſoned for abſenting herſelf from their church, after various examinations, was brought to her final one on the ſame 15th of Jan. To the uſual interrogatories ſhe reſolutely anſwered, that ſhe would not go from her former anſwers; and, on her perſiſting therein, was in like manner condemned.

Joan Laſhford, alias Warne, a native of Little St. Allhallows in Thames Street, London, who had miniſtered to the wants of her father and mother in priſon, being then about 20 years of age, was firſt impriſoned, on ſuſpicion of her religion, in the Poultry Compter for five weeks, and afterwards in Newgate for ſome months. On her examinations ſhe was very pointed againſt the popiſh doctrines of the ſacrament of the altar, confeſſion, and abſolution; and was ſentenced to ſuffer with the reſt.

The Hiſtory *of five* Martyrs *who were burnt at* Canterbury, *at two* Stakes *in one* Fire.

THESE five martyrs ſuffered for the truth of the goſpel at Canterbury on the 31ſt day of January, being one man, and four women, whoſe names and examinations here follow:

John Lomas, of the pariſh of Tenderden, a young man; Anne Albright; Joan Catmer, of the pariſh of Hith, wife of George Catmer, burned before; Agnes Snoth, widow, of the pariſh of Smarden; Joan Sole, wife, of the pariſh of Horton.

They were all interrogated in the ſame way as the ſeven whom we have juſt noted, on confeſſion and the ſacrament, on the 17th of January, but perſiſting in their doctrines, with many ſevere remarks on the doctrines and practices of the papiſts, they were all condemned the next day.

Theſe five perſons were burnt at two ſtakes in one fire, together at Canterbury, on the 31ſt of January following; who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did ſing pſalms. Whereat the good knight, ſir John Norton, being there preſent, wept bitterly at the ſight.

The judges and other aſſiſtants which ſat upon her and the other four before mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker, the notary.

The Hiſtory *of the* Reverend Paſtor *and* Prelate, THOMAS CRANMER, Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, Martyr, *burnt at* Oxford, *for the* Confeſſion *of* Chriſt's *true* Doctrine, *under* Queen MARY, March 21, 1556.

CONCERNING the life and eſtate of that moſt reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of the original cauſe and occaſion of his preferment unto his archiepiſcopal dignity, who by many hath been thought to have procured the ſame by friendſhip only, and by ſome others eſteemed unworthy of ſo high a vocation: it is firſt therefore to be noted and conſidered, that the ſame Thomas Cranmer, coming of an ancient parentage, from the conqueſt to be deduced, and continuing ſince in the name and family of a gentleman, was born in a village called Arſelacton, in Northamptonſhire, of whoſe ſaid name and family there remaineth at this day the manor and manſion-houſe in Lincolnſhire, called Cranmer-hall, &c. ſometime the heritage of the ſaid ſtock and family. He being from his infancy kept at ſchool, and carefully brought up, from ſchool he was ſent unto the univerſity of Cambridge, and there proſpering in good knowledge among the better ſort of ſtudents, was choſen fellow of Jeſus-college in Cambridge. And ſo being maſter of arts, and fellow of the ſame college, he married a gentleman's daughter, by which he loſt and gave over his fellowſhip, and became a reader in Buckingham-college; and becauſe he would with more diligence apply himſelf to his office of reading, he placed his ſaid wife in an inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the woman of the houſe being a relation of her's. By reaſon whereof, and his often going to ſee his wife in that inn, he was much noticed by ſome popiſh merchants: on this aroſe the ſlanderous noiſe and report againſt him, after he was preferred to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, raiſed up by the malicious diſdain of certain malignant adverſaries to Chriſt and his truth, reporting abroad every where, that he was but an oſtler, and therefore deficient in all good learning. Of whoſe malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf ſhall hereafter be declared, as place and time ſhall ſerve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter preſent: while Mr. Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham-college, his wife died in child-bed. After whoſe death the maſters and fellows of Jeſus-college, deſirous again of their old companion, namely, for his eminent learning, choſe him again fellow of the ſame college. Where he remaining at his ſtudy, became in a few years after the reader of the divinity lecture in the ſame college, and in ſuch univerſal eſtimation and reputation with the whole univerſity, that when doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the moſt learned men) to examine ſuch as yearly proceed in commencement, either bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whoſe approbation the whole univerſity licenſed them to proceed unto their degree, and again by whoſe non-approbation the univerſity alſo rejected them for a time to proced, until they were better furniſhed with knowledge.

Now, Dr. Cranmer, ever favouring the knowledge of the ſcripture, would never permit any to proceed in divinity, unleſs they were ſubſtantially verſed in the hiſtory of the bible; by means whereof certain friars and other religious perſons, who were principally brought up in the ſtudy of ſchool authors, without regard had to the authority of the ſcriptures, were commonly rejected by him; ſo that he was greatly, for that his ſevere examination, by the religious ſort much hated, and had in great indignation; and yet it came to paſs in the end, that divers of them thus compelled to ſtudy the ſcriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; inſomuch that when they became doctors of divinity, they could not too much extol and commend Dr. Cranmer's goodneſs towards them, who for a time had put them back, to initiate themſelves in better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. Barret, a white friar, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was handled after that manner, giving him no leſs commennation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apiſh and popiſh ſort of ignorant prieſts may well underſtand, that this his exerciſe, kind of life, and vocation, was not altogether oſtler-like.

Well, to proceed; as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obſcure, he was very much ſolicited by Dr. Capon, to be one of the fellows in the foundation of cardinal Wolſey's college in Oxford, which he utterly refuſed, not without danger of indignation. Notwithſtanding he foreſaw that which after happened, to the utter confuſion of many well-affected learned men there, without conſideration (becauſe man's glory was there more ſought for than God's), he ſtood the danger of the ſaid indignation, which turned out more proſperouſly unto him within a few years after than he expected. While he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weighty cauſe of king Henry the Eighth's divorce with the lady Katherine Dowager of Spain, came into queſtion; which being many ways for the ſpace of two or three years amongſt the canoniſts, civilians, and other learned men, diverſly diſputed and debated, it came to paſs that the ſaid Dr. Cranmer, on account of the plague being in Cambridge, reſorted to Waltham-Abbey, to one Mr. Creſſey's houſe there, whoſe wife was a relation of the ſaid Dr. Cranmer. He had two ſons of the ſaid Mr. Creſſey with him at Cambridge as his pupils; he continued at Waltham-Croſs, at the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Creſſey, with the ſaid two children, during the ſummer-time while the plague reigned.

During this ſummer cardinal Campeius and cardinal Wolſey, being in commiſſion from the pope, to hear and determine that great cauſe in controverſy between the king and the queen, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the ſummer-time until the month of Auguſt in hearing the ſaid cauſe in controverſy debated. When Auguſt was come, the ſaid cardinals little minding to proceed to give ſentence, took occaſion to finiſh their commiſſion, and to determine no further therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of eccleſiaſtical matters in harveſt time: which ſudden ſtoppage and giving up of the ſaid commiſſion by both the cardinals, unknown to the king, ſo much enraged him, that he taking it as a mock at the cardinals hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to diſpatch immediately home to Rome cardinal Campeius: and in haſte removed himſelf to Waltham for a night or two, while his houſhold removed to Greenwich: by this means it happened that the harbingers, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, ſecretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, (who were the chief furtherers, preferrers, and defenders on the king's behalf in the ſaid cauſe) to lodge in the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Creſſey, where Dr. Cranmer alſo lodged and reſided. When ſupper-time came, the three doctors met together; Dr. Stephen Gardiner, and Dr. Foxe were very much ſurpriſed at Dr. Cranmer's being there. He declared the cauſe, namely, becauſe the plague was in Cambridge: as they were old acquaintance, the ſecretary and the almoner very well entertained Dr. Cranmer, intending to underſtand his opinion concerning the great buſineſs they had in hand. And as this good occaſion ſerved, while they were at ſupper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the king's cauſe, requeſting him to give his judgment and opinion of what he thought therein.

Whereto Dr. Cranmer anſwered, That he could ſay little to the matter, as he had not ſtudied or looked for it. Notwithſtanding he ſaid, that in his opinion they made more ado in proſecuting the eccleſiaſtical law than needed. It were better, as I think, ſaid Dr. Cranmer, that the queſtion, Whether a man may marry his brother's wiſe, or no? were diſcuſſed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conſcience of the prince might be better ſatisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year by unneceſſary delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unſettled by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the ſcripture will ſoon declare, make open and manifeſt, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the univerſities here, as at Rome, or elſewhere in any foreign nation, the authority whereof will ſoon compel any judge to come to a definitive ſentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might that way have made an end of this matter long ſince. When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two liked well his device, and wiſhed they had proceeded ſo before, and thereupon conceived ſome matter of council to inſtruct the king with, who was then thinking to ſend to Rome again for a new commiſſion.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, recollecting in himſelf how he had been uſed by the cardinals, in thus deferring his cauſe, his mind was very uneaſy, and deſirous to ſee an end of this long and tedious ſuit, he called unto him the two principal managers of his cauſe, namely, Dr. Gardiner, and Dr. Foxe. What now, my maſters, ſaid the king, ſhall we do in this infinite cauſe of mine? I ſee there muſt be a new commiſſion procured from Rome, and when we ſhall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

When the king had declared ſomewhat of his mind herein, Dr. Foxe, the almoner, ſaid to the king, we truſt that there ſhall be better ways deviſed for your majeſty than to ſend any more to Rome in your highneſs's cauſe, which by chance was put into our heads laſt night at Waltham. The king being very deſirous to underſtand his meaning, ſaid, Who hath taken in hand to inſtruct you by a better or more expeditious method of proceeding in our ſaid cauſe? Then ſaid Dr. Foxe, We happened to lodge laſt night at one Mr. Creſſey's houſe in Waltham, your highneſs being there, where we met with an old acquaintance of our's, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your highneſs's cauſe, he thought that the beſt way was, firſt to inſtruct and quiet your majeſty's conſcience by trying your majeſty's queſtion by the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final ſentence. With this report the ſecretary was diſpleaſed with the almoner, becauſe they did not take the glory of this invention to themſelves. And when the ſecretary endeavoured by colourable words to make it appear to the king that it was a project of their own deviſing, the king immediately cried out, Where is this Dr. Cranmer, is he ſtill at Waltham? They anſwered, that they left him there. Then, ſaid the king, I will ſurely ſpeak with him, and therefore let him be ſent for immediately. I perceive (ſaid the king) that that man hath found out the true mode of proceeding. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been a great ſaving of money to me, and extricated me out of much diſquietude.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was ſent for, but having removed from Waltham to Cambridge, was going to ſee his friends in Nottinghamſhire, when the poſt overtook him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that he through their means was thus troubled, and brought thither to be encumbered in a matter which he had not ſtudied, but was intirely unacquainted with: and therefore intreated they would inſtantly go and make his excuſe in ſuch a manner that he might be diſpatched home again, and not be required to come into the king's preſence. They promiſed, and took the matter upon themſelves to do, if by any means they could accompliſh it. But all was in vain; for the more they excuſed Dr. Cranmer's abſence, the king inſiſted to have him brought into his preſence out of hand, ſo that no excuſe ſerving, he was obliged immediately to wait on the king at court, whom the gentle prince benignly received, demanded his name, and ſaid unto him, Were you not at Waltham at ſuch a time, in the company of my ſecretary and my almoner? Dr. Cranmer confeſſing the ſame, the king ſaid again, Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in queſtion after this ſort? repeating the manner and order thereof. That is right true, if it pleaſe your highneſs, quoth Dr. Cranmer. Well, (ſaid the king) I well perceive that you have the right ſenſe of this matter. You muſt underſtand that I have been long troubled in conſcience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the ſame, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Mr. Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheleſs becauſe you are a ſubject, I charge and command you (all your other buſineſs and affairs ſet apart) to take ſome pains to ſee this my cauſe furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, ſo that I may ſhortly underſtand whereunto I may truſt. For this I proteſt before God and the world, that I ſeek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might juſtly be perſuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not againſt the laws of God: for otherwiſe there never was any other cauſe to move me to ſeek any ſuch extremity. Never was there a prince had a more gentle, a more obedient loving companion and wife than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy a woman in all reſpects better, if this doubt had not riſen; aſſuring you that for the ſingular virtues wherewith ſhe is indued, beſides the conſideration of her noble family, I would be right well contented ſtill to remain with her, if ſo be it would ſtand with the will and pleaſure of Almighty God. And thus highly commending her many and amiable qualities, the king further ſaid, I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as in you lieth, that you will for your part forward this matter for the diſcharging of both our conſciences.

Dr. Cranmer unwilling by himſelf to meddle in ſo weighty an affair, beſought the king's highneſs to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the beſt learned men of both his univerſities, Cambridge and Oxford. You ſpeak well, ſaid the king, and I am content therewith. But nevertheleſs, I will have you particularly to write your mind thereon. And ſo calling the earl of Wiltſhire to him, ſaid, I pray you, my lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your houſe at Durham-Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accompliſh my requeſt, and let him want neither books, nor any thing requiſite for his ſtudy. And thus after the king's departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltſhire unto his houſe, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the king's queſtion: adding to the ſame, beſides the authorities of the ſcriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, but alſo his own opinion, which was this, That the biſhop of Rome had no ſuch authority, whereby he might diſpenſe with the word of God and the ſcripture. When Dr. Cranmer had written this book, and committed it unto the king, the king ſaid unto him, Will you ſtand to this that you have here written before the biſhop of Rome? That I will do, by God's grace, quoth Dr. Cranmer, if your majeſty will ſend me thither. Indeed, ſaid the king, I will ſend you unto him in a ſure ambaſſage.

And thus by means of Dr. Cranmer's handling of this matter with the king, not only certain learned men were ſent abroad to the moſt part of the univerſities in Chriſtendom, to diſpute the queſtion, but alſo the ſame being by commiſſion diſputed by the divines in both the univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, That no ſuch matrimony was by the word of God lawful.

Whereupon a ſolemn ambaſſage was then prepared and ſent to the biſhop of Rome, then being at Bonony, wherein went the earl of Wiltſhire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokeſley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

And when the time came that they ſhould come before the biſhop of Rome to declare the cauſe of their ambaſſage, the biſhop ſitting on high in his cloth of ſtate, and in his rich apparel, with his ſandals on his feet, offering, as it were, his foot to be kiſſed by the ambaſſadors; the earl of Wiltſhire diſdaining thereat, ſtood ſtill, and ſhewed no countenance thereunto, ſo that all the reſt kept themſelves from this wicked idolatry.

However, one thing is not to be omitted here, as a prognoſticate of our ſeparation from the ſee of Rome, which then happened through a ſpaniel which belonged to the earl of Wiltſhire. For he having there a great ſpaniel which he brought with him out of England, it ſtood between the earl and the biſhop of Rome. And when the ſaid biſhop, that ſervant of the ſervants of God (as he in great humility ſtiled himſelf), offered his foot to be kiſſed, and while they ſtood ſtill and declined it, the ſaid ſpaniel ſeeing the foot ſhining with gold and jewels, caught hold of it, taking it to be ſome kind of repaſt, and bit it. The pope diſdaining the affront, in haſte pulled in that glorious foot, and kicked the dog with the other, while the Engliſhmen ſmiled in their ſleeves at the omen. The pontifical biſhop, knitting his brows, demanded the cauſe of their embaſſy. Which being declared, the earl of Wiltſhire delivered Cranmer's book to the pope; telling him withal, That there were learned men come along with him from England, who were ready to defend what was contained in that book, by the holy ſcriptures, the councils, and the writings of the orthodox fathers, againſt all who ſhould contradict it.

The pope often promiſed the ambaſſador to appoint a day for the diſputation: but it was a promiſe which he never performed; by affected delays ſpinning out the time, as his cardinals had before done in England. So giving the ambaſſadors moſt honourable and court-like entertainment, and having made Cranmer (whom he either knew or ſuppoſed to be the author of that book concerning the king's marriage with Katharine) his penitentiary in England, Ireland, and Wales; being mighty timorous, and equally afraid of the emperor, the French king, and our's, he durſt not come to any reſolution in a matter of ſuch moment, but diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without determining, or even propoſing any thing about it.

From hence, while the reſt returned home, Cranmer by the king's private order, made the emperor and the princes of Germany in his way. At that time the emperor was engaged in an expedition againſt the Turks, who were engaged in the ſiege of Vienna, the capital of Auſtria. Whom when Cranmer attended, and aſked him in the king's name, which of his domeſtics or others that he knew would contradict him? Cornelius Agrippa was mentioned; a man better verſed in the ſecrets of philoſophy than divinity. But he being eaſily brought over to Cranmer's ſide of the queſtion, did readily join in perſuading the other learned men of the emperor's retinue, not to oppoſe Cranmer; who, he ſaid, had brought the truth along with him. Therefore meeting with no oppoſition, he took his leave of the emperor. From whence taking a tour throughout Germany, he brought home with him to the king the opinions and judgment of the moſt learned men there, as well in the univerſities, as in the courts of princes, all agreeing with his own.

This matter thus proſpering on Dr. Cranmer's behalf, as well touching the king's queſtion, as concerning the invalidity of the pope's authority, biſhop Warham, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, departed this tranſitory life, whereby that dignity then being in the king's gift, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as worthy, for his good ſervices, of ſuch a pomotion. Thus much concerning the preferment of Dr. Cranmer, and by what means he arrived at this dignity: not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means; which thing I more at large diſcourſed, to ſtop the railing mouths of ſuch, who being themſelves obſcure and unlearned, are not aſhamed moſt ſcurrilouſly to attack ſo learned a man with the nickname of oſtler, whom, for his godly zeal to ſincere religion, they ought with humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Now as concerning his behaviour and method of living towards God and the world, being now entered into his ſaid dignity, and foraſmuch as the apoſtle St. Paul writing to two biſhops, Timothy and Titus, ſetteth out unto us a perfect deſcription of a true biſhop, with all the other properties and conditions belonging to the ſame, unto which pattern it is rare in theſe ſtrange days to find the image of any biſhop correſpondent; yet, for example's ſake, let us take this archbiſhop of Canterbury, and try him by the rule thereof, to ſee either how near he cometh to the deſcription of St Paul, or elſe how far off he ſwerveth from the common courſe of others in his time, of his calling. The rule of St. Paul is found, 1 Tim. iii. alſo in his epiſtle to Titus, chap i. in theſe words:

"A biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the miniſter of God, not ſtubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hoſpitality, one that loveth goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort," &c.

Unto this rule and touch-ſtone, to lay now the life and converſation of this archbiſhop, we will firſt begin with that which is thus written.

A Biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the Miniſter of God.

As no man is without ſin, and as every man carrieth about him his peculiar vice or failings; yet nevertheleſs the apoſtle meaneth, that the biſhop and miniſter muſt be faultleſs in compariſon of the common converſation of men in the world, who ſeem to live more licentiouſly at their own liberties and pleaſures, than a biſhop or miniſter ought to do, having ſmall regard to the giving of good example; which a biſhop and miniſter moſt carefully ought to conſider, leſt by his diſſolute life the word of God be ſlandered and evil ſpoken of; to avoid which, and the better to accompliſh this precept of the apoſtle, this worthy man gave himſelf to continual ſtudy, ſtrictly obſerving the order that he in the univerſity commonly uſed, that is, to be by five o'clock in the morning at his book, and ſo continuing in prayer and ſtudy till nine: he then applied himſelf (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner-time to hear ſuiters, and to diſpatch ſuch matters as appertained to his ſpecial cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his houſhold and other foreign buſineſs, to his officers: ſo that ſuch things were never impediments either to his ſtudy, or to his paſtoral charge, which principally conſiſted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in ſetting forth of true and ſincere doctrine. For the moſt part always being in commiſſion, he aſſociated himſelf with learned men for ſifting or bolting ſomething or other for the advantage and profit of the church of England. By means whereof, and what for his private ſtudy, he was never idle; beſides that, he accounted it no idle point to beſtow an hour or two of the day in reading over ſuch works and books as daily came from beyond the ſeas.

After dinner, if any ſuiters were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and diſpatch them in ſuch an obliging manner, that every one admired and commended his lenity and gentleneſs, although the caſe required that ſometimes divers of them were committed by him to priſon. And having no ſuiters after dinner, for an hour, or thereabouts, he would play at cheſs, or behold ſuch as were at play. That done, then again to his ordinary ſtudy, where he commonly ſtood (ſeldom ſat down) till five of the clock, which hour he beſtowed in hearing the Common Prayer. and walking, or uſing ſome innocent recreation till ſupper-time. At ſupper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not ſup), yet he would ſit down at table, having his ordinary proviſion of his meſs furniſhed with expedient company, he wearing his gloves on his hands, becauſe he would, as it were, thereby wean himſelf from eating of meat, but yet entertaining the company with ſuch edifying diſcourſe as did much delight the hearers; ſo that by this means hoſpitality was well furniſhed, and the alms-cheſt well maintained for relief of the poor. After ſupper he would ſpend, at leaſt, one hour in walking, or ſome other harmleſs paſtime, and then again till nine of the clock at his ſtudy: ſo that no hour of the day was ſpent in vain, but the ſame was ſo beſtowed, as tended to the glory of God, the ſervice of the prince, or the advantage of the church. By all which he gained a good report amongſt men, ſo that his converſation, in compariſon with other men, ſeemed to be faultleſs, as the miniſter of God.

That a Biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn.

Sedondly, It is required, "That a biſhop ought not to be ſtubborn." With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbiſhop in no wiſe ought to be charged; whoſe nature was ſuch, as none more gentle, or ſooner won to an honeſt ſuit or purpoſe, eſpecially ſuch things, wherein by his word, writing, counſel, or deed, he might gratify either gentleman or nobleman, or do good to any mean perſon, or elſe relieve the needy and poor. Only in cauſes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more ſtout, more conſtant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earneſt defence in the parliament-houſe above three days together, in diſputing againſt the ſix articles of Gardiner's device, can teſtify. And though the king would needs have them upon ſome politic conſideration to go forward, yet he ſo handled himſelf, as well in the parliament-houſe, as afterwards by writing, ſo obediently, and with ſuch humble behaviour towards his prince, proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the author of all truth, that the king did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the parliament-houſe into the council whilſt the act ſhould paſs and be granted, for ſafeguard of his conſcience; which he with humble proteſtation refuſed, hoping that his majeſty, in proceſs of time, would revoke them again); but alſo after the parliament was finiſhed, the king perceiving the zealous affection that the archbiſhop bare towards the defence of his cauſe, which many ways, by ſcriptures and manifold authorities and reaſons, he had ſubſtantially confirmed and defended, ſent the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the king's pleaſure, that they all ſhould, in his highneſs's behalf, cheriſh, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his trouble in that parliament, had ſhewed himſelf both greatly learned, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe, and therefore they willed him not to be diſcouraged for any thing that was paſſed contrary to his allegations. He moſt humbly thanked the king's majeſty for his great goodneſs towards him, and them for all their pains, ſaying, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities ſhall take place to the glory of God and the advantage of the realm; in the mean time I will ſatisfy myſelf with the honourable conſent of your honours, and the whole parliament.

Here it is to be noted, that this man's ſtout and godly defence of the truth herein ſo bound the prince's conſcience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authority and power; and therefore this way God working in the prince's mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not ſo ſincerely handled in the confirmation of the ſaid ſix articles as they ought to have been, for elſe the prince might have had a juſt cauſe to have borne his great indignation towards the archbiſhop. Let us pray that the like ſtoutneſs may be perceived in all eccleſiaſtical and learned men, where the truth ought to be defended, and alſothe like relenting and flexibility may take place in princes and noblemen, when they ſhall have occaſion offered to manifeſt the ſame, ſo that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by ſelf-will, power, and authority. Now in the end this archbiſhop's conſtancy was ſuch towards God's cauſe, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without reſpect of any worldly treaſure or pleaſure. And as concerning his ſtoutneſs in his prince's cauſe, the contrary reſiſtance of the duke of Northumberland againſt him proved right well his good mind that way; which chanced by reaſon that he would not conſent unto the diſſolving of chantries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better ſerve to furniſh his royal eſtate, than to have ſo great treaſure conſumed in his nonage. Which ſtoutneſs, joined with ſuch ſimplicity, ſurely was thought by divers of the council a thing incredible, eſpecially in ſuch ſort to contend with him, who was ſo accounted in this realm, as few or none would or durſt withſtand him.

So dear to him was the cauſe of God, and of his prince, that for the one he would not keep his conſcience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwiſe (as it is ſaid) his very enemies might eaſily intreat him in any cauſe reaſonable; ſo that he was altogether free from the vice of ſtubbornneſs, and rather culpable of over-much facility and gentleneſs.

Not angry.

Then followeth, Not angry. Surely, if over-much patience may be a vice, this man may ſeem to offend rather on this ſide than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot ſay: for the moſt part ſuch was his mortification that way, that few we ſhall find in whom the ſaying of our Saviour Chriſt ſo much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a man to forgive his enemies, but alſo to pray for them; that leſſon never went out of his memory. It was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deſerts, but only for the ſake of his religion: and yet whoſoever he was that ſought his hindrance, either in goods, eſtimation, and life, or upon conference would ſeem ever ſo ſlenderly to relent and excuſe himſelf, he would both forget the offence, and ever afterwards familiarly entertain the offender: inſomuch that it became a common proverb, "Do unto my lord of Canterbury a diſpleaſure, or a ſhrewd turn, and then you may be ſure to have him your friend whilſt he liveth." Of which his gentle diſpoſition in abſtaining from revenge, amongſt many examples thereof, I ſhall repeat one.

It happened, an ignorant prieſt and parſon in the **north parts**, (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was kinſman to one Cherſey, a grocer in London; being one of thoſe prieſts that uſed more to ſtudy at the alehouſe, than in his chamber) to ſit on a time with his honeſt neighbours at the alehouſe in his own pariſh, where they were talking in the praiſe of my lord Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury: and this prieſt envying his name only for religion's ſake, ſaid to his neighbours, "What make you of him, he was but an oſtler, and hath no more learning than the goſlins that go yonder on the green," with ſuch like ſlanderous and uncomely words. His honeſt neighbours not much liking his irreverent ſpeech, articled againſt him, and ſent their complaint to the lord Cromwel, then vicegerent in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, who ſent for the prieſt, and committed him to the Fleet, intending to have made him recant thoſe ſlanderous words publicly at Paul's Croſs. However the lord Cromwell, having great affairs of the prince then in hand, forgot his priſoner in the Fleet: ſo that the ſaid Cherſey, the grocer, underſtanding that his kinſman was in confinement, only for ſpeaking words againſt my lord of Canterbury, conſulted with the prieſt, and between them deviſed to apply rather to the archbiſhop for his deliverance, than to the lord Cromwel, before whom he was accuſed: well knowing the difference of their tempers, the one gentle and full of clemency, the other ſomewhat more ſevere and rigid, eſpecially againſt a papiſt; ſo that Cherſey took upon him firſt to try my lord of Canterbery's benignity, inaſmuch as his couſin's offence was only againſt him, and none other. Whereupon the ſaid Cherſey came to one of the archbiſhop's gentlemen (whoſe father bought all his ſpices and fruit of the ſaid Cherſey, and ſo thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman), and acquainted him with the trouble his kinſman was in, deſiring him to be a means to my lord his maſter, to hear his ſuit in the behalf of his kinſman.

The matter was moved. The archbiſhop, like a good-natured man, would never ſhew himſelf ſtrange to the meaneſt petitioner: he immediately ſent for the ſaid Cherſey, who appearing before him, declared, that there was a kinſman of his in the Fleet, a prieſt of the north country, and as I may tell your grace the truth (quoth Cherſey) a man of ſmall civility and of leſs learning: and yet he hath a parſonage there, which now (by reaſon that my lord Cromwell hath laid him in priſon) being in his cure, is unſerved, and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no anſwer, and knows not when he ſhall come to any end; ſo that this impriſonment conſumeth his ſubſtance, and will utterly undo him, unleſs your grace be his good lord.

I know not the man, ſaid the archbiſhop, nor what he hath done why he ſhould be thus in trouble.

Said Cherſey again, He only hath offended againſt your grace, and againſt no man elſe, as may well be perceived by the articles objected againſt him; the copy whereof the ſaid Cherſey then exhibited to the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury; who well peruſing the ſaid articles, ſaid, This is the common talk of all the ignorant popiſh prieſts in England againſt me. Surely, ſaid he, I was never made privy to this accuſation, and of his confinement I never heard before this time. Notwithſtanding, if there be nothing elſe to charge him withal againſt the prince or any of the council, I will, at your requeſt, take order with him, and ſend him again to his cure to do his duty; and ſo thereupon ſent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, deſiring him to ſend the priſoner unto him, with his keeper, in the afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the priſoner at the hour appointed, and Cherſey had well inſtructed his couſin in any wiſe to ſubmit to the archbiſhop, confeſſing his fault, whereby that way he ſhould moſt eaſily have an end, and win his favour: the parſon was carried into the garden at Lambeth, and there the archbiſhop ſitting under the vine, demanded of the parſon what was the cauſe of his confinement, and who committed him to the Fleet. The parſon anſwered and ſaid, that the lord Cromwell ſent him thither, for that certain malicious pariſhioners of his pariſh had wrongfully accuſed him of words which he never ſpake nor meant. Cherſey hearing his fooliſh couſin ſo far out of the way from his former inſtruction, ſaid, Thou daſtardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promiſe thou madeſt to me? Are there not a great number of thy honeſt neighbours' hands againſt thee, to prove thee a liar? Surely, my lord, (quoth Cherſey) it is a pity to do him good. I am ſorry I have troubled your grace thus far with him.

Well, ſaid the archbiſhop unto the parſon, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good: for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended againſt me. If my lord Cromwell hath committed you to priſon wrongfully, that lieth in himſelf to amend, and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do ſomewhat for your friend's ſake here. If you have not offended againſt me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came.

Hereupon his kinſman Cherſey made a great ado with him, calling him all kinds of opprobrious names! In the end my lord of Canterbury ſeeming to riſe and go his ways, the prieſt fell on his knees, and ſaid, I beſeech your grace to forgive me this offence, aſſuring your grace that I ſpake thoſe words being drunk and not well adviſed.

Ah, ſaid my lord, this is ſomewhat, and yet it is no good excuſe: for drunkenneſs always uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is ſober, alledging a text or two out of the ſcriptures concerning the vice of drunkenneſs, which cometh not now to remembrance.

Now therefore (ſaid the archbiſhop) that you acknowledge ſomewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this preſent of an indifferent ſobriety. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever ſee me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day?

The prieſt anſwered and ſaid, that he never ſaw his grace in his life. Why then, ſaid the archbiſhop, what occaſion had you to call me an oſtler, and that I had not ſo much learning as the goſlins which then went upon the green before your face? If I have no learning, you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore, I pray you, examine me, either in grammar, or in other liberal ſciences, for I have at one time or other taſted partly of them. Or elſe if you are a divine, ſay ſomewhat that way.

The prieſt being amazed at my lord's familiar talk, anſwered and ſaid, I beſeech your grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and underſtand not the Latin tongue, but very ſimply. My only ſtudy hath been to ſay my ſervice and maſs, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any prieſt in the county where I dwell, I thank God.

Well, ſaid my lord, if you will not examine me, I will make bold to try you, and yet as eaſily as I can deviſe, and that only in the ſtory of the Bible now in Engliſh, in which I ſuppoſe you are daily exerciſed. Tell me therefore who was king David's father, ſaid my lord. The prieſt ſtood ſtill pauſing a while, and ſaid, In good faith, my lord, I have forgotten his name. Then ſaid my lord again to him, If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's father? The fooliſh prieſt, without all conſideration of what was demanded of him before, made anſwer, Good my lord, bear with me, I am no further ſeen in the Bible, than is daily read in our ſervice in the church.

Then the archbiſhop ſaid, This my queſtion may be found well anſwered in your ſervice. But I now well perceive, howſoever you have judged heretofore of my learning, ſure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and ſuperſtitious prieſts, to ſlander, back-bite, and hate all ſuch as are learned and well affected towards God's word and ſincere religion. Common reaſon might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reaſon, that a prince having two univerſities within his realm of well learned men, and deſirous to be reſolved of as doubtful a queſtion as in theſe many years the like was not moved within Chriſtendom, ſhould be driven to that neceſſity for the defence of his cauſe to ſend out of his realm an oſtler, being a man of no better knowledge than a goſlin, in an embaſſy to anſwer all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperor's court, in ſo difficult a queſtion as touching the king's matrimoy, and the divorce thereof. I ſay, if you were men of any reaſonable conſideration, you might think it both unſeemly and uncomely for a prinee ſo to do. But look, where malice reigneth in man, there reaſon can take no place: and therefore I ſee by it, that you all are at a point, that no reaſon or authority can perſuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but both your advantage and profit Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and ſend you better minds.

With theſe words the prieſt ſeemed to weep, and deſired his grace to pardon his fault and frailty, ſo that by this means he might return to his cure again, and he would certainly recant thoſe fooliſh words before his pariſhioners, as ſoon as he came home, and would become a new man. Well, ſaid the archbiſhop, ſo had you need: and giving him a godly admonition to forbear haunting the alehouſe, and to beſtow his time better in the continual reading the ſcriptures, he diſmiſſed him from the Fleet.

The lord Cromwell, perceiving within a fortnight after that his priſoner was ſent home without any open puniſhment, came to Lambeth to the archbiſhop, and, in a great heat, ſaid to him, My lord, I underſtand that you have diſpatched the northern prieſt home again, that I of late ſent to the Fleet for railing againſt you, and calling you an oſtler.

Indeed I have done ſo, ſaid the archbiſhop, for that in his abſence the people of his cure wanted their divine ſervice. It is very devout divine ſervice that he ſaith, quoth the lord Cromwell: it were more meet for him to be an oſtler than a curate, who ſticked not to call you an oſtler. But I thought ſo much what you would do; and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I ſent him to priſon. Howbeit, henceforth, they ſhall cut your throat before that I ſay any thing more to them on your behalf. Why, what would you have done with him? quoth the archbiſhop; there was nothing laid to his charge, other than words ſpoken againſt me, and now the man hath repented, and is well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in priſon: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, ſaid my lord Cromwell, I meant that he ſhould have preached a recantation at Paul's croſs, before he had gone home. That had been well done, quoth the archbiſhop, for then you would have all the world to wonder at me as well as at him. Well, well, ſaid lord Cromwell, we ſhall bear ſo long with theſe popiſh knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondered at of all the world.

This example among others ſerveth to declare, that there remained ſmall deſire of revenge in the ſaid archbiſhop. But what ſhould I ſay more? His quietneſs and mortification this way was ſuch, that it is reported by all that knew him, that he never raged ſo far with any of his houſhold ſervants as once to call the meaneſt of them varlet or knave in anger, much leſs to reprove a ſtranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike, in this part to the property (as it ſeemeth), of ſome other inferior biſhops of this realm, which have not ſpared to fly in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and ſcourge with rods the bodies of gentlemen, both married men and others, having almoſt nothing elſe in their mouths, but fools and knaves, &c. and yet after all this, think themſelves good perfect biſhops, after the rule which followeth, and ſaith,

No Striker, no Fighter.

From which kind of vice, the nature of this archbiſhop was ſo far off, as was his doctrine which he profeſſed, and death which he ſuffered, far from all condition and example of blind popery. After the prohibition of theſe foreſaid vices, ſucceedeth the mother of all good virtues neceſſarily required of all chriſtians, but chiefly of a ſpiritual prelate; which is,

Not given to filthy Lucre.

The contrary whereof was ſo odious unto St. Paul, that he eſteemed the ſame no leſs than a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God ſo far, and inſtead of him to worſhip their treaſure. How little this prelate we ſpeak of was infected by this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him, as well learned beyond the ſeas and on this ſide, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition great ſums of money, as others, both gentlemen, mean men, and poor men, who had in their neceſſity that which he could conveniently ſpare, lend, or make, can well teſtify. And albeit ſuch was his liberality to all ſorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet, nevertheleſs, ſuch was again his circumſpection, that when he was apprehended and committed to the Tower by queen Mary, he owed no man living a penny, that could or would demand any of him, but ſatisfied every man to the uttermoſt; whereas ſeveral ſums were owing him by divers perſons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave them, and ſuppreſſed before his attainder.

A Lover of Hoſpitality.

Touching his hoſpitality, ſo little was this property lacking in him, that ſome men diſliking the ſame, thought it rather a houſe of too much laviſhing and unprofitable expence. But as nothing can be ſo well done, which by others ſhall not be maligned and detracted; ſo neither did this man want his accuſers, ſome finding fault with his great prodigality, ſome on the contrary complaining of his ſcanty houſe-keeping, and ſtrict order, much beneath his revenues and calling. It ſhould be conſidered, the time wherein he ſerved; which was when reformation of religion firſt began to be advanced. Then the whole weight and care of the ſame chiefly depended upon him. During which ſeaſon almoſt for the ſpace of ſixteen years together, he entertained a number both of learned men and commiſſioners, from time to time appointed for deciding eccleſiaſtical affairs.

For the relief of the poor, impotent, ſick, and ſuch as came from the wars at Bullen, and other parts beyond the ſeas, he provided, beſides his manſion-houſe at Beckiſborn, in Kent, the parſonage barn well furniſhed with certain lodgings for the ſick and wounded ſoldiers. To whom were alſo appointed the almoner, a phyſician, and a ſurgeon to attend upon them, and to dreſs and cure ſuch as were not able to go home to their own countries, having daily from the biſhop's kitchen hot broth and meat; for otherwiſe the common alms of the houſhold was beſtowed upon the poor neighbours of the ſhire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient money to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place diſtant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here fit not in ſilence to be ſuppreſſed, whereby others may be moved, according to their vocation, to walk in the ſteps of no leſs liberality, than in him in this behalf appeared.

One that loveth Goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.

As concerning theſe qualities, the buſineſs of his life before joined with his benign and gentle diſpoſition, do teſtify that he could not be void of theſe virtues reigning in him, which was ſo abundantly adorned with the other, as we have before declared.

To cleave faſt unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholeſome Learning, and to reprove them that ſay againſt it.

Then concludeth St. Paul with the moſt excellent virtue of all others to be wiſhed in a prelate of the church. For if he be void of theſe gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, neither ſhall he deſerve the name of a biſhop, if either for dread or reward, affection or favour, he ſwerve from the truth. The conſtancy of this worthy archbiſhop never ſhrunk from any ſtorm; but was ſo many ways tried, that neither the fear nor favour of his prince, nor any other reſpect could alienate or change his purpoſe, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the goſpel.

At the time of ſetting forth the ſix articles, this archbiſhop was the man, and the only man that oppoſed them, and diſputed with the whole parliament three days together againſt them. Inſomuch that the king, who could not miſlike his reaſons, and yet would needs have the articles paſs, required him to abſent himſelf for a time out of the chamber while the act ſhould paſs, and ſo he did; and ſoon after the king ſent all the lords to Lambeth to comfort and chear up his heart, that he might not be diſcouraged.

After the apprehenſion of the lord Cromwell, the adverſaries of the goſpel thought all things ſure on their own ſide, and appointed ten or twelve biſhops, and other learned men, to come to the archbiſhop of Canterbury for the eſtabliſhing of certain articles, which the papiſts then thought to enforce againſt the ſaid archbiſhop, who ſtood alone againſt them all in defence of the truth; conſequently certain of the council, by the enticement and provocation of his old enemy the biſhop of Wincheſter, and others of the ſame ſect, attempted the king againſt him, declaring plainly, that the realm was ſo infected with hereſies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highneſs farther to permit it unreformed, leſt peradventure by long ſuffering, ſuch contention ſhould ariſe, as might incur horrible commotions and uproars, as was the caſe in ſome parts of Germany not long ago. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any ſo much as to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains, had filled the realm with divers and pernicious hereſies. The king would needs know his accuſers. They anſwered, foraſmuch as he was a counſellor no man durſt take upon him to accuſe him: but if it would pleaſe his highneſs to commit him to the tower for a time, there would be accuſations and proofs enough againſt him: for otherwiſe, juſt teſtimony and witneſs againſt him would not appear, and therefore your highneſs (ſaid they) muſt needs give us the counſel, liberty and leave to commit him to priſon.

The king perceiving the importunate ſuit againſt the archbiſhop, (but yet meaning not to have him wronged and utterly given over into their hands) granted unto them that they ſhould the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came the king ſent ſir Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbiſhop, willing him forthwith to reſort unto him at the court. The meſſage done, the archbiſhop ſpeedily addreſſed himſelf at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked and tarried for him, his highneſs ſaid, Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news. For divers weighty conſiderations it is determined by me and the council, that you to-morrow, by nine of the clock, ſhould be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby ſown within the realm, ſuch a number of execrable hereſies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no ſmall contentions and commotions will ariſe thereby among my ſubjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the council have requeſted me, for the trial of the matter, to ſuffer them to commit you to the Tower, or elſe no man dare come forth, as witneſs in theſe matters, you being a counſellor.

When the king had ſpoke his mind, the archbiſhop kneeled down, and ſaid, I am content, if it pleaſe your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your highneſs's commandment, and I moſt humbly thank your majeſty that I may come to my trial; for there be thoſe that have many ways ſlandered me, and now by this way I hope to clear myſelf of ſuch report.

The king perceiving the man's uprightneſs, joined with ſuch ſimplicity, ſaid, O Lord! what manner of man be you! what ſimplicity is in you! I thought that you would rather have ſued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accuſers together for your trial, without any ſuch impriſonment. Do you not know what ſtate you be in with the whole world, and how many enemies you have? Yet notwithſtanding, to-morrow when the council ſhall ſit, and ſend for you, reſort unto them, and if, in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, (becauſe you are one of them, a counſellor) that you may have your accuſers brought before them without any further confinement, and uſe for yourſelf as good arguments that way as you may deviſe; and if no intreaty or reaſonable requeſt will ſerve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbiſhop), and ſay unto them, If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I muſt needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cauſe from you, and appeal to the king's own perſon, by this his token unto you all; for (ſaid the king to the archbiſhop) as ſoon as they ſhall ſee this my ring, they will know it ſo well, that they ſhall underſtand that I have reſumed the whole cauſe into mine own hands and determination, and that I have diſcharged them thereof.

The archbiſhop perceiving the king's benignity ſo much towards him, had much ado to forbear tears, and humbling himſelf with thanks, took his leave of his majeſty for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council ſent a gentleman-uſher for the archbiſhop, who, when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in, but was compelled there to wait among the pages, lacquies, and ſerving men. Dr. Butts, the king's phyſician, reſorting that way, and ſeeing how my lord of Canterbury was uſed, went immediately to the king's highneſs, and ſaid, May it pleaſe your grace, my lord of Canterbury is well promoted: for he is now become a footman: yonder he hath ſtood this half hour at the council-chamber door amongſt them. Sure it is not ſo! (quoth the king) the council hath not ſo little diſcretion as to uſe the metropolitan of all the realm in that manner, eſpecially being one of their own number. But let him alone (ſaid the king), you ſhall hear more by and by.

At laſt the archbiſhop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alledged, as before is rehearſed. The archbiſhop anſwered as the king had before adviſed him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of perſuaſion or intreaty could ſerve, he delivered the king's ring, revoking his cauſe into the king's hands. At this the whole council were much amazed; they all aroſe, and carried the king his ring, ſurrendering the matter, as the order and cuſtom was, into his own hands.

Now when the king's highneſs had thus benignly and mercifully diſpatched the ſaid archbiſhop from this ſore accuſation by the council laid againſt him, all wiſe men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter againſt him: but yet look where malice reigneth, there neither reaſon nor honeſty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and diſpleaſure againſt him, ceaſed not to perſecute him by all poſſible means. Then brought they againſt him a new kind of accuſation, and cauſed ſir John Goſtwike, knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuſe the archbiſhop openly in the parliament-houſe, laying to his charge his ſermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein ſhould be contained manifeſt hereſies againſt the ſacrament of the altar, &c.

After further vain attempts, his enemies deviſed that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but alſo the moſt famous juſtices of the peace in the ſhire ſhould accuſe him and article againſt him; which in very deed was moſt ſubſtantially brought to paſs, and the articles both well written and ſubſcribed, were delivered to the king's highneſs, who, when he had peruſed the book, wrapt it up, and put it in his ſleeve; and finding occaſion to ſolace himſelf upon the Thames, came with his barge, furniſhed with his muſicians, along by Lambeth-bridge towards Chelſea. The noiſe of the muſicians brought the archbiſhop to the bridge to do his duty, and ſalute his prince. Ah, my chaplain (ſaid the king to the archbiſhop), come into the barge to me. The archbiſhop told his highneſs that he would take his own barge, and wait on his majeſty. No, ſaid the king, you muſt come into my barge, for I want to talk with you.

When the king and the archbiſhop were both together alone in the barge, the king ſaid to the archbiſhop, I have news out of Kent for you, my lord. The arch-biſhop anſwered, Good, I hope, if it pleaſe your highneſs. Marry, quoth the king, it is ſo good that I now know the greateſt heretic in Kent, and with that pulled the book of articles out of his ſleeve againſt both the archbiſhop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, deſiring him to peruſe the ſame. When the archbiſhop had read the articles, and ſaw himſelf ſo uncourteouſly handled of his own church whereof he was head, I mean the prebendaries of his cathedral, and of ſuch his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, I mean the juſtices of the peace, it much grieved him. Notwithſtanding he kneeled down to the king, and beſought his majeſty to grant out a commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed his highneſs, for them to try out the truth of this accuſation. In very deed, ſaid the king, I do mean ſo to do, and you yourſelf ſhall be chief commiſſioner, to adjoin to you ſuch two or three more as you ſhall think good yourſelf. Then it will be thought, quoth the archbiſhop, that it is not fair and impartial that I ſhould be my own judge and my chaplains alſo. Well, ſaid the king, I will have none other but yourſelf, and ſuch as you will appoint: for I am ſure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuſe yourſelf, and I know partly how this affair proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wiſely, you ſhall find a pretty conſpiracy deviſed againſt you. Whom will you have with you, ſaid the king? Whomſoever it ſhall pleaſe your grace to name, quoth the archbiſhop. I will appoint Dr. Belhouſe fot one, name you the other, ſaid the king, meet for that purpoſe. My chancellor, Dr. Cox, and Huſſey, my regiſter, ſaid the archbiſhop, are men expert to examine ſuch troubleſome matters. Well, ſaid the king, let there be a commiſſion made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertiſe me of your doings.

They came into Kent, and there they ſat about three weeks to find out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation, for thereof the king would chiefly be informed. Now the inquiſition being begun by the commiſſioners, every man ſhrunk in his horns, and no man would confeſs any thing to the purpoſe. For Dr. Cox and Huſſey, being friendly to the papiſts, handled the matter ſo, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by the archbiſhop's ſecretary, he wrote immediately to Dr. Buts and Mr. Deny, declaring, that if the king did not ſend ſome other to aſſiſt my lord, than thoſe that then were there with him, it were impoſſible that any thing ſhould come to light: and therefore wiſhed that Dr. Lee, or ſome other ſpirited man that had been exerciſed in the king's eccleſiaſtical affairs in his viſitations, might be ſent to the archbiſhop. Upon theſe letters, Dr. Lee was ſent for to court by the king, and having the king's mind farther declared unto him when he came to court, he departed immediately into Kent, ſo that on All-hallow-eve he delivered to the archbiſhop the king's ring, with a declaration of his highneſs's farther diſpleaſure: and after his meſſage was delivered, he adviſed the archbiſhop to name him a dozen or ſixteen of his officers and gentlemen, ſuch as had both diſcretion, wit, and penetration, to whom he gave in commiſſion from the king, to ſearch both the purſes, cheſts, and chambers of all thoſe that were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and ſuch letters and writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbiſhop and him.

Theſe men thus appointed, went in one hour and inſtant to all the houſes and places they were appointed to; and within four hours afterwards the whole conſpiracy was diſcloſed by finding of letters, ſome from the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from Dr. London, at Oxford, and from juſtices of the ſhire, with others; ſo that the firſt beginning, the proceeding, and what ſhould have been the end of their conſpiracy, was now made manifeſt. Certain chambers and cheſts of gentlemen of the ſhire were alſo ſearched, where likewiſe letters were found tending to this purpoſe. Amongſt others, two letters came to my lord's hands, the one wrote by the ſuffragan of Dover, and the other by Dr. Barber, a civilian, whom the archbiſhop continually retained in his houſe for the expedition of matters in ſuit before him, as a counſellor in the law, when need required. Theſe two men being well promoted by the archbiſhop, he uſed ever in ſuch familiarity, that when the ſuffragan, being prebendary of Canterbury, came to him, be always had him at his own meſs, and the other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, in any caſe of care and penſiveneſs. But that which they did was altogether counterfeit, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my lord had gotten theſe their letters into his hands, he one day, when the ſuffragan happened to come to him at his houſe at Bekiſburn, called him into his ſtudy along with Dr. Barber, ſaying, Come your ways with me, for I muſt have your advice in a matter. When they were both with him in his ſtudy, he ſaid to them, You two are men in whom I have had much confidence and truſt; you muſt now give me ſome good counſel, for I am ſhamefully abuſed by one or two, to whom I have truſted all my ſecrets from time to time, and did truſt them as myſelf. I require you, therefore, with your good advice to inſtruct me how I ſhall behave myſelf towards them. You are both my friends, and ſuch as I have always uſed when I needed counſel. What ſay you to the matter? ſaid the archbiſhop.

Marry, quoth Dr. Barber, ſuch villains and knaves (ſaving your honour) are not worthy to live, but ought to be hanged out of hand without any other law. Hanging were too good, quoth the ſuffragan; and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myſelf.

At theſe words, the archbiſhop, being aſtoniſhed, caſt up his hands to heaven, and ſaid, O Lord moſt merciful God, whom may a man truſt now-a-days! It is moſt true which is ſaid, "Curſed is he who putteth his truſt in man, and in his own ſtrength." There was never man uſed as I am: but, O Lord, thou haſt evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and maſter (meaning the king) without whoſe protection I were not able to ſtand upright one day without being overthrown, I praiſe thy holy name therefore: and with that he pulled out of his boſom their two letters, and ſaid, Know ye theſe letters, my maſters? Then they fell upon their knees, and deſired forgiveneſs, declaring, how they a year before were tempted to do the ſame; and ſo, very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, beſought his grace to pardon and forgive them. Well, ſaid the gentle archbiſhop, God make you both good men; I never deſerved this at your hands: but aſk God forgiveneſs, againſt whom you have highly offended. If ſuch men as you are not to be truſted, what ſhould I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or truſt amongſt men.

Now, when all theſe letters and accuſations were found, they were put into a cheſt, the king's majeſty minding to have peruſed ſome of them, and to have puniſhed the principals of them. The cheſt and writings were brought to Lambeth; at which time began the parliament; and much ado there was to procure the king a ſubſidy, that thereupon might enſue a pardon, which indeed followed, and ſo nothing was done, other than their falſhood known. This was the laſt puſh that was attempted againſt the archbiſhop during king Henry the Eighth's days; for never after durſt any man alledge any matter againſt him while he lived.

Other endeavours were alſo uſed to inflame the king's mind againſt preachers in Kent, eſpecially againſt Richard Turner, of Chatham, who was curate to Mr. Morrice, the archbiſhop's ſecretary; the ſaid Mr. Morrice wrote a letter of apology concerning him to Sir William Buts and Sir Anthony Deny, to be ſhewed unto the king. In this letter are ſet forth Mr. Turner's aſſiduity in accuſing the biſhop of Rome's uſurped power and authority on one hand, and advancing the king's majeſty's ſupremacy on the other: by which he had procured the hatred of all thoſe who were inimical to the latter, and by ſecret and open means cauſed him and other preachers to be hardly dealt with, and bribes and other artifices were not neglected to prejudice the magiſtracy of the county and other perſons of note againſt him. But he defended himſelf before the commiſſioners at Lambeth with ſuch honeſty and zeal, that he was diſcharged freely, and without any impoſitions or reſtraint: which was highly diſpleaſing to the popiſh clergy, who forged a malicious tale of his pompous return, with a retinue of 500 perſons, who had collected on the road to welcome him home, which they cauſed to be reported to the king.

On his being again ſent for by the archbiſhop, at the king's command, who deſired that he might be whipped out of the country, Mr. Morrice then ſtates the malicious report, and Mr. Turner's returning privately from London, to avoid uproar and commotion, faint and weary from travelling on foot through the woods; and the archbiſhop again pacified the king's reſentment, and Turner again, without the ſmalleſt blemiſh of character, returned to his cure. Twice delivered from the hands of his enemies, they deſpaired of ſucceſs in Kent; and now deviſed means of accuſation before he came into Canterbury dioceſe, on which he was again ſeized and bound, brought up to London, and for ſome time impriſoned, but was at laſt ordered into Kent to the archbiſhop to recant his former doctrines. And then follows an appeal to the king's clemency, not to ſuffer a man to be thus daily inſulted for maintaining his majeſty's ſupremacy, by thoſe malicious papiſts who deny it; that it now remained with the king to releaſe him from priſon, the archbiſhop having releaſed him ſo often already, beſides having been accuſed to the king of maintaining and ſupporting all the heretics in the realm.

It then proceeds to ſtate that if the king ſhould not diſcharge Turner of recantation, on account of his teaching the ſupremacy, the very act of requiring it would be in effect a dereliction of that authority, which was ſanctioned by parliament. And in the next place that he had been indicted for offending againſt the ſix articles, ſeven or eight months before, by perſons who were abſent at the very time, and could know nothing of the charges exhibited againſt him. Finally, that they would uſe their influence with his majeſty for Mr. Turner's releaſe, as a matter of importance for the maintenance of the king's ſupremacy, for which he was a moſt zealous advocate, which at this criſis was of the greateſt magnitude.

Dr. Buts, who was a friend to Mr. Turner's principles, had ſoon an opportunity of bringing forward this letter for the king's notice; by whoſe order it was twice deliberately read, on which the king gave orders for his being retained within the kingdom as a faithful ſubject, and the enemies of this worthy man were once more diſappointed.

As for Dr. Cranmer, he conſtantly experienced the king's protection, by which he defeated the conſpiracies of his enemies; though it ſeems doubtful, whether he had then ſo thoroughly perſuaded himſelf in the right knowledge of the ſacrament, as he was ſoon after his conference with biſhop Ridley. In king Edward's time he more openly oppoſed the doctrines of trrnſubſtantiation and the corporal preſence, and all the other papiſtical doctrines of the maſs; and in concluſion wrote five books for the public inſtruction of the church of England, which inſtruction to this day ſtandeth, and is received in the church. He had ſome controverſy with biſhop Gardiner, who was then in the Tower: to whoſe cavilling ſophiſtry he replied openly, and was followed on the ſame ſide by Peter Martyr.

Afterward, this king Edward, a prince of moſt worthy qualifications, falling ſick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful diſeaſe would not ſuffer him to live longer, and knowing that his ſiſter Mary was wholly wedded to the popiſh religion, bequeathed the ſucceſſion of this realm to the lady Jane (a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to king Henry the Eighth by his ſiſter) by conſent of the council and lawyers of the realm. To this teſtament of the king's, when all the nobles of the realm, eſtates, and judges had ſubſcribed, they ſent for the archbiſhop, and required him that he alſo would ſubſcribe. But he excuſing himſelf in this manner, ſaid, That it was otherwiſe in the teſtament of king Henry his father, and that he had ſworn to the ſucceſſion of Mary, as then the next heir; by which oath he was ſo bound, that without maniſeſt perjury he could not go from it.

The council anſwered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conſcience as well as he; and moreover, that they were ſworn to that teſtament, and therefore he ſhould not think there was any danger therein, or that he ſhould be in more peril of perjury than the reſt.

To this the archbiſhop anſwered, that he was judge of no man's conſcience but his own: and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, ſo he would not commit his conſcience unto other men's facts, or caſt himſelf into danger, ſeeing that every man ſhould give account of his own conſcience, and not of other men's. And as concerning the ſubſcription, before he had ſpoken with the king himſelf, he utterly refuſed to do it.

The king therefore being demanded of the archbiſhop concerning this matter, ſaid, that the nobles and lawyers of this realm counſelled him unto it, and perſuaded him that the bond of the firſt teſtament could nothing hinder, but that this lady Jane might ſucceed him as heir, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen. Who then demanding leave of the king that he might firſt talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed that by law of the realm it might be ſo, returning to the king, with much ado he ſubſcribed.

Well, not long after this king Edward died, being almoſt ſixteen years old, to the great ſorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. After whoſe deceaſe, immediately it was commanded that the lady Jane (who was unwilling thereunto) ſhould be proclaimed queen. Which thing the common people much diſliked, not that they did ſo much favour the lady Mary, before whom they ſaw the lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived againſt ſome whom they could not favour.

Beſides this, there happened alſo other cauſes of diſcord between the nobles and common [illegible] time: for what injuries of commons and inclo[illegible]ngfully held, with other inordinate pollings a[illegible]charitable dealings between the landlords and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that the lady Mary hearing of the death of her brother, and ſhifting for herſelf, was ſo aſſiſted by the commons, that ſhe ſoon prevailed. Who being eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the realm, not long after came to London: and after ſhe had firſt cauſed the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland, and the duke of Suffolk, to be beheaded (as has been already related,) ſhe likewiſe cauſed the lady Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent of this crime, after ſhe could by no means be turned from the conſtancy of her faith, together with her huſband, to be beheaded.

The reſt of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbiſhop of Canterbury only excepted: who though he deſired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none: inſomuch that the queen would not once vouchſafe to ſee him. For as yet the old grudge againſt the archbiſhop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Beſides this divorce, ſhe remembered the ſtate of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbiſhop as the cauſe thereof.

While theſe things were doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbiſhop, to gain favour with the queen, had promiſed to ſay a dirge maſs after the old cuſtom, for the funeral of king Edward, her brother. Neither wanted there ſome who reported that he had already ſaid maſs at Canterbury; which maſs indeed was ſaid by Dr. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking ſpeedily to ſtop, gave forth a writing of his purgation: the tenor whereof being before expreſſed, I need not here again recite.

This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Mr. Story, then biſhop of Rocheſter, who after he had read and peruſed the ſame, required the archbiſhop to have a copy of the bill. The archbiſhop granting the ſame, and by Mr. Story's lending it to another friend, there were divers copies taken, and the thing publiſhed abroad among the common people, inſomuch that almoſt every ſcrivener's ſhop was occupied in copying out the ſame: and ſo at length ſome of theſe copies coming to the biſhop's hands, and ſo brought to the council, and they ſending it to the commiſſioners, the matter was known, and ſo he commanded to appear.

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer appeared at the day prefixed, before the ſaid commiſſioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a biſhop of the queen's privy council, being one of the ſaid commiſſioners, after the inventory was received, made mention of the bill; My lord, ſaid he, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you ſeem to be aggrieved with ſetting up the maſs again; we doubt not but you are ſorry that it is gone abroad.

To whom the archbiſhop anſwered, As I do not deny myſelf to be the author of that bill or letter, ſo muſt I confeſs here unto you, concerning the ſame bill, that I am ſorry that the ſaid bill went from me in ſuch ſort as it did. For when I had written it, Mr. Story got the copy from me, and it is now come abroad, and as I underſtand, the city is full of it. For which I am ſorry that it ſo paſſed my hands: for I intended otherwiſe to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have ſet it on St. Paul's-church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own ſeal joined thereunto.

At which words, when they ſaw the conſtancy of the man, they diſmiſſed him, affirming they had no more at preſent to ſay unto him, but that ſhortly he ſhould hear farther. The ſaid biſhop declared afterwards to one of Dr. Cranmer's friends, that notwithſtanding his attainder of treaſon, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer ſhould only have been deprived of his archbiſhopric, and have had a ſufficient living aſſigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his houſe without meddling in matters of religion. But how true that was I have not to ſay. This is certain, that not long after this, he was ſent to the Tower, and ſoon after condemned for treaſon. Notwithſtanding the queen, when ſhe could not honeſtly deny him his pardon, ſeeing all the reſt were diſcharged, and eſpecially, ſeeing he laſt (of all others) ſubſcribed to king's Edward's requeſt, and that againſt his own will, releaſed to him his action of treaſon, and accuſed him only of hereſy, which the archbiſhop liked well, and came to paſs as he wiſhed, becauſe the cauſe was not his own, but Chriſt's; not the queen's, but the church's. Thus ſtood the cauſe of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he ſhould be removed from the Tower where he was priſoner, to Oxford, there to diſpute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was ſent before to them of Oxford to prepare themſelves, and make them ready to diſpute. And although the queen and the biſhops had concluded before what ſhould become of him, yet it pleaſed them that the matter ſhould be debated with arguments, that under ſome honeſt ſhew of diſputation the murder of the man might be covered. Neither could their haſty ſpeed of revenge abide any long delay; and therefore in all haſte he was carried to Oxford.

What this diſputation was, and how it was handled, what were the queſtions and reaſons on both ſides, and alſo touching his condemnation by the univerſity and the prolocutor, becauſe it hath been ſufficiently declared, we intend now therefore to proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the 12th day of September, 1555, and ſeven days before the condemnation of biſhop Ridley and Mr. Latimer, as is beforementioned. The ſtory whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who being both preſent thereat, and alſo a devout favourer of the ſee and faction of Rome, can lack no credit (I think) with ſuch who ſeek what they can to diſcredit whatſoever maketh not with their fancied religion of Rome.

After the diſputations done and finiſhed in Oxford between the doctors of both univerſities, and the three worthy biſhops, Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, ye heard then how ſentence condemnatory, immediately upon the ſame, was adminiſtered againſt them by Dr. Weſton and others of the univerſity; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and ſo committed to the mayor and ſheriffs of Oxford. But foraſmuch as the ſentence given againſt them was void in law, (for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land) therefore a new commiſſion was ſent from Rome, and a new proceſs framed for the conviction of theſe reverend and godly learned men aforeſaid. In which commiſſion, firſt was Dr. James Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, the pope's ſub-delegate, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, commiſſioners in the king and queen's behalf for the execution of the ſame.

Here is to be underſtood, that at the coming down of the aforeſaid commiſſioners, which was upon Thurſday the 12th of September, 1555, in the church of St. Mary, and in the eaſt end of the ſaid church, at the high altar, was erected a ſolemn ſcaffold for biſhop Brooks aforeſaid, repreſenting the pope's perſon, ten feet high. The ſeat was made that he might ſit under the ſacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him ſat Dr. Martin, and on the left hand ſat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commiſſioners, who were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, ſcribes and phariſees alſo, with the pope's collector, and a number of ſuch others.

And thus theſe biſhops being placed in their pontificals, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himſelf. He came forth of the priſon to the church of St. Mary, ſet forth with bills and ſpears for fear he ſhould ſtart away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both ſhoulders, ſuch as doctors of divinity uſed to wear in the univerſity. Who, after he came into the church, and did ſee them ſit in their pontificals, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but ſtood ſtill till he was called.

Then one of the proctors for the pope, called Thomas archbiſhop of Canterbury, appear here and make anſwer to what ſhall be laid to thy charge; that is to ſay, for blaſphemy, incontinence, and hereſy; and make anſwer here to the biſhop of Glouceſter, repreſenting the pope's perſon.

Upon this he being brought nearer unto the ſcaffold, where the aforeſaid biſhop ſat, he firſt well viewed the place of judgment, and eſpying where the king and queen's majeſties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he firſt humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other. That done, beholding the biſhop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the biſhop being offended, ſaid unto him, that it might beſeem him right well, weighing the authority he repreſented, to do his duty unto him.

Dr. Cranmer anſwered, That he had once taken a ſolemn oath, never to conſent to the admitting of the biſhop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it adviſedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by ſign or token, which might argue his conſent to the receiving of the ſame; and ſo he deſired the ſaid biſhop to judge of him, and that he did it not for any contempt to his perſon, which he could willingly have honoured as well as any of the others, if his commiſſion had come from as good an authority as their's. This he anſwered both modeſtly, wiſely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that repreſented the pope's perſon.

The Oration *of* Dr. BROOKS, Biſhop *of* Glouceſter, *unto* Dr. CRANMER, Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *in the Church of* St. Mary, *at* Oxford, *March* 12, 1556.

MY lord, at this preſent we are come to you as commiſſioners, and for you, not intruding ourſelves by our own authority, but ſent by commiſſion, partly from the pope's holineſs, partly from the king and queen's moſt excellent majeſties, not to your utter diſcomfort, but to your comfort if you will yourſelf. We come, not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and may be. Neither come we to diſpute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you.

40.

And firſt, as charity doth move us, I would think good ſomewhat to exhort you, and that by the ſecond chapter of St. John in the Revelations, "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the firſt works, or if not,"——and you know what followeth. Remember yourſelf from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the univerſal and catholic church of Chriſt, from the very true and received faith of all Chriſtendom, and that by open hereſy. You have fallen from your promiſe to God, from your fidelity and allegiance, and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have fallen from your ſovereign prince and queen by open treaſon. Remember therefore from whence you are fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be ſeen. Wherefore, when I ſay, Remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind, not only of your fall, but alſo of the ſtate you were in before your fall. You were ſome time, as I and other poor men, in a mean eſtate; God I take to witneſs, I ſpeak it to no reproach or abaſement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to an high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better, and never gave you over, till he had appointed you an ambaſſador, metropolitan of all England, and paſtor of his own flock: ſuch great truſt did he put you in, in his church; what could he do more? for even as he ordained Moſes to be a ruler over his church of Iſrael, and gave him full authority of the ſame; ſo did he make you over his church of England. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to have more conſcience of a vow-making, and obſerving the order of the church, more earneſt in the defence of the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar than you were? and then all things proſpered with you; your prince favoured you; yea, God himſelf favoured you, your candleſtick was ſet up in the higheſt place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church. I would God it had ſo continued ſtill.

But after you began to fall by ſchiſm, and would not acknowledge the pope's holineſs and ſupreme head, but would ſtoutly uphold the unlawful requeſts of king Henry the Eighth, then began you to fancy unlawful liberty; and when you had exiled a good conſcience, then enſued great ſhipwreck in the ſea, which was our of the true and catholic church into the ſea of deſperation. When you had forſaken God, God forſook you, and gave you over to your own will, and ſuffered you to fall from ſchiſm to apoſtacy, from apoſtacy to hereſy, and from hereſy to perjury, from perjury to treaſon, and ſo in concluſion, into the full indignation of our ſovereign prince. Caſt not yourſelf away, ſpare your body, ſpare your ſoul, ſpare them alſo whom you have ſeduced, ſpare the ſhedding of Chriſt's blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the preſcript word of God, to the catholic church of Rome, to the received verity of all Chriſtendom. Wed not yourſelf to your own ſelf-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all Chriſtendom is beſides you. Leave off this unjuſt cavil. Believe as the catholic church doth believe and teach you. Perſuade with yourſelf, that without the church there is no ſalvation. And thus much have I ſaid of charity. If this poor ſimple exhortation of mine may ſink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I ſaid as I would have ſaid, otherwiſe not as I would, but as I could for this preſent.

And thus biſhop Brooks finiſhing his oration, ſat down. After whom, Dr. Martin taking the matter in hand, began thus.

The Oration *of* Dr. MARTIN.

ALTHOUGH there are two governments, the one ſpiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the keys, and the other the ſword, yet in all ages we read, that for the honour and glory of God both theſe powers have been adjoined together. For if we read the Old Teſtament, we ſhall find that ſo did Joſias and Ezekias. So did the king of the Ninevites compel a general faſt through all the whole city. So did Darius in breaking the great idol Bell, and delivering godly Daniel out of the den of lions. So did Nebuchadonoſor make and inſtitute laws againſt the blaſphemers of God. But to let paſs theſe examples, with a great number more, and to come to Chriſt's time, it is not unknown what great pains they took to ſet forth God's honour: and although the rule and government of the church did only appertain to the ſpirituality, yet for the ſuppreſſion of hereſies and ſchiſms, kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. Firſt, Conſtantine the Great called a council at Nice for the ſuppreſſion of the Arian ſect, where the ſame time was raiſed a great contention among them. And after long diſputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting down the Arians, they referred their judgment to Conſtantine. God forbid, ſaid Conſtantine: you ought to rule me, and not I you. And as Conſtantine did, ſo did Theodoſius againſt the Neſtorians, ſo did Marcianus againſt Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man ſhould marry with a nun, that had wedded herſelf to the church.

So had king Henry the Eighth the title of Defender of the Faith, becauſe he wrote againſt Luther and his accomplices. So theſe nine hundred years the king of Spain had the title of Catholic, for the expulſion of the Arians; and, to ſay the truth, the king and queen's majeſties do nothing degenerate from their anceſtors, taking upon them to reſtore again the title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir hereof, the pope's holineſs.

Therefore theſe two princes, perceiving this noble realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and catholic church, which you and your confederates do and have renounced; perceiving alſo that you do perſiſt in your deteſtable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the ſame, have made their humble requeſt and petition to the pope's holineſs, Paul the Fourth, as ſupreme head of the church of Chriſt, declaring to him, that whereas you were archbiſhop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, and at your conſecration took two ſolemn oaths for your due obedience to be given to the ſee of Rome, to become a true preacher or paſtor of his flock, yet contrary to your oath and allegiance, for unity have ſowed diſcord; for chaſtity, marriage and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, you have been the author of all miſchief. The pope's holineſs, conſidering their requeſt and petition, hath granted them, that according to the cenſure of this realm proceſs ſhould be made againſt you.

And whereas in this late time you both excluded charity and juſtice, yet hath his holineſs decreed, that you ſhall have both charity and juſtice ſhewed unto you. He willeth you ſhould have the laws in moſt ample manner to anſwer in your behalf, and that you ſhall here come before my lord of Glouceſter, as high commiſſioner from his holineſs, to the examination of ſuch articles as ſhall be propoſed againſt you, and that we ſhould require the examination of you in the king and queen's majeſties' behalf. The king and queen as touching themſelves, becauſe by the law they cannot appear perſonally, [*quia ſunt illuſtriſ. perſonæ*] have appointed as their attornies, Dr. Story, and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good lordſhip our proxy, ſealed with the broad ſeal of England, and offer myſelf to be proctor in the king's majeſty's behalf. I exhibit here alſo certain articles, containing the manifeſt adultery and perjury: alſo books of hereſy made partly by him, and partly ſet forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal to anſwer to your good lordſhip.

Thus when Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbiſhop began as follows.

Cranmer. Shall I then make my anſwer?

Martin. As you think good, no man ſhall hinder you.

And here the archbiſhop kneeling down on both knees towards the weſt, ſaid the Lord's prayer. Then riſing up, he recited the articles of the creed. Which done, he entered his proteſtation in form as follows.

The Faith *and* Profeſſion *of* Dr. CRANMER, Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *before the* Commiſſioners.

THIS I do profeſs as touching my faith, and make my proteſtation, which I deſire you to note. I will never conſent that the biſhop of Rome ſhall have any juriſdiction within this realm, for I have made an oath to the king, and I muſt obey the king by God's laws. By the ſcripture the king is chief, and no foreign perſon in his own realm above him. There is no ſubject but to a king. I am a ſubject, I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can ſerve two maſters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the ſword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the ſword to the king. But I ſay the king hath both. Therefore he that is ſubject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, he is perjured; for the pope's and the judge's laws are contrary.

A prieſt indebted, by the laws of the realm ſhall be ſued before a temporal judge; by the pope's laws contrary.

The biſhop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law; and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the week at the leaſt, for the people to come to the church and hear the word of God expounded unto them, and that they might the better underſtand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrary; for he willeth the ſervice to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not underſtand. God would have it to be perceived; the pope will not. When the prieſt giveth thanks, God would that the people ſhould do ſo too, and God will have them to confeſs altogether; the pope will not.

Now as concerning the ſacrament, I have taught no falſe doctrine of the ſacrament of the altar: for if it can be proved by any doctor, above a thouſand years after Chriſt, that Chriſt's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made ſeven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors againſt it. I believe that whoſo eateth and drinketh that ſacrament, Chriſt is within them, whole Chriſt, his nativity, paſſion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion; but not that corporally that ſitteth in heaven.

Now Chriſt commanded all to drink of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the laymen: and yet one ſaith that if Chriſt had died for the devil, that he ſhould drink thereof. Chriſt biddeth us to obey the king, but the biſhop of Rome biddeth us to obey him; therefore unleſs he be Antichriſt, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I ſhould obey him, I cannot obey Chriſt.

He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil ſaid to Chriſt, If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even ſo the biſhop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes either by election, or by ſucceſſion, or by inheritance obtain their crown, he ſaith that they ſhould have it of him.

Chriſt ſaith, that Antichriſt ſhall be. And who ſhall he be? Forſooth, he that advanceth himſelf above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himſelf after ſuch ſort beſide the pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichriſt.

Story. Pleaſeth it you to make an end?

Cranmer. For he will be the vicar of Chriſt, he will diſpenſe with the Old and New Teſtament alſo, yea and with apoſtaſy.

The pope would give biſhoprics, ſo would the king. But at laſt the king got the upper hand, and ſo are all biſhops perjured, firſt to the pope, and then to the king. The crown hath nothing to do with the clergy. For if a clerk come before a judge, the judge ſhall make proceſs againſt him, but not to execute any laws. For if the judge ſhould put him to execution, then is the king accurſed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore ſay I, that he is neither true to God, nor to the king, that firſt received the pope.

Martin. As you underſtand, then if they maintain the ſupremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.

Cranmer. I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have ſaid, and how their oaths do ſtand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory ſaith, he that taketh upon him to be head of the univerſal church, is worſe than the Antichriſt. If any man can ſhew me, that it is not againſt God's word to hold his ſtirrup when he taketh his horſe, and kiſs his feet (as kings do), then will I kiſs his feet alſo.

And you for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you ſit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your biſhopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adverſary to the realm; for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm.

Glouceſter. You were the cauſe that I did forſake the pope, and did ſwear that he ought not to be ſupreme head, and gave to king Henry the Eighth, that he ought to be; and this you made me do.

Cranmer. To this I anſwer: You report me ill, and ſay not the truth, and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predeceſſor, archbiſhop Warham, gave the ſupremacy to king Henry the Eighth, and ſaid, that he ought to have it before the biſhop of Rome, and that God's word would agree therewith. And upon the ſame was there ſent to both the univerſities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the ſupremacy, and it was reaſoned upon, and argued at length. So at the laſt both the univerſities agreed, and ſet to their ſeals, and ſent it to king Henry the Eighth to the court, that he ought to be ſupreme head, and not the pope. Whereupon you were at that time doctor of divinity, and your conſent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you miſ-report me, that I was the cauſe of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourſelf. All this was in archbiſhop Warham's time, and while he was alive, ſo that it was three quarters of a year ere ever I had the archbiſhopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here you have reported of me that which you cannot prove, which is ill done.—All this while his cap was on his head.

Glouceſter. We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us.

Dr. STORY's *Oration.*

PLEASETH it your good lordſhip, becauſe it hath pleaſed the king and queen's majeſties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your good lordſhip, to give me ſomewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the ſtedfaſt, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in ſnare the weak and ſimple: yet becauſe he ſaith, he is not bound to anſwer your lordſhip ſitting for the pope's holineſs, becauſe of a premunire, and the word of God as he termeth it; I think good ſomewhat to ſay, that all may ſee how he runneth out of his race of reaſon into the rage of common talk, ſuch as here I truſt hath done much good. And as the king and queen's majeſties will be glad to hear of your moſt charitable dealing with him: ſo will they be weary to hear the blundering of this ſtubborn heretic. And where he alledgeth divinity, mingling right and wrong together, he ſhould not have been heard. For ſhall it be ſufficient for him to alledge, the judge is not competent? Do we not ſee that in the common law it is not lawful for a man in Weſtminſter-hall to refuſe his judge? and ſhall we diſpute againſt one that denies principals? Although there be here a great company of learned men, that know it unmeet ſo to do, ye have, I hear, a plain canon wherein he declareth himſelf convicted, *ipſo facto.* The canon [as we have tranſlated it into Engliſh] is this: "Let it be to their own deſtruction whoſoever acts contrary to the apoſtolic decrees, let them have no place among the prieſts, but be put out from the holy miniſtry, neither be capable of holding any cure, ſeeing they are condemned by the holy apoſtolic church for their diſobedience and preſumption; but let them be caſt out by the greater excommunication, to whom the diſcipline of the holy church being committed, not only ought to obey themſelves, but alſo teach others to do ſo, yet will reſiſt her divine and pontifical ſervices, and ſo diſobey the apoſtolical precepts."

He hath alledged many matters againſt the ſupremacy, but maliciouſly. You ſay the king in his realm is ſupreme head of the church. Well, ſir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was chriſtened. Then if it were a perfect church, it muſt needs have a head, which muſt needs be before any king was member thereof; for you know Conſtantinus the emperor was the firſt chriſtened king that ever was. And although you are (as St. Paul ſaith) to obey your rulers, and kings have the rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have the cure of ſouls: for if you argue from the more powerful, the head may do that which the miniſter cannot do; but the prieſt may conſecrate, and the king cannot; therefore the king is not head.

It was licenſed by Chriſt to every man to bring into the ſheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to Peter.

And where the apoſtles call upon men to obey their princes, to pay tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom; they perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and diſobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

And again, where you ſay the biſhop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the realm; that is not true: for this is a maxim in the law, That which is true in a part, cannot be falſe in the whole.

Now as touching that monſtrous talk of your conſcience, that is no conſcience that you profeſs; it is but private judgment, choice, and opinion. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by God's laws that you ought not to anſwer to the pope's holineſs.

The canons which be received of all Chriſtendom compel you to anſwer, therefore you are bound ſo to do. And although this realm of late time, through ſuch ſchiſmatics as you were, hath exiled and baniſhed the canons, yet that cannot make for you; for you know yourſelf, that equal things produce equal things, nor can a part oblige the whole. Wherefore this iſland, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine againſt the whole. That notwithſtanding the ſame laws, being put away by parliament, are now received again by a parliament, and have as full authority now as they had then, and they will now that you anſwer to the pope's holineſs; therefore by the laws of this realm you are bound to anſwer him. Wherefore, my lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer hath brought for his defence, ſhall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Take witneſs here of his ſtubborn contempt againſt the king and queen's majeſties, and compel him to anſwer directly to ſuch articles as we ſhall lay againſt him, and on refuſal your lordſhip is to excommunicate him.

Interrogatories *objected to the* Archbiſhop, *with his* Anſwers *annexed to the ſame.*

1. INTERROG. Firſt was objected, That Thomas Cranmer, before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, ſurnamed Black, or Brown, dwelling at the ſign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that whether ſhe was called Black, or Brown, he knew not, but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

2. Interrog. That after the death of the aforeſaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbiſhop by the pope.

Anſwer. He received (he ſaid) a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was made archbiſhop by him.

3. Interrog. Item, That he being in holy orders, married another woman as his ſecond wife, named Anne.

Anſwer. To this he granted.

4. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Henry the Eighth, he kept the ſaid wife ſecretly, and had children by her.

Anſwer. Hereunto he alſo granted, affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other prieſts, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. Interrog. Item, In the time of king Edward, he brought out the ſaid wife openly, affirming and profeſſing publicly the ſame to be his wife.

Anſwer. He denied not but he ſo did, and lawfully might do the ſame, foraſmuch as the laws of this realm did ſo permit him.

6. Interrog. Item, That he ſhamed not openly to glory himſelf to have had his wife in ſecret many years.

Anſwer. And though he ſo did (he ſaid), there was no cauſe why he ſhould be aſhamed thereof.

7. Interrog. Item, That the ſaid Thomas Cranmer falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuſe the authority of the church, did hold and follow the hereſy concerning the ſacrament of the altar, and alſo did compile, and cauſe to be ſet abroad divers books.

Anſwer. Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not ſuch books which he was the author of. As touching the treatiſe of Peter Martyr upon the ſacrament, he denied that he ever ſaw it before it was abroad, yet he did approve and well like the ſame. As for the catechiſm, the book of articles, with the other book againſt Wincheſter, he granted the ſame to be his doings.

8. Interrog. Item, That he compelled many againſt their wills to ſubſcribe to the ſame articles.

Anſwer. He exhorted, ſuch as were willing to ſubſcribe; but againſt their wills he compelled none.

9. Interrog. Item, Foraſmuch as he ceaſed not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore caſt into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament ſhould there be held.

Anſwer. To this he ſaid, that he knew no ſuch enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. Interrog. Item, That in the ſaid city of Oxford he did openly maintain his hereſy, and was there convicted for the ſame.

Anſwer. He defended (he ſaid) there the cauſe of the ſacrament; but that he was convicted of the ſame, that he denied.

11. Interrog. Item, When he perſevered ſtill in the ſame, he was by the public cenſure of the univerſity pronounced an heretic, and his book heretical.

Anſwer. That he was ſo denounced he denied not, but that he was an heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

12. Interrog. Item, That he was and is notoriouſly infamed with the note of ſchiſm, as one who not only receded himſelf from the catholic church and ſee of Rome, but alſo moved the king and ſubjects of this realm to the ſame.

Anſwer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (ſaid he) was only from the ſee of Rome, and had in it no manner of any ſchiſm.

13. Interrog. Item, That he had been twice ſworn to the pope; and with that Dr. Martin brought out the inſtrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his proteſtation made when he ſhould be conſecrated, aſking if he had any thing elſe proteſted.

Anſwer. Whereunto he anſwered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. Interrog. Item, That he, the ſaid archbiſhop of Canterbury, did not only offend in the premiſes, but alſo in taking upon him the authority of the ſee of Rome, in that without leave or licence from the ſaid ſee, he conſecrated biſhops and prieſts.

Anſwer. He granted that he did execute ſuch things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at whatever time it was permitted him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. Interrog. Item, That when the whole realm had ſubſcribed to the authority of the pope, he only perſiſted in his error.

Anſwer. That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confeſſed to be true. But that he erred in the ſame, that he denied.

16. Interrog. Item, That all and ſingular the premiſes be true.

Anſwer. That likewiſe he granted, excepting thoſe things whereunto he had objected.

The Oration *of* Biſhop BROOKS, *in cloſing up his* Examinations *againſt* Dr. CRANMER, Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury.

MR. Cranmer, (I cannot otherwiſe term you, conſidering your obſtinacy) I am right ſorry, I am right heartily ſorry to hear ſuch words eſcape your mouth ſo unadviſedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I ſuppoſed that this obſtinacy of your's came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt conſcience, which was the occaſion that I hoped ſo well of your return. But now I perceive by your fooliſh babble that it is far otherwiſe. You are ſo puffed up with vain-glory, there is ſuch a notorious mark of hereſy crept into your conſcience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition. Who can ſave what will be loſt? God would have you to be ſaved, and you refuſe it. Thy perdition is only upon thyſelf, O Iſrael; only in me is thy ſalvation, ſaith the Lord by the prophet. You have uttered ſuch erroneous talk, with ſuch open malice againſt the pope's holineſs, with ſuch open lying againſt the church of Rome, with ſuch open blaſphemy againſt the ſacrament of the altar, that no mouth could have expreſſed more maliciouſly, more lyingly, more blaſphemouſly.

To reaſon with you, although I would of myſelf to ſatiſfy this audience, yet may I not by our commiſſion, neither can I find how I may do it with the ſcriptures: for the apoſtle doth command, that ſuch a one ſhould not only not be talked with, but alſo ſhunned and avoided; ſaying, An heretical perſon after once or twice conferring, ſhun, knowing that he is perverſe and ſinneth, being of his own judgment condemned. You have been conferred with not once nor twice, but oftentimes; you have often been lovingly admoniſhed, you have often been ſecretly diſputed with. And the laſt year in the open ſchool, in open diſputations, you have been openly cnovicted, you have been openly driven out of the ſchool with hiſſes: your book which you brag you wrote ſeven years ago, and no man anſwered it, Marcus Antonius hath ſufficiently detected and confuted, and yet you ſtill perſiſt in your wonted hereſy.

Wherefore being ſo often admoniſhed, conferred with, and convicted, if you deny you are the man whom the apoſtle noteth, hear then what Origen ſaith, who wrote above 1300 years ago, and interpreteth the ſaying of the apoſtle in this wiſe, in *Apologia Pamphili*; "All thoſe ought to be eſteemed heretics, who profeſſing to believe in Chriſt, judge otherwiſe of his truth, than the eccleſiaſtical tradition." Even now you have profeſſed a kind of chriſtianity and holineſs unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and ſaid the Lord's prayer (God knows like an hypocrite), and then ſtanding upon your feet, you rehearſed the articles of your faith, but to what end I pray you, but to cloak that inward hereſy rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, ſimple, and unlearned people's eyes? For what will they ſay or think, if they do not thus ſay? Good Lord, what mean theſe men to ſay that he is an heretic, they are deceived, this is a good chriſtian, he believeth as we believe.

But is this ſufficient to eſcape the name of an heretic? To the ſimple and unlearned it is ſufficient, but for you that have profeſſed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your belief.

Nevertheleſs, although I do not intend to reaſon with you, but to give you up as an abject and an out-caſt from God's favour, yet becauſe you have uttered, to the annoying of the people, ſuch peſtilent hereſies as may do harm among the rude and unlearned, I think proper to ſay ſomething herein.

And firſt (as it behoveth every man to purge himſelf firſt before he enter with any other) where you accuſe me of an oath made againſt the biſhop of Rome, I confeſs it, and deny it not; and therefore do ſay with the reſt of this realm, good and catholic men, the ſaying of the prophet, "We have ſinned with our fathers, we have done unjuſtly and wickedly. The ſins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember." I was then a young man, and as young a ſcholar here in the univerſity.

I knew not then what an oath did mean, and yet to ſay the truth, I did it compulſed, compulſed I ſay by you, Mr. Cranmer, and here were you the author and cauſe of my perjury, and are to be blamed, and not I. Now where you ſay I made two oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not ſo, for the oath I made to the pope's holineſs appertaineth only to ſpiritual things; the other oath that I made to the king pertaineth only to temporal things; that is to ſay, that I do acknowledge all my temporal livings to proceed only from the king, and from none elſe. But all men may ſee, as you agree in this, ſo you agree in the reſt of your opinions.

Now, ſir, as concerning the ſupremacy which is only due to the ſee of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Chriſt appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a moſt evident place. When Chriſt demanded of his apoſtles whom men called him, they anſwered, ſome Elias, ſome a prophet, &c. But Chriſt replied unto Peter and ſaid, Whom ſayeſt thou, Peter, that I am? Peter anſwered, Thou art Chriſt the Son of God: and Chriſt replied, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church. The doctors interpreting this place, Upon this rock, expound it thus, Not only on the faith of Peter, but upon Peter himſelf.

Again, where Chriſt demanded of Peter, being amongſt the reſt of his apoſtles, three times over, Peter, loveſt thou me? he gave him charge over his ſheep, Feed my ſheep, feed my lambs. For as in the old law were appointed two heads over the people of Iſrael, Moſes and Aaron; Moſes as chief, and Aaron next head under him; ſo in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Chriſt and Peter.

Now as touching the pope's laws, where you ſay they are contrary, becauſe the ſervice which ſhould be (as you ſay) in Engliſh, is in Latin; I anſwer, Whoſoever will take the pains to peruſe the fourteenth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſhall find, that his meaning is concerning preaching, and by the way only of praying.

Again, where you ſay, that the pope's holineſs doth take away one part of the ſacrament from the lay-men, and Chriſt would have it under both, you can ſay no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what followeth, And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be ſo froward with you, he might ſay that Chriſt gave it only to his diſciples, in whoſe places ſucceeded prieſts, and not lay-men.

And admit that Chriſt commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authority to change that, as well as others. It was a precept that the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered after ſupper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received faſting. And where Chriſt did break the bread, we receive the whole hoſt. Chriſt adminiſtered ſitting at the table, we ſtanding at the altar.

If then the church may change things that are ſo expreſſed in the ſcriptures, ſhe may alſo change the form of receiving of lay-men under both kinds.

But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you elſe, but only to pervert and contradict the commandment of the church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither. And we having but one, believe both kinds.

And thus the prelate ended his worſhipful tale. After whom Dr. Story took the matter, and thus inferred in words, as followeth.

Mr. Cranmer, you have made a goodly proceſs concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the ſee apoſtolic. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and ſo it is releaſed; if you made it to his ſucceſſors, well, ſir, the true ſucceſſors have the empire, and they will you to diſſolve the ſame, and become a member of Chriſt's church again, and it ſtandeth well with charity.

To this the archbiſhop anſwered again, but that anſwer was ſuppreſſed; he then returns to the words of Dr. Story, who imperiouſly turning his ſpeech again to the archbiſhop, ſaid as follows:

Hold your peace, ſir, and ſo it ſhall right well become you, conſidering that I gave you licence before to ſay your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is to ſay, judgment, righteouſneſs, and truth.

Then Dr. Story immediately called for witneſſes to be produced, who ſhould be ſworn upon the book, to utter and declare the next day what they knew, or could remember to be inferred againſt Dr. Cranmer's hereſy. The names of the witneſſes are theſe following:

Dr. Marſhall, commiſſary, and dean of Chriſt-church.
Dr. Smith, under commiſſary,

Dr. Treſham.	Mr. Curtop,
Dr. Crook,	Mr. Warde,
Mr. London,	Mr. Serles.

After the depoſitions of which witneſſes being taken, Dr. Story admoniſhed the archbiſhop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the ſaid witneſſes were to be refuſed. The archbiſhop refuſed them all, as being men perjured, and not in chriſtian religion. For if to ſwear, ſaid he, againſt the pope, were unlawful, they ſhould rather have given their lives, than their oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forſwore before. Nevertheleſs, this anſwer of the archbiſhop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpoſe appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came. Who at his departing out, like as at his firſt coming in, paid low obedience to Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, the queen's commiſſioners, but took no notice of the biſhop of Glouceſter, the pope's delegate; upon which all the others roſe up, and departed every one to his own.

The anſwers being recited by report of a papiſt, ſeem to be partially handled, we ſhall now more amply declare what ſpeech the archbiſhop uſed for himſelf, by the faithful relation of others, who were preſent.

A more full Anſwer *of* Dr. CRANMER, Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *to the firſt* Oration *of* Biſhop BROOKS.

MY lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently, in your oration, put me in remembrance of many things touching myſelf, wherein I do not mean to ſpend the time in anſwering of them. I acknowledge God's goodneſs to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this ſtate wherein I find myſelf now, as ever I did for the time of my proſperity; and it is not the loſs of my promotions that grieveth me. The greateſt grief I have ever had in all my life is to ſee the king and queen's majeſties, by their proctors, here to become my accuſers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power.

Alas! what hath the pope to do in England; whoſe juriſdiction is ſo far different from the juriſdiction of this realm, that it is impoſſible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The laws alſo are ſo diverſe, that whoſoever ſweareth to both, muſt needs incur perjury to the one. On the day of the coronation, the queen took a ſolemn oath to obſerve all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, and alſo took an oath to the biſhop of Rome, promiſing to maintain that ſee. The ſtate of England being ſo repugnant to the ſupremacy of the pope, it is impoſſible but ſhe muſt needs be forſworn in the one. Wherein if her grace had been faithfully advertiſed by her counſel, then ſurely ſhe would never have done it.

The laws of this realm are, that the king of Englaad is ſupreme governor of all his countries and dominions; and that he holdeth his crown and ſceptre of himſelf, by the ancient laws, cuſtoms, and deſcents of the kings of the realm, and of none other; that all biſhops and prieſts offending in caſes of felony or treaſon, are to be judged and tried by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; that whoſoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws eccleſiaſtical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a premunire.

Theſe things and many more examples he alledged, which (he ſaid) ſtirred him, that he could not give his conſent to the receiving of ſuch an enemy into the realm, ſubverting its dignity and ancient liberties.

And as for hereſy and ſchiſm, wherewith he was charged, he proteſted, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were an hereſy to deny the pope's authority, and the religion which the ſee of Rome hath publiſhed to the world theſe latter years, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apoſtles, and Chriſt himſelf taught hereſy; and he deſired all then preſent to bear him witneſs, that he took the traditions and religion of that uſurping prelate to be moſt erroneous, falſe, and againſt the doctrine of the whole ſcripture.

For it was moſt evident that he had advanced himſelf above all emperors and kings of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their eſtates and empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depoſe and erect at his good will and pleaſure; ſetting his feet on the emperor's neck, having others to hold his ſtirrup; others he had diſplaced and removed from their empires and ſeats royal: and not content herewithal, more inſolent than Lucifer, he hath occupied the higheſt place in this world, above kings and princes, and hath further preſumed to ſit in the ſeat of Almighty God, which is the conſcience of man.

He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, contrary to the doctrine of the holy ſcripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom,

This enemy of God and of our redemption, is ſo evidently pointed out in the ſcriptures by ſuch manifeſt ſigns and tokens, which all ſo clearly appear in him, that except a man will ſhut his eyes and heart againſt the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore, for my part, I will never give my conſent to the receiving of him into this church of England. While he thus made his anſwer, ye heard before how Dr. Martin and Dr. Story interrupted him divers times with blaſphemous talk, and would fain have had the biſhop of Glouceſter to put him to ſilence: who notwithſtanding did not, but ſuffered him to end his tale at full. After this you heard alſo how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chief was, that at the time of being created archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was ſworn to the pope, and had his inſtitution and induction from him, and then promiſed to maintain the authority of that ſee, and therefore was perjured: wherefore he ſhould rather ſtick to his firſt oath, and return to his old fold again, than to continue obſtinate in an oath forced in time of ſchiſm.

To that he anſwered, ſaving his proteſtation, (which term he uſed before al! his anſwers,) That at ſuch time archbiſhop Warham died, he was ambaſſador in Germany for the king.

He then ſtated what meaſures he had taken to avoid the promotion intended for him, and delayed his return home for half a year; that he intereſted his friends, after that return, to requeſt ſome ſmaller living for him, and by every proper means he could deviſe, to ſhift off the appointment to ſo weighty a charge. And when the king would have no denial, he declared that he neither could or would ever receive it at the pope's hands; on which it was anſwered, that he might do it by way of proteſtation and ſo one to be ſent to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in his name. The archbiſhop then ſaid, that whoever did this, ſhould do it *ſuper animam ſuam*, and that he himſelf did not acknowledge the pope's authority any further than as it agreed with the expreſs word of God, and that it might at all times be lawful for him to controvert his errors. This proteſtation he had cauſed to be enrolled.

They objected to him alſo that he was married, which he confeſſed. Whereunto Dr. Martin ſaid, that his children were bondmen to the ſee of Canterbury. At which ſaying the archbiſhop ſmiled, and aſked him, if a prieſt at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her baſtards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, ſaying, I truſt you will make my children's cauſes no worſe.

A number of other trifling and fooliſh objections were made, with a repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader. Thus after they had received his anſwers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforeſaid) to appear at Rome within fourſcore days, to make there his perſonal anſwers.

On Dr. Martin's quibbling objections about the ſupreme head of the church, the archbiſhop obſerved that Chriſt was ſupreme head of the univerſal church, but the king of the people of England, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. He was afterwards cited to appear at Rome within fourſcore days, there to make his perſonal anſwers; but, inſtead of being ſent there by the king and queen, to which he aſſented, he was carried back to priſon, and there confined, and within twenty days after a letter executory was ſent from the pope to degrade and deprive him, contrary to all law and juſtice, and at the end of the fourſcore years he was declared contumacious, and for ſuch abſence condemned to die.

A definitive letter or ſentence from the pope of the 1ſt of January, was received in England, appointing Dr. Thirlby, biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Bonner, biſhop of London, commiſſioners to deprive and degrade him, and afterwards to excommnnicate him; for which purpoſe the archbiſhop was ordered to appear on the 14th of February. Of the character of the former, it ought to be remarked, that the archbiſhop had ever been his principal ſupporter, and moſt liberal benefactor; with the latter, the reader has been too well acquainted already. On the day appointed, they read their commiſſion, reciting the cauſes which had produced it, falſely and unbluſhingly aſſerting that witneſſes had been heard on his behalf, and that he wanted nothing to his neceſſary defence; after which they inveſted him in canvas robes, with a mitre and pall, in ſolemn mockery, when Bonner thought fit in theſe taunting words to addreſs him:

This is the man that hath ever deſpiſed the pope's holineſs, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down ſo many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that bleſſed ſacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that like Lucifer ſat in the place of Chriſt upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himſelf.

Thus Bonner went on in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing againſt the archbiſhop, beginning every ſentence with, This is the man, this is the man, till at length every man grew tired of his unmannerly uſage of him in that time and place; inſomuch that the biſhop of divers times pulled him by the ſleeve to make an end, and ſaid to him afterward when they went to dinner, that he had broken promiſe with him; for he had intreated him earneſtly to uſe him with reverence.

After all this done and finiſhed, they began then to buſtle toward his degrading, and firſt to take from him his croſier-ſtaff out of his hands, which he held faſt, and refuſed to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left ſleeve under the wriſt, which he there and then delivered unto them, ſaying, I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cauſe and the form of it, which I deſire may be admitted; and prayed divers of the ſtanders-by, by name, to be witneſſes, and eſpecially Mr. Curtop, to whom he ſpake twice.

The copy of which appellation, becauſe it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in form here followeth.

The TENOR *of the* APPEAL *of the* Archbiſhop *of* CANTERBURY *from the* POPE *to the next* GENERAL COUNCIL.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Firſt, my plain proteſtation made, that I intend to ſpeak nothing againſt one holy catholic and apoſtolical church, or the authority thereof, (which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by ſlipperineſs of tongue, or by indignation of abuſes, or elſe by the provocation of mine adverſaries, be ſpoken or done otherwiſe than well, or not with ſuch reverence as becometh me, I am moſt ready to amend it.

Although the biſhop of Rome (whom they call pope) beareth the room of Chriſt in earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unſinnable, neither hath he received that power to deſtroy, but to edify the congregation. Therefore if he ſhall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently, and in good part, in caſe he be not therein obeyed. And he muſt not be obeyed, if he command any thing againſt the precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be reſiſted, even as Paul withſtood Peter. And if he, being aided by the help of princes, deceived perchance by falſe ſuggeſtion, or with evil counſel, cannot be reſiſted, but the remedies of withſtanding him be taken away, there is nevertheleſs one remedy of appealing, (which no prince can take away) uttered by the law of nature: foraſmuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

And whereas the laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but alſo from ſuch as ſhall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, inſomuch that the inferior cannot make laws of not appealing to a ſuperior power; and ſince it is openly enough confeſſed, that a holy general council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, and repreſenting the holy catholic church, is above the pope, eſpecially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make decrees that men ſhall not appeal from him to a general council: therefore I, Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, or in time paſt ruler of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, doctor in divinity, do ſay and publiſh before you the public notary, and witneſſes here preſent, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the perſons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer myſelf in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confeſs, that I would lawfully have publiſhed them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad myſelf, or licenſe of a notary and witneſſes. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the laws.

1. Firſt, I ſay and publiſh, that James by the mercy of God, prieſt, called Cardinal of the Pit, and of the title of our lady in the church of Rome, judge and commiſſary ſpecially deputed of our moſt holy lord the pope, (as he affirmed) cauſed me to be cited to Rome, there to appear fourſcore days after the citation ſerved on me, to make anſwer to certain articles touching the peril of my ſtate and life: and whereas I was kept in priſon with moſt ſtrait ward, ſo that I could in no wiſe be ſuffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of priſon (and in ſo grievous cauſes concerning ſtate and life, no man is bound to ſend a proctor); and though I would ever ſo fain ſend my proctor, yet by reaſon of poverty I am not able (for all that ever I had, wherewith I ſhould bear my proctor's coſts and charges, is quite taken from me); nevertheleſs the moſt reverend cardinal aforeſaid doth ſore threaten me, that whether I ſhall appear or not, he will nevertheleſs yet proceed in judgment againſt me; wherein I feel myſelf ſo grieved, that nothing can be imagined more miſchievous or further from reaſon.

2. Secondly, The reverend father James Brooks, by the mercy of God, biſhop of Glouceſter, judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the moſt reverend cardinal, cauſed me to be cited at Oxford, (where I was then kept in priſon) to anſwer to certain articles, concerning the danger of my ſtate and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the laws, deſired counſel of the learned in the laws, that thing was moſt unrighteouſly denied me, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein again I feel myſelf moſt wrongfully grieved.

3. And when I refuſed the ſaid biſhop of Glouceſter to be my judge, for moſt juſt cauſes, which I then declared, he nevertheleſs went on ſtill, and made proceſs againſt me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which ſay, A judge that is refuſed ought not to proceed in the cauſe, but to leave off. And when he had required of me anſwers to certain articles, I refuſed to make him any anſwer: I ſaid I would gladly make anſwer to the moſt renowned king and queen's deputies or attornies then preſent, with this condition notwithſtanding, that mine ſhould be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my proteſtation made and admitted, I made anſwer; but my anſwer was ſudden and unprovided for: and therefore I deſired to have a copy of mine anſwers, that I might add to, take away, change, and amend them; and this was alſo permitted me. Nevertheleſs, contrary to his promiſe made unto me, no reſpect had to my proteſtation, nor licence given to amend mine anſwer, the ſaid reverend father biſhop of Glouceſter (as I hear) commanded mine anſwers to be enacted contrary to the equity of the law. In which thing again I feel myſelf much grieved.

4. Furthermore, I could not, for many cauſes, admit the biſhop of Rome's uſurped authority in this realm, nor conſent to it: for my ſolemn oath hindering me, which I made in the time of king Henry the Eighth, of moſt famous memory, according to the laws of England. Secondly, becauſe I knew the authority of the biſhop of Rome, which he uſurpeth, to be againſt the crown, cuſtoms, and laws of this realm of England, inſomuch, that neither the king can be crowned in this realm, without the moſt grievous crime of perjury, nor may biſhops enjoy their biſhoprics, nor judgments to be uſed according to the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, except by the biſhop of Rome's authority, be accurſed both the king and queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and cuſtoms, with all that conſent to them. Finally, the whole realm ſhall be accurſed.

5. Moreover, that heinous and uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, through reſervations of the biſhoprics, proviſions, annuates, diſpenſations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other merchandize of Rome, was wont exceedingly to ſpoil and conſume the riches and ſubſtance of this realm, all which things ſhould follow again by recognizing and receiving of that uſurped authority unto the infinite loſs of this realm.

6. Finally, it is moſt evident by that uſurped authority, not only the crown of England to be under the yoke, the laws and cuſtoms of this realm to be thrown down, and trodden under foot, but alſo the moſt holy decrees of councils, together with the precepts both of the goſpel and of God.

When in times paſt the Sun of righteouſneſs being riſen in the world, chriſtian religion, by the preaching of the apoſtles, began to be ſpread very far abroad, and to flouriſh, inſomuch that their ſound went out into all the world; innumerable people, which walked in darkneſs, ſaw a great light, God's glory every where publiſhed did flouriſh, the only cark and care of the miniſters of the church was purely and ſincerely to preach Chriſt; the people to embrace and follow Chriſt's doctrine. Then the church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and alſo was counted worthily the mother of other churches, foraſmuch as then ſhe firſt begat to Chriſt, nouriſhed with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, ſuccoured the oppreſſed, and was a ſanctuary for the miſerable, ſhe rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the biſhops of Rome, riches were deſpiſed, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleaſures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of miſeries, was laughed to ſcorn, whilſt thro' the examples of Romiſh martyrs, men did every where preſs forward to the life to come. But afterward, when the ungraciouſneſs of damnable ambition, never-ſatisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the ſee of Rome, there followed every where almoſt the deformities of all churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and ſlipping into foul and heinous uſages.

For the aforeſaid and many other griefs and abuſes, (which I intend to prove, and to proffer myſelf in time convenient to prove hereafter) ſince reformation of the above-mentioned abuſes is not to be looked for of the biſhop of Rome, neither can I hope, by reaſon of his wicked abuſes and uſurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cauſe: therefore I do challenge and appeal in theſe writings from the pope, having no good council, and from the above named pretences, commiſſions, and judges, from their citations, proceſſes, and from all other thiugs that have or ſhall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their ſentences, cenſures, pains, and puniſhments of curſing, ſuſpenſion, and interdicting, and from all others whatſoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of ſchiſm, of hereſy, adultery, deprivation, degrading by them, or by any of them, in any manner or way attempted, done, and ſet forward to be attempted, to be done and to be ſet forward hereafter (ſaving always their honours and reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, moſt tyrannical, and violent, and from every grief to come, which ſhall happen to me, as well for myſelf as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my ſide, unto a free general council, that ſhall hereafter lawfully be, and in a ſure place, where I, or a proctor deputed by me, may freely and with ſafety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may by the law, privilege, cuſtom, or otherwiſe, challenge and appeal.

And I deſire the firſt, the ſecond, and third time, inſtantly, more inſtantly, and moſt inſtantly, that I may have meſſengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promiſe of proſecuting this mine appellation, by the way of diſannulling, abuſe, inequality, and unrighteouſneſs, or otherwiſe as I ſhall be better able: choice and liberty reſerved to me, to put to, diminiſh, change, correct, and interpret my ſayings, and to reform all things after a better faſhion; ſaving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my doctrine of the ſacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind ſoever it be, I proteſt that it was never my mind to write, ſpeak, or underſtand any thing contrary to the moſt holy word of God, or elſe againſt the holy catholic church of Chriſt, but purely and ſimply to imitate and teach thoſe things only, which I had learned of the ſacred ſcripture, and of the holy catholic church of Chriſt from the beginning, and alſo according to the expoſition of the moſt learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwiſe than I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, foraſmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the moſt ſacred word of God, and of the holy catholic church, deſiring none other thing, than meekly and gently to be taught if any where (which God forbid) I have ſwerved from the truth.

And I proteſt and openly confeſs, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the ſacrament, and of my other doctrine whatſoever it be, not only I mean and judge of thoſe things, as the catholic church, and the moſt holy fathers of old, with one accord, have meant and judged, but alſo I would gladly uſe the ſame words that they uſed, and not uſe any other words, but to ſet my hand to all and ſingular their ſpeeches, phraſes, ways, and forms of ſpeech, which they do uſe in their treatiſes upon the ſacrament, and to keep ſtill their interpretation. But in this thing I am only accuſed for an heretic, becauſe I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the ſacrament, and becauſe I conſent not to words not accuſtomed in ſcripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the deſtruction of ſouls, and overthrowing of pure and old religion. Yea, even, &c.

This appeal being put up to the biſhop of Ely, he ſaid to the archbiſhop, My lord, our commiſſion is to proceed againſt you, *omni appellatione remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why (quoth the archbiſhop) then you do me the more wrong; for my caſe is not as every private man's caſe. The matter is immediately between the pope and me, and none otherwiſe: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cauſe.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted, it ſhall, and ſo received it of him. And then he began earneſtly to perſuade the archbiſhop to conſider his ſtate, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promiſing to become a ſuiter to the king and queen for him; and ſo proteſted his great love and friendſhip that had been between them, heartily weeping, ſo that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earneſtly affirmed, that if it had not been the king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, elſe on worldly advantages ſhould have made him to have done it; concluding that to be one of the ſorrowfulleſt things that ever happened unto him. The archbiſhop gently ſeeming to comfort him, ſaid, he was very well content withal: and ſo they proceeded to his degradation; the perfect form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereunto appertaining, taken out of the pope's pontifical, we have already deſcribed.

To be ſhort, when they came to take off his pall, (which is a ſolemn veſture only belonging to an archbiſhop) then ſaid he, Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall? which imported as much as they being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them anſwered, confeſſing that as they were but biſhops they were inferior to him, and therefore not competent judges; but, as being the pope's delegates, they had authority to take his pall, which accordingly they did; and, ſo proceeding, took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the biſhop ſcraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein biſhop Bonner behaved himſelf as roughly and unmannerly as the other biſhop was to him ſoft and gentle. Whilſt they were thus doing, All this, quoth the archbiſhop, needed not; I had myſelf done with this gear long ago. Laſt of all they ſtripped him out of his gown into a jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as ill-ſhaped as one might probably ſee, and a townſman's cap on his head, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finiſhed, then ſpake lord Bonner, ſaying to him, Now are you no lord any more: and ſo whenever he ſpake to the people of him, (as he was continually barking againſt him) he ever uſed this term, This gentleman here, &c.

And thus, with great compaſſion and pity of every man, in this evil favoured gown was he carried to priſon. Whom there followed a gentleman of Glouceſterſhire, with the archbiſhop's own gown, who ſtanding by, and being thought to be toward one of the biſhops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, ſaid, the biſhop of Ely proteſted his friendſhip with tears. Yet (ſaid he) he might have uſed a great deal more friendſhip towards me, and never have been worſe thought on, for I have well deſerved it: and going up into the priſon with him, aſked him if he would drink. He anſwered him, ſaying, if he had a piece of ſalt fiſh, that he had a better will to eat: for he had been that day ſomewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is paſt, my heart (ſaid he) is well quieted. Whereupon the gentleman ſaid, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being doubtful of the law, and fearing Mr. Farmer's caſe, durſt therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that ſtood by, and ſaid that if they were good men they would beſtow it on him (for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purſe to help him), and ſo left him, my lord bidding him earneſtly farewel, commending himſelf to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was detained by Bonner and Ely, for giving him this money: and but for the help of his friends, he had been ſent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without puniſhment.

Mean time, while the archbiſhop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in priſon almoſt the ſpace of three years), the doctors and divines of Oxford buſied themſelves all that ever they could about Dr. Cranmer, to perſuade him to recant, endeavouring by all the crafty practices and allurements they could invent to bring their purpoſe to paſs. And to the intent they might win him the more eaſily, they entertained him in the dean of Chriſt-church's houſe, in the ſaid univerſity, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at bowls, had his pleaſure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Chriſt. And beſides all this, they ſecretly ſuborned certain men, who when they could not prevail by arguments and diſputation, ſhould by intreaty and fair promiſes, or any other means, allure him to a recantation, perceiving otherwiſe what a great wound they ſhould receive, if the archbiſhop had ſtood ſteadfaſt in this ſentence; and again on the other ſide, what great profit they ſhould get, if he, as the principal ſtandard-bearer, ſhould be overthrown. By reaſon whereof the wily prieſts flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, intreating and promiſing, and all other means; eſpecially Henry Sydal, and Friar John de Villa Garcina, a Spaniard, to the end to drive him, to the uttermoſt of their poſſibility, from his former ſentence to recantation.

Firſt, they ſet forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and eſpecially how gainful to him, and for his ſoul's health the ſame ſhould be. They added moreover, how the council and the noblemen bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he ſhould not only have his life, but alſo be reſtored to his ancient dignity, ſaying, it was but a ſmall matter, and ſo eaſy that they required him to do, only that he would ſubſcribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there ſhould be nothihg in the realm that the queen would not eaſily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or elſe if he had rather live a private life in quiet reſt, in whatſoever place he liked, without all public miniſtry, only that he would ſet his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refuſed, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the queen was ſo purpoſed that ſhe ſhould have Cranmer a catholic, or elſe no Cranmer. Therefore he ſhould chuſe whether he thought it better to end his life ſhortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life until the courſe of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his eſtimation and quietneſs, ſaying, that he was not ſo old, but that many years yet remained in this his ſo luſty age; and if he would not do it in reſpect of the queen, yet he ſhould do it for reſpect of his life, and not ſuffer that other men ſhould be more careful for his health than he was himſelf; ſaying, that this was agreeable to his learning and notable virtues: which being adjoined with his life would be profitable both to himſelf and to many others: but being extinct by death, ſhould be fruitful to no man: that he ſhould take heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to reſtore all things ſafe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himſelf. Therefore they would have him lay hold upon the occaſion of his health while it was offered, leſt if he would not refuſe it, he might hereafter ſeek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the deſire of life did nothing move him, yet he ſhould remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and eſpecially in theſe his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and ſuch torments is moſt grievous of all. With theſe and like provocations theſe fair flatterers ceaſed not to ſolicit and urge him, uſing all poſſible means they could to draw him to their ſide; whoſe force his manly conſtancy did a great while reſiſt. But at laſt when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbiſhop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

It might be ſuppoſed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may ſince perceive by a letter of his ſent to a lawyer, the greateſt cauſe why he deſired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun: but howſoever it was plain to be againſt his conſcience. The form of which recantation, made by the friars and doctors, whereto he ſubſcribed, was this:

The COPY *and* WORDS *of* Dr. CRANMER's RECANTATION.

I THOMAS CRANMER, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and deteſt, all manner of hereſies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to ſound and true doctrine. And I believe moſt conſtantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confeſs one holy and catholic church viſible, without which there is no ſalvation; and thereof I acknowledge the biſhop of Rome to be ſupreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the higheſt biſhop and pope, and Chriſt's vicar, unto whom all chriſtian people ought to be ſubject.

And as concerning the ſacraments, I believe and worſhip in the ſacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Chriſt, being contained moſt truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and the wine into his blood.

And in the other ſix ſacraments, alſo (like as in this) I believe and hold as the univerſal church holdeth, and the church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where ſouls departed be puniſhed for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholeſomely pray, like as it doth honour ſaints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profeſs, that I do not otherwiſe believe, than the catholic church and church of Rome holdeth and teacheth. I am ſorry that ever I held or thought otherwiſe. And I beſeech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchſafe to forgive me, whatſoever I have offended againſt God or his church, and alſo I deſire and beſeech all chriſtian people to pray for me.

And all ſuch as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of

Jeſus Chriſt, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without ſchiſm or diviſion.

And to conclude, as I ſubmit myſelf to the catholic church of Chriſt, and to the ſupreme head thereof, ſo I ſubmit myſelf unto the moſt excellent majeſties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c. and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful ſubject ever to obey them. And God is my witneſs, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any perſon, but willingly and of mine own conſcience, as to the inſtruction of others.

This recantation of the archbiſhop was not ſo ſoon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay cauſed the ſame to be imprinted, and ſet abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto for better credit, firſt was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a ſolemn ſubſcription, then followed the witneſſes of his recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John de Villa Garcina. All this time Cranmer had no certain aſſurance of his life, although the ſame was faithfully promiſed to him by the doctors: but after they had their purpoſe, the reſt they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly: but of her purpoſe to put him to death ſhe would nothing relent.

Now was Dr. Cranmer in a miſerable caſe, having neither inwardly any quietneſs in his own conſcience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adverſaries.

Beſides this, on the one ſide was praiſe, on the other ſide ſcorn, on both ſides danger, ſo that he could neither die honeſtly, nor yet honeſtly live. And whereas he ſought profit, he fell into double diſprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid ſecret ſhame, nor yet with evil men the note of diſſimulation.

In the mean time while theſe things were doing (as I ſaid) in the priſon amongſt the doctors, the queen taking ſecret council how to diſpatch Cranmer out of the way (who as yet knew not of her ſecret hate, and not expecting death) appointed Dr. Cole, and ſecretly gave him in commandment, that againſt the 21ſt of March he ſhould prepare a funeral ſermon for Cranmer's burning, and ſo inſtructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleaſure in that behalf, ſent him away.

Soon after the lord Williams, of Tame, and the lord Shandois, ſir Thomas Bridges, and ſir John Brown, were ſent for, with other worſhipful men and juſtices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the ſame day, with their ſervants and retinue, leſt Cranmer's death ſhould raiſe there any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this leſſon given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the priſon to Dr. Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had anſwered, that by God's grace he would be daily more confirm'd in the catholic faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbiſhop again, giving no ſignification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the 21ſt day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the ſaid Cole coming to him, aſked him if he had any money, to whom when he had anſwered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and ſo exhorting him as much as he could to conſtancy in faith, departed thence about his buſineſs, as to his ſermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbiſhop began more and more to ſurmiſe what they were about. Then becauſe the day was not far ſpent, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spaniſh friar, witneſs of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer ſhould openly profeſs in his recantation before the people, earneſtly deſiring him that he would write the ſaid inſtrument with the articles with his own hand, and ſign it with his name: which when he had done, the ſaid friar deſired that he would write another copy thereof which ſhould remain with him, and that he did alſo. But yet the archbiſhop being not ignorant whereunto their ſecret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer diſſemble the profeſſion of his faith with Chriſt's people, he put his prayer and his exhortation written in another paper ſecretly into his boſom, which he intended to recite to the people before he ſhould make the laſt profeſſion of his faith, fearing leſt if they heard the confeſſion of his faith firſt, they would not afterwards have ſuffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine o'clock, the lord Williams, ſir Thomas Bridges, ſir John Brown, and the other juſtices, with certain other noblemen, that were ſent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Alſo of the other multitude on every ſide (as is wont in ſuch a matter) was made a great concourſe, and greater expectation: for firſt of all, they that were of the pope's ſide were in great hope that day to hear ſomething of Cranmer that ſhould eſtabliſh the vanity of their opinion: the other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he who by continued ſtudy and labour for ſo many years, had ſet forth the doctrine of the goſpel, either would or could now in the laſt act of his life forſake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, ſo according to the diverſity of the deſires, every man wiſhed and hoped for. And yet becauſe in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in ſo doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

During this great expectation, Dr. Cranmer at length came from the priſon of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, becauſe it was a foul and rainy day, the chief church in the univerſity, in this order. The mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, which mumbling to and fro certain pſalms in the ſtreets, anſwered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the ſong of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*; and entering into the church, the pſalm-ſinging friars brought him to his ſtanding, and there left him. There was a ſtage ſet over-againſt the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his ſtanding, waiting until Dr. Cole made ready for his ſermon.

The lamentable caſe and ſight of that man was a ſorrowful ſpectacle to all chriſtian eyes that beheld him. He that lately was archbiſhop, metropolitan, and primate of all England, and the king's privy counſellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill favouredly clothed, with an old ſquare cap, expoſed to the contempt of all men, did admoniſh men not only of his own calamity, but alſo of their ſtate and fortune. For who would not pity his caſe, and might not fear his own chance, to ſee ſuch a prelate, ſo grave a counſellor, and of ſo long continued honour, after ſo many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his eſtate, adjudged to die, and in ſo painful a death to end his life, and now preſently from ſuch freſh ornaments, to deſcend to ſuch vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had ſtood a good ſpace upon the ſtage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his ſermon, entered firſt into mention of Tobias and Zachary; whom after he had praiſed in the beginning of his ſermon for their perſeverance in the true worſhipping of God, he then divided his whole ſermon into three parts (according to the ſolemn cuſtom of the ſchools), intending to ſpeak firſt of the mercy of God: ſecondly, of his juſtice to be ſhewed: and laſt of all, how the prince's ſecrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occaſion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that he being one endued with the favour and feeling of wholeſome and catholic doctrine, fell into a contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but alſo allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cheriſh them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The ſum of his tripartite declamation was, that he ſaid God's mercy was ſo tempered with his juſtice, that he did not altogether require puniſhment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet ſometimes ſuffered the ſame to go altogether unpuniſhed, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden to chuſe of three kinds of puniſhment which he would, and he had choſen peſtilence for three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not releaſe all: and that the ſame thing came to paſs in him alſo, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, ſeeing he repented of his errors, yet there were cauſes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, leſt he ſhould marvel too much, he ſhould hear ſome.

Firſt, That being a traitor, he had diſſolved the lawful matrimony between the king and queen, her father and mother: beſides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was metropolitan.

Secondly, That he had been an heretic, from whom as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and ſchiſmatical opinion, that ſo many years have prevailed in England, did firſt riſe and ſpring; of which he had not been a ſecret favourer only, but alſo a moſt earneſt defender even to the end of his life, ſowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic church.

And further, it ſeemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the late duke of Northumberland, made even with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church, ſo there ſhould be one that ſhould make even with Fiſher, of Rocheſter: and becauſe that Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar, were not able to make even with that man, it ſeemed that Cranmer ſhould be joined to them to fill up their part of equality.

Beſides theſe, there were other juſt and weighty cauſes, which appeared to the queen and council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bid all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is ſo high that can promiſe itſelf ſafety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally ſtretched againſt all men and ſpareth none: therefore they ſhould beware and learn to fear their prince. And ſeeing the queen's majeſty would not ſpare ſo notable a man as this, much leſs in the like cauſe would ſhe ſpare other men, that no man ſhould think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whoſe calamity every man might conſider his own fortune; who from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into ſuch great miſery, as they might ſee, being a perſon of ſuch high degree, ſometime one of the chief prelates of the church, and an archbiſhop, the chief of the council, the ſecond perſon in the realm a long time, a man thought in great aſſurance, having a king on his ſide; notwithſtanding all his authority and defence, to be debaſed from high eſtate to a low degree, of a counſellor to become a caitiff, and to be ſet in ſo wretched a ſtate, that the pooreſt wretch would not change condition with him; briefly ſo heaped with miſery on all ſides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worſe.

The latter part of his ſermon he converted to the archbiſhop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of ſcripture, as with theſe and ſuch like; bidding him not to miſtruſt, but he ſhould incontinently receive what the thief did, to whom Chriſt ſaid, "This day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe:" and out of St. Paul he armed him againſt the terror of fire by this, "The Lord is faithful, which will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength:" by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to ſeem like a pleaſant dew; adding alſo the rejoicing of St. Andrew on his croſs, the patience of St. Laurence in the fire, aſſuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to ſuch as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him ſtrength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his converſion, becauſe it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleaſed God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (ſaid he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But leſt he ſhould carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour (he ſaid), and alſo did promiſe in the name of all the prieſts that were preſent, that immediately after his death there ſhould be dirges, maſſes, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford, for the ſuccour of his ſoul.

All this time with what great grief of mind Cranmer ſtood hearing this ſermon, the outward ſhews of his body and countenance did better expreſs, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for ſhame letting them down to the earth. A man might have ſeen the very image and ſhape of perfect ſorrow lively in him expreſſed. More than twenty ſeveral times the tears guſhed out abundantly, dropping down marvellouſly from his fatherly face. They that were preſent do teſtify, that they never ſaw in any child more tears than came from him at that time, during the whole ſermon; but eſpecially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiſeration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld ſo heavy a countenance, and ſuch abundance of tears in an old man of ſo reverend dignity.

After Cole had ended his ſermon, he called back the people to prayers that were ready to depart. Brethren (ſaid he) leſt any man ſhould doubt of this man's earneſt converſion and repentance, you ſhall hear him ſpeak before you; and therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, to perform that now which you promiſed not long ago; namely, that you would openly expreſs the true and undoubted profeſſion of your faith, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that all men may underſtand that you are a catholic indeed. I will do it (ſaid the archbiſhop), and that with a good-will; who, by riſing up, and putting off his cap, began to ſpeak thus unto the people.

Good chriſtian people, my dearly beloved brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, I beſeech you moſt heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my ſins and offences, which be many without number, and great above meaſure. But yet one thing grieveth my conſcience more than all the reſt, whereof, God willing, I intend to ſpeak more hereafter. But how great and how many ſoever my ſins be, I beſeech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down he ſaid the following prayer.

The PRAYER *of* Dr. CRANMER, Archbiſhop *of* CANTERBURY.

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, have mercy upon me, moſt wretched caitiff and miſerable ſinner. I have offended both againſt heaven and earth, more than my tongue can expreſs. Whither then may I go, or whither ſhall I flee? To heaven I may be aſhamed to liſt up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or ſuccour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myſelf, ſaying, O Lord my God, my ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great myſtery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didſt not give thy Son (O Heavenly Father) unto death for ſmall ſins only, but for all the greateſt ſins of the world, ſo that the ſinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this preſent. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whoſe property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's ſake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. And now therefore, O Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c. And then he riſing, ſaid:

Every man (good people) deſireth at the time of his death to give ſome good exhortation, that others may remember the ſame before their death, and be the better thereby: ſo I beſeech God grant me grace, that I may ſpeak ſomething at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

Firſt, It is a heavy cauſe to ſee that ſo many folk ſo much dote upon the love of this falſe world, and be ſo careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they ſeem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this ſhall be my firſt exhortation: That you ſet not your minds overmuch upon this deceitful world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this leſſon meaneth which St. John teacheth, "That the love of this world is hatred againſt God."

The ſecond exhortation is, That next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's miniſters, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whoſoever reſiſteth them, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and ſiſters. For alas! pity it is to ſee what contention and hatred one chriſtian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and ſiſter, but rather as ſtrangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one leſſon, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever hateth any perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himſelf ever ſo much in God's favour.

The fourth exhortation ſhall be to them that have great ſubſtance and riches of this world, That they will well conſider and weigh three ſayings of the ſcripture: one is of our Saviour himſelf, who ſaith, Luke xviii. "It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." A ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoken by him who knoweth the truth.

The ſecond is of St. John, 1 John iii. whoſe ſaying is this, "He that hath the ſubſtance of this world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſſity, and ſhutteth up his mercy from him, how can he ſay that he loveth God?"

The third is of St. James, who ſpeaketh to the covetous rich man, after this manner, "Weep you and howl for the miſery that ſhall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and ſilver doth canker and ruſt, and their ruſt ſhall bear witneſs againſt you, and conſume you like fire: you gather a hoard or treaſure of God's indignation againſt the laſt day." Let them that be rich ponder well theſe three ſentences: for if they ever had occaſion to ſhew their charity, they have it now at this preſent, the poor people being ſo many, and victuals ſo dear.

And now foraſmuch as I am come to the laſt end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life paſt, and all my life to come, either to live with my maſter Chriſt for ever in joy, or elſe to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I ſee before mine eyes preſently either heaven ready to receive me, or elſe hell ready to ſwallow me up: I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of diſſimulation: for now is no time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have ſaid or written in times paſt.

Firſt, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and ſentence taught by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his apoſtles and prophets, in the New and Old Teſtament.

And now I come to the great thing which ſo much troubleth my conſcience, more than any thing that ever I did or ſaid in my whole life, and that is the ſetting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuſe, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to ſave my life, if it might be; and that is, all ſuch bills and papers which I have written or ſigned with my hand ſince my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand hath offended, writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand ſhall firſt be puniſhed; for when I come to the fire, it ſhall be firſt burned.

And as for the pope, I refuſe him, as Chriſt's enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine.

And as for the ſacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book againſt the biſhop of Wincheſter, which my book teacheth ſo true a doctrine of the ſacrament, that it ſhall ſtand at the laſt day before the judgment of God, where the papiſtical doctrine contrary thereto ſhall be aſhamed to ſhew her face.

Here the ſtanders-by were all aſtoniſhed, marvelled, and amazed, and looked upon one another, whoſe expectation he had ſo notably deceived. Some began to admoniſh him of his recantation, and to accuſe him of falſhood.

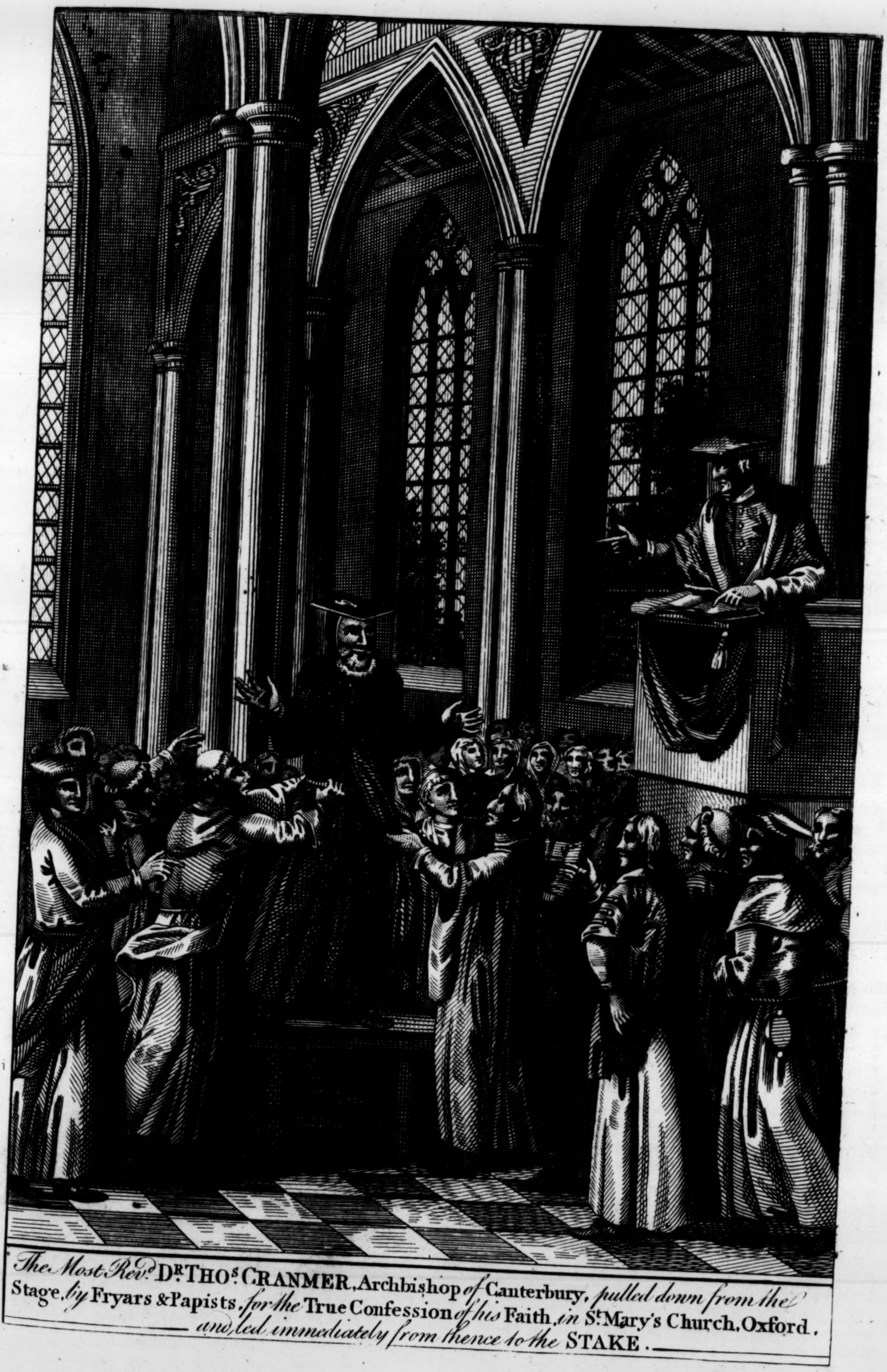
Briefly, it was ſtrange to ſee the doctors beguiled of ſo great an hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation.

As ſoon as they heard theſe things, they began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and ſo much the more, becauſe they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the moſt miſerable man in the world can die but once: and whereas of neceſſity he muſt needs die that day, though the papiſts had been ever ſo well pleaſed; being ever ſo much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed by them. And ſo when they could do nothing elſe unto him, yet leſt they ſhould ſay nothing, they ceaſed not to object unto him his falſhood and diſſimulation.

Unto which accuſation he anſwered, Ah, my maſters (quoth he), do you not take it ſo. Always ſince I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falſhood, and a lover of ſimplicity, and never before this time have I diſſembled; and in ſaying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to ſpeak more of the ſacrament and of the papacy, ſome of them began to cry out, yelp, and baul, and eſpecially Cole cried out upon him, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the ſtage, was led to the fire, accompanied with thoſe friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him moſt cruelly. What madneſs (ſay they) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable ſouls with thee into hell? To whom he anſwered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, ſaving that to one troubling him in the way he ſpake, and exhorted him to get him home to his ſtudy, and apply to his book diligently; ſaying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he ſhould get knowledge.

But the other Spaniſh barker, raging and foaming,



The Most Rev^{d}. D^{r}. THO^{s} CRANMER, Archbishop *of* Canterbury, *pulled down from the* Stage, *by* Fryars & Papists, *for the* True Confession *of his* Faith, *in* S^{t}. Mary's Church, Oxford, — *and led immediately from thence to the* STAKE. —

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was almoſt out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non feciſti?* Didſt thou it not?

But when he came to the place where the holy biſhops and martyrs of God, biſhop Latimer and biſhop Ridley, were burnt before him for the confeſſion of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garment to his ſhirt, he prepared himſelf to death. His ſhirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewiſe his head, when both his caps were off, was ſo bare that one hair could not be ſeen upon it. His beard was ſo long and thick, that it covered his face with marvellous gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies.

Then the Spaniſh friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afreſh, but with vain and loſt labour. Cranmer with ſtedfaſt purpoſe abiding in the profeſſion of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that ſtood by, bidding them farewel.

And when he had thought to have done ſo likewiſe to Mr. Ely, the ſaid Ely drew back his hand and refuſed, ſaying, it was not lawful to ſalute heretics, and eſpecially ſuch a one as falſely returned unto the opinions that he had forſworn. And if he had known before that he would have done ſo, he would never have uſed his company ſo familiarly, and chid thoſe ſergeants and citizens, who had not refuſed to give him their hands. This Mr. Ely was a ſtudent in divinity, and lately made a prieſt, being then one of the fellows in Brazen-noſe college.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, and they commanded the fire to be ſet unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, he ſtretched forth his right hand, which had ſigned his recantation, into the flames, and there held it ſo ſtedfaſt that all the people might ſee it burnt to a coal before his body was touched. In ſhort, he was ſo patient and conſtant in the midſt of theſe extreme tortures, that he ſeemed to move no more than the ſtake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and often he repeated his unworthy right hand, ſo long as his voice would ſuffer him; and as often uſing the words of the bleſſed martyr St. Stephen, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit," till the fury of the flames putting him to ſilence, he gave up the ghoſt.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when friar John ſaw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of deſperation, although ſuch manner of examples which are of like conſtancy, have been common here in England, he ran to the lord Williams of Tame, crying that the archbiſhop was vexed in mind, and died in great deſperation. But he, who was not ignorant of the archbiſhop's conſtancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, ſmiled only, and as it were by ſilence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbiſhop, whom, leſt by evil ſubſcribing he ſhould have periſhed, by well recanting, God preſerved; and leſt he ſhould have lived longer with ſhame and reproof, it pleaſed God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the ſame with the teſtimony and blood of ſuch a martyr; and ſo good alſo to the man with this croſs of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but alſo of his ſtanding againſt John Lambert and Mr. Allen, or if there were any other, with whoſe burning or blood his hand had been any thing before polluted. But eſpecially he had to rejoice, that dying in ſuch a cauſe, he was numbered amongſt the martyrs of Chriſt, and much more worthy of the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falſely before did canonize.

And thus you have the full ſtory concerning the life and death of this reverend archbiſhop and martyr of God, Thomas Cranmer, and alſo of divers others, of whom this archbiſhop was the laſt that ſuffered in the middle of the reign of queen Mary, and almoſt the middle man that was burnt in her time.

Now we proceed to exhibit the letters which this worthy martyr left behind him, beginning firſt with his famous letter to queen Mary, which he wrote immediately after he was cited up to Rome by biſhop Brooks and his fellows, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

LETTER I.

The Archbiſhop *of* CANTERBURY *to* Queen MARY.

MAY it pleaſe your majeſty to pardon my preſumption that I dare be ſo bold to write to your highneſs. But very neceſſity conſtraineth me, that your majeſty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing than by other men's reports. So it is, that upon Wedneſday, being the 12th day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make anſwer to ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt me upon the behalf of the king and your moſt excellent majeſty, which matters the Thurſday following were objected againſt me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, your majeſty's proctors before the biſhop of Glouceſter, ſitting in judgment by commiſſion from Rome. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural ſubject to be accuſed of the king and queen of his own realm; and eſpecially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any perſon out of this realm: where the king and queen, as if they were ſubjects within their own realm, ſhall complain and require juſtice at a ſtranger's hands againſt their own ſubject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not do or have juſtice within their own realms againſt their own ſubjects; but they muſt ſeek it at ſtrangers hands in a ſtrange land, the like whereof (I think) was never ſeen. I would have wiſhed to have had ſome meaner adverſaries: and, I think, that death ſhall not grieve me much more, than to have my moſt dread and moſt gracious ſovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God, I do own all obedience, to be mine accuſers in judgment within their own realm, before any ſtranger and outward power. But foraſmuch as in the time of the prince of moſt famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, your grace's father, I was ſworn never to conſent, that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have or exerciſe any authority or juriſdiction in this realm of England, therefore leſt I ſhould allow his authority contrary to mine own oath, I refuſed to make anſwer to the biſhop of Glouceſter ſitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, leſt I ſhould run into perjury.

Another cauſe why I refuſed the pope's authority, is this, that his authority, as he claimeth it, is repugnant to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the ſame: which every true ſubject is bound to defend. Firſt, for that the pope ſaith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as ſpiritual, is given firſt to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to uſe it under him, but ſo as to be always at his commandment and beck.

But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and juriſdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be uſed under him only, and is ſubject to none but God alone.

Moreover, to the imperial laws and cuſtoms of this realm the king in his coronation, and all juſtices when they receive their offices, be ſworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and cuſtoms being repugnant to his laws, and declareth accurſed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all ſuch laws or cuſtoms, as it appeareth by many of the pope's laws, whereof one or two I ſhall rehearſe. In the decrees, Dict. 10. it is written thus, "The conſtitution or ſtatutes enacted againſt the canons and decrees of the biſhops of Rome or their good cuſtoms, are of none effect." Alſo, "We excommunicate all heretics of both ſexes, what name ſoever they be called by, and their favourers, receptors, and defenders; and alſo them that ſhall hereafter cauſe to be obſerved the ſtatutes and cuſtoms made againſt the liberty of the church, except they cauſe the ſame to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Alſo we excommunicate the ſtatute-makers and writers of thoſe ſtatutes, and all the poteſtates, powers, conſuls, governors, and counſellors of places, where ſuch ſtatutes or cuſtoms ſhall be made or kept; and alſo that ſhall preſume to give judgment according to them, or ſhall notify in public form the matter ſo adjudged."

Now by theſe laws, if the biſhop of Rome's authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your grace's laws and cuſtoms of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be naught, and as well your majeſty, as your judges, juſtices, and all other executors of the ſame, ſtand accurſed amongſt heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curſe can never be avoided (if the pope hath ſuch power as he claimeth) until ſuch times as the laws and cuſtoms of this realm (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law-books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks by the pope's laws are ſo exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where ſued, but before their ordinary.

Alſo the pope by his laws may give all biſhoprics and benefices ſpiritual; which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the ſame, except they fall into lapſe.

By the pope's laws, *jus patronatus* ſhall be ſued only before the eccleſiaſtical judge; but by the laws of the realm it ſhall be ſued before the temporal judge.

And to be ſhort, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's, like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided far their laws by the *præmunire*; ſo that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the ſee of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by curſing. For whoſoever hindereth the pope's laws to have full courſe within this realm, by the pope's power ſtandeth accurſed: ſo that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and cuſtoms of this realm under his feet, curſing all that execute them, until ſuch time as they do give place unto his laws.

But it may be ſaid, that notwithſtanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do ſtill execute the laws and cuſtoms of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjuſtly, if the pope's power be of force, and for the ſame we ſtand excommunicate, and ſhall do until we leave the execution of our own laws and cuſtoms. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing ſuch authority, whereby the realm ſtandeth accurſed before God, if the pope have any ſuch authority.

Theſe things (as I ſuppoſe) were not fully opened in the parliament-houſe when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majeſty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the ſame, would ever have conſented to receive again ſuch a foreign authority, ſo injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial, as well to the crown as to the laws and cuſtoms and ſtate of this realm, as whereby they muſt needs acknowledge themſelves to be accurſed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and ſuch of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himſelf as it were a god. Theſe ſeek to maintain the pope whom they deſired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themſelves, diſtinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and ſo being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, ſo that they pleaſe their high and ſupreme head at Rome. For this conſideration (I think), ſome that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament, whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they ſhould have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and ſhewed the perils and dangers that might enſue to the crown and realm.

And if I ſhould agree to allow ſuch authority within this realm, whereby I muſt needs confeſs, that your moſt gracious highneſs, and alſo your realm ſhould ever continue accurſed, until ye ſhall ceaſe from the execution of your own laws and cuſtoms of your realm; I could not think myſelf true either to your highneſs, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuſe other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which he challengeth every where, is to the crown-laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and yet will allow the ſame, I cannot ſee in any wiſe how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and ſtate of this realm.

Another cauſe I alledged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this: That by his authority he ſubverteth not only the laws of this realm, but alſo the laws of God: ſo that whoſoever be under his authority, he ſuffereth them not to be under Chriſt's religion purely, as Chriſt did command.

And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all chriſtian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpoſe he ordained holydays, when they ought, leaving apart all other buſineſs, to give themſelves wholly to know and ſerve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, miniſters ſhould uſe ſuch language as the people may underſtand and take profit thereby, or elſe hold their peace. For as an harp or lute, if it give no certain ſound that men may know what is played, who can dance after it? for all the ſound is vain. So it is in vain, and profiteth nothing, ſaith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the prieſt ſpeak to the people in a language which they know not; "For elſe he may profit himſelf, but profiteth not the people," ſaith St. Paul. But herein I was anſwered thus; that St. Paul ſpake only of preaching, that the preacher ſhould preach in a tongue which the people did know, or elſe his preaching availeth nothing: but if the preaching availeth nothing, being ſpoke in a language which the people underſtand not, how ſhould any other ſervice avail them, being ſpoken in the ſame language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words. For he ſpeaketh by name expreſly of praying, ſinging, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the prieſts ſay in the churches, whereunto the people ſay Amen; which they uſe not in preaching, but in other divine ſervice; that whether the prieſts rehearſe the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profeſſion of their faith, or humble confeſſion of their ſins, with earneſt requeſt of mercy and forgiveneſs, or make ſuit and requeſt unto God for any thing; then all the people underſtanding what the prieſts ſay, might give their minds and voices with them, and ſay, Amen, that is to ſay, allow what the prieſts ſay; that the rehearſal of God's univerſal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profeſſion of faith, the confeſſion of ſins, and the requeſts and petitions of the prieſts and of the people, might aſcend up into the ears of God altogether, and be as a ſweet ſavour, odour, and incenſe in his noſe: and thus was it uſed many hundred years after Chriſt's aſcenſion.

But the aforeſaid things cannot be done when the prieſts ſpeak to the people in a language not known, and ſo they (or their clerk in their name) ſay Amen, but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul ſaith, "How can the people ſay Amen to thy well ſaying, when they underſtand not what thou ſayeſt?" And thus was St. Paul underſtood by all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new, ſchool authors and others that I have read, until above thirty years paſt. At which time one Eckius, with others of his ſort, began to deviſe a new expoſition, underſtanding St. Paul of preaching only.

But when a good number of the beſt learned men reputed within this realm, ſome favouring the old, ſome the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they call the old is the new, and that which they call the new is indeed the old) but when a great number of ſuch learned men of both ſorts, were gathered together at Windſor for the reformation of the ſervice of the church, it was agreed by both, without controverſy (not one ſaying contrary) that the ſervice of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paul in the fourteenth chapter to the Corinthians was ſo to be underſtood. And ſo St. Paul was underſtood in the civil law, more than a thouſand years paſt, where Juſtinian, a moſt godly emperor, in a ſynod writeth in this manner: "We command that all biſhops and prieſts celebrate the holy oblation and prayer uſed in holy baptiſm, not after a ſtill and cloſe manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard by the faithful people, ſo as the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo St. Paul teacheth alſo in the epiſtle to the Corinthians, If the Spirit do only bleſs (or ſay well) how ſhall he that occupieth the place of a private perſon ſay Amen, to thy thankſgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou ſayeſt: thou doſt give thanks well, but the other is not edified." And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thouſand and five hundred years continually together, have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other ſervice ſaid in the church; but alſo reaſon ſaith the ſame, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it muſt be ſpoken in a language which the hearers underſtand, or elſe (as St. Paul ſaith) what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church ſhall hear they know not what, and ſhall anſwer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only againſt reaſon, but alſo directly againſt God.

And again I ſaid, whereas our Saviour Chriſt ordained the ſacrament of his moſt precious body and blood to be received by all chriſtian people under the forms of bread and wine, and ſaid of the cup, "Drink ye all of this:" the pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no layman ſhall drink of the cup of their ſalvation; as though the cup of ſalvation by the blood of Chriſt pertaineth not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whoſe works St. Jerome did tranſlate about eleven hundred years paſt) ſaith, That if Chriſt had been crucified for the devils, his cup ſhould not be denied them; yet the pope denieth the cup of Chriſt to chriſtian people, for whom Chriſt was crucified. So that if I ſhould obey the pope in theſe things, I muſt needs diſobey my Saviour Chriſt.

But I was anſwered hereunto (as they commonly anſwer), that under the form of bread is both Chriſt's fleſh and blood: ſo that whoſoever receiveth the bread, receiveth as well Chriſt's blood as his fleſh. Let it be ſo, yet in the form of bread only, Chriſt's blood is not drank, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Chriſt commanded, but eaten with the fleſh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the ſacrament of his blood but of his fleſh only; nor is the cup the ſacrament of his fleſh, but of his blood only. And ſo the pope keepeth from all lay-perſons the ſacrament of their redemption by Chriſt's blood, which Chriſt commandeth to be given unto them.

And furthermore, Chriſt ordained the ſacrament in two kinds, the one ſeparated from the other, to be a repreſentation of his death, where his blood was ſeparated from his fleſh, which is not repreſented in one kind alone: ſo that the lay-people receive not the whole ſacrament whereby Chriſt's death is repreſented as he commanded.

Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temporal ſword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes; ſo doth he likewiſe take upon him to depoſe them from their imperial ſtates, if they be diſobedient to him, and commandeth the ſubjects to diſobey their princes, aſſoiling the ſubjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made unto their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all ſubjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

One John, patriarch of Conſtantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed ſuperiority above all other biſhops. To whom St. Gregory writeth, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him; that is to ſay, the biſhop of Rome, the biſhop of Alexandria, and of Antioch: which three were patriarchal ſees, as well as Conſtantinople, and were brethren one to another. But (ſaith St. Gregory) if any one ſhall exalt himſelf above all the reſt, to be the univerſal biſhop, the ſame paſſeth in pride. But now the biſhop of Rome exalteth himſelf not only above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to ſet up and pull down as he ſhall think good. And as the devil, having no ſuch authority, yet took upon him to give unto Chriſt all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worſhip him; in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to ſuch as will fall down and worſhip him, and kiſs his feet.

And moreover, his lawyers and gloſſers ſo flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and kings to hold his ſtirrup when he lighteth from his horſe, and to be his footmen: and that if any emperor or king give him any thing, they give him nothing but what is his own, and that he may diſpenſe againſt God's word, againſt both the Old and New Teſtament, againſt St. Paul's epiſtles, and againſt the goſpel. And furthermore, whatſoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himſelf into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, becauſe he being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he ſitteth in the temple of God as if he were a god, and nameth himſelf God's vicar, and yet he diſpenſeth againſt God. If this be not to play Antichriſt's part, I cannot tell what Antichriſt is, which is no more to ſay, but Chriſt's enemy and adverſary? who ſhall ſit in the temple of God advancing himſelf above all other, yet by hypocriſy and feigned religion, ſhall ſubvert the true religion of Chriſt, and under pretence and colour of Chriſt's religion ſhall work againſt Chriſt, and therefore hath the name of Antichriſt. Now if any man lift himſelf higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himſelf above all the world; or can be a greater adverſary to Chriſt, than to diſpenſe againſt God's laws; and where Chriſt hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary, that man muſt needs be taken for Antichriſt. But until the time that ſuch a perſon may be found, men may very eaſily conjecture where to find Antichriſt.

Wherefore ſeeing the pope thus to overthrow both God's laws, and man's laws, taking upon him to make emperors and kings to be vaſſals and ſubjects unto him, eſpecially the crown of this realm, with the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame; I ſee no reaſon how I may conſent to admit his uſurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your majeſty, and my love and affection to this realm.

This that I have ſpoken againſt the power and authority of the pope, I have not ſpoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's perſon, whom I know not, but I ſhall pray to God to give him grace, that he may ſeek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predeceſſors in theſe latter days.

Nor have I ſpoken it for fear of puniſhment, and to avoid the ſame, thinking it rather an occaſion to aggravate than to diminiſh my trouble; but I have ſpoken it for my moſt bounded duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and cuſtoms of this realm of England, but moſt eſpecially to diſcharge my conſcience in uttering the truth to God's glory, caſting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Chriſt, who ſaid, "Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the ſoul, but fear him that can caſt both body and ſoul into hell-fire." He that for fear of loſing this life will forſake the truth, ſhall loſe the life everlaſting: and he that for the truth's ſake will ſpend his life, will find everlaſting life. And Chriſt promiſeth to ſtand faſt with them before his Father, which will ſtand faſt with him here; which comfort is ſo great, that whoſoever hath his eyes fixed upon Chriſt, cannot greatly ſet his heart on this life, knowing that he may be ſure to have Chriſt ſtand by him in the preſence of his Father in heaven.

And as touching the ſacrament, I ſaid; Foraſmuch as the whole matter ſtandeth in the underſtanding of theſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body, this is my blood;" then ſurely Chriſt in theſe words made demonſtration of the bread and wine, and ſpake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, becauſe he ordained them to be ſacraments of his body and blood. And where the papiſts ſay in thoſe two points contrary unto me, that Chriſt called not bread his body, but a ſubſtance uncertain, nor ſpoke figuratively: herein I ſaid, I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would ſtand unto. And foraſmuch as I have alledged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thouſand years after Chriſt continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that faith in theſe two points as they ſay, I offered ſix or ſeven years ago, and do offer yet ſtill, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth any author that ſaith in moſt plain terms as I do, yet ſaith the other part, that the authors meant not ſo; as much as to ſay, that the authors ſpake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author, that ſaith in words as they ſay; yet ſay they, that the authors meant as they ſay. Now, whether I or they ſpeak more to the purpoſe herein, I refer me to the judgment of all impartial hearers; yea, the old church of Rome, above a thouſand years together, neither believed nor uſed the ſacrament, as the church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and a ſound doctrine of the ſacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into new doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; with the doctrine they changed the uſe of the ſacrament contrary to that Chriſt commanded, and the old church of Rome uſed above a thouſand years. And yet to deface the old, they ſay that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to ſtand to the trial. But their doctrine is ſo fooliſh and uncomfortable, that I marvel how any man would allow it, if he knew what it was. But howſoever they hear the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort.

For by their doctrine, of one body of Chriſt is made two bodies: one natural having a diſtance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament, by their own doctrine, muſt needs be a monſtrous body, having neither diſtance of members, nor form, faſhion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And ſuch a body is in the ſacrament (teach they), and goeth into the mouth in the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, and tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digeſting. So that when the form of bread is digeſted, that body of Chriſt is gone. And foraſmuch as evil men are as long in digeſting as good men, the body of Chriſt (by their doctrine) entereth as far, and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any chriſtian man, to receive Chriſt's unſhapen body, and it to enter no further than the ſtomach, and to depart by and by as ſoon as the bread is conſumed?

It ſeemeth to me a more ſound and comfortable doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one body, and that hath form and faſhion of a man's true body: which body ſpiritually entereth into the whole man, body and ſoul: and though the ſacrament be conſumed, yet whole Chriſt remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godlineſs, and never departeth until the receiver forſake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Chriſt within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as I judge) a ſound doctrine, according to God's word, and ſufficient for a chriſtian to believe in that matter. And if it can be ſhewed unto me that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the ſacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be ſhewed), then I never was nor will be ſo perverſe to ſtand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I ſhall with all humility ſubmit myſelf unto the pope, not only to kiſs his feet, but another part alſo.

Another cauſe why I refuſed to take the biſhop of Glouceſter for my judge, was the reſpect of his own perſon, being more than once perjured. Firſt, for that he being divers times ſworn never to conſent that the biſhop of Rome ſhould have any juriſdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his ſucceſſors for ſupreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they are: contrary to that lawful oath the ſaid biſhop ſat then in judgment by authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to ſit as judge.

The ſecond perjury was, that he took his biſhopric both of the queen's majeſty and of the pope, making to each of them a ſolemn oath, which oaths are ſo contrary that the one muſt needs be perjured. And furthermore in ſwearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, conſtitutions, ordinances, reſervations, and proviſions, he declareth himſelf an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and ſtate of this realm, whereby he declareth himſelf not worthy to ſit as a judge within this realm. And for theſe conſiderations I refuſed to take him for my judge.

LETTER II.

From the SAME *to the* SAME.

I Learned by Mr. Martin, that on the day of your majeſty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the ſame time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of the ſame. And if your majeſty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he uſeth to adminiſter to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be ſo, (which I know not but by report) then I beſeech your majeſty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to compare and weigh the two oaths together, to ſee how they do agree, and then do as your majeſty's conſcience ſhall direct you: for I am ſurely perſuaded, that willingly your majeſty will not offend, nor do againſt your conſcience for any thing.

But I fear that there are contradictions in your oaths, and that thoſe which ſhould have informed your grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your majeſty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you ſhall perceive you were deceived; and then your highneſs may uſe the matter as God ſhall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from the company of learned men, from books, from counſel, from pen and ink, except at this time to write unto your majeſty, which were all neceſſary for a man in my caſe. Wherefore I beſeech your majeſty, that I may have ſuch of theſe as may ſtand with your majeſty's pleaſure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your majeſty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I truſt that God ſhall put in my mouth to defend his truth there as well as here. But I refer it wholly to your majeſty's pleaſure.

LETTER III.

From Archbishop CRANMER, *to* Dr. MARTIN *and* Dr. STORY.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promiſed, I have ſent my letters unto the queen's majeſty unſigned, praying you to ſign them, and deliver them with all ſpeed. I might have ſent them by the carrier ſooner, but not ſurer. But hearing Mr. Bailiff ſay, that he will go to court on Friday, I thought him a ſafe meſſenger to ſend my letters by. For better is later and ſurer, than ſooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the queen's majeſty incloſed and ſealed; which I require may be ſo delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it be delivered into her grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I ſaid, except that which I ſpake againſt the biſhop of Glouceſter's own perſon, which I thought not meet to write. And in ſome places I have written more than I ſaid, which I would have anſwered to the biſhop, if you would have ſuffered me.

You promiſed I ſhould ſee mine anſwers to the ſixteen articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promiſe you kept not. And mine anſwer was not made upon mine oath, nor repeated, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*, as I proteſted; nor to the biſhop of Glouceſter as judge, but to you the king and queen's proctors. I truſt you deal ſincerely with me, without fraud or craft, and uſe me as you would wiſh to be in like caſe yourſelves. Remember, that what meaſure you mete, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God ſend you his Spirit to induce you into truth.

THOMAS CRANMER.

Ye heard before how archbiſhop Cranmer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the biſhop of Ely, and biſhop Bonner. In time of which his degradation he put up his appeal.

In this his appeal, becauſe he needed the help of ſome good lawyer, he writeth to a friend of his about the ſame: the copy of which letter I thought good here to inſert as follows.

LETTER IV.

From Archbishop CRANMER *to a* LAWYER, *for the Drawing out of his* APPEAL.

THE law of nature requireth all men, that ſo far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one ſhould ſeek to defend and preſerve his own life. Which thing when I about three days ago bethought myſelf of, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from pope Leo the Tenth to a general council (leſt I ſhould ſeem raſhly and unadviſedly to caſt away myſelf), I determined to appeal in like ſort to ſome lawful and free general council. But ſeeing the order and form of an appeal pertaineth to the lawyers, where I myſelf am ignorant, and ſeeing that Luther's appeal cometh not to my hand, I purpoſed to break my mind in this matter to ſome faithful friend, and ſkilful in the law, whoſe help I might uſe in this behalf, and you only among others came to my remembrance, as a man the moſt proper in this univerſity for my purpoſe. But this is a matter that requireth great ſecrecy, ſo that no man know of it before it be done. It is ſo that I am ſummoned to make mine anſwer at Rome, the 16th day of this month, before which day I think it good, after ſentence pronounced, to make mine appeal. But whether I ſhould firſt appeal from the judge delegate to the pope, and ſo afterward to the general council, or elſe leaving the pope, I ſhould appeal immediately to the council, herein I ſtand in need of your counſel.

Many cauſes there are for which I think good to appeal. Firſt, becauſe I am by an oath bound never to conſent to the receiving of the biſhop of Rome's authority into this realm. Beſides this, whereas I utterly refuſed to make anſwer to the articles objected unto me by the biſhop of Glouceſter, appointed by the pope to be my judge, yet I was content to anſwer Martin and Story with this proteſtation, that mine anſwer ſhould not be taken as made before a judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all: moreover, after I had made mine anſwer, I required to have a copy of the ſame, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good: which, though both the biſhop of Glouceſter, and the king and queen's proctors promiſed me, yet have they altogether broke their promiſe with me, and have not permitted me to correct my ſaid anſwers according to my requeſt; and yet notwithſtanding have (as I underſtand) regiſtered the ſame as acts formally done in place of judgment.

Finally, foraſmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon me, for my departing from the biſhop of Rome, and from the popiſh religion, ſo that now the quarrel is between the pope himſelf and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent judge in his own cauſe; it ſeemeth (methinks) good reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuffered to appeal to ſome general council in this matter; eſpecially ſeeing the law of nature (as they ſay) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in ſuch caſes.

Now, ſince it is very requiſite that this matter ſhould be kept as cloſe as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect ſkill herein you ſhall have need of further advice; then I beſeech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Chriſt, that you will open to no creature alive whoſe the caſe is. And foraſmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beſeech you, that laying aſide all other your ſtudies and buſineſs for the time, you will apply to this my matter only, till you have brought it to paſs. The chief cauſe in very deed (to tell you the truth) of this mine appeal is, that I might gain time (if it ſhall ſo pleaſe God) to live until I have finiſhed mine anſwer againſt Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, which I have now in hand. But if the adverſaries of the truth will not admit mine appeal, as I fear they will not, God's will be done; I paſs not upon it, ſo that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Chriſt's quarrel, and to reign with him, than here to be ſhut up and kept in the priſon of this body, unleſs it were to continue yet ſtill a while in this warfare, for the advantage and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancing of God's glory. To whom be all glory for evermore, Amen.

There is alſo yet another cauſe why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to anſwer there for myſelf, I am notwithſtanding kept here faſt in priſon, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: and moreover, foraſmuch as the ſtate I ſtand in, is a matter of life and death, ſo that I have great need of learned counſel for my defence in this behalf: yet when I made my earneſt requeſt for the ſame, all manner of counſel, and help of proctors, advocates, and lawyers, was utterly denied me.

Your loving friend,

THOMAS CRANMER.

LETTER V.

From Archbiſhop CRANMER, *to* Mrs. WILKINSON, *exhorting her to fly in the Time of Perſecution.*

THE true Comforter in all diſtreſs is only God, through his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and whoſoever hath him, hath company enough if he were in a wilderneſs all alone: and he that hath twenty thouſand in his company, if God be abſent, is in a miſerable wilderneſs and deſolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beſeech you ſeek your dwelling there where you may truly and rightly ſerve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be ſo heavy a burden as an unquiet conſcience, to be in ſuch a place as a man cannot be ſuffered to ſerve God in Chriſt's religion? If you are loth to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Chriſt calleth them his mother, ſiſters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find therefore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can want neither friend nor kindred.

If you be loth to depart for the ſlander of God's word, remember that Chriſt, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the ſcribes and phariſees; and commanded his apoſtles, that if they were perſecuted in one place they ſhould fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a baſket out at a window, to avoid the perſecution of Aretas! And what wiſdom and policy he uſed from time to time to eſcape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apoſtles do declare. And after the ſame ſort did the other apoſtles, although when it came to ſuch a point, that they could no longer eſcape danger of the perſecutor of God's true religion, then they ſhewed themſelves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wiſdom to do more good; and that they would not raſhly, without urgent neceſſity, offer themſelves to death, which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they ſtood boldly to the profeſſion of Chriſt; then they ſhewed how little they dreaded death; how much they feared God more than man; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this ſhort and miſerable life.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Chriſt's commandment, as by the example of him and his apoſtles, to withdraw yourſelf from the malice of your's and God's enemies, into ſome place where God is moſt purely ſerved; which is no ſlandering of the truth, but a preſerving of yourſelf to God, and the truth, and to the ſociety and comfort of Chriſt's little flock. And what you will do, do it with ſpeed, left by your own folly you fall into the perſecutor's hands. And the Lord ſend his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you whereſoever you go, and all that be godly will ſay, Amen.

Unto theſe former letters of Dr. Cranmer, archbiſhop, written by him unto others, it ſeemeth to me not much out of place to annex withal a certain letter alſo of Dr. Taylor, written to him and his fellow priſoners; the tenor of which letter here followeth.

To my dear Fathers *and* Brethren Dr. CRANMER, Dr. RIDLEY, *and* Mr. LATIMER, *Priſoners in* Oxford *for the faithful Teſtimony of God's holy Word.*

RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jeſus Chriſt; and God be praiſed again for this your moſt excellent promotion, which you are called unto at this preſent, that is, that you are counted worthy to be allowed amongſt the number of Chriſt's recorders and witneſſes. England hath had but a few learned biſhops, that would ſtick to Chriſt, *ad ignem*, incluſively. Once again I thank God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happy onſet, moſt valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch infamies, hiſſings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loſs of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cauſe, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my heart for you three ſuch captains in the foreward under Chriſt's croſs, banner, or ſtandard, in ſuch a cauſe and ſkirmiſh, when not one or two of our dear Redeemer's ſtrong holds are beſieged, but all his chief caſtles, ordained for our ſafeguard, are traiterouſly aſſaulted. This your enterprize, in the fight of all that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to behold. This is another manner of nobility than to be in the fore-front in wordly warfares. For God's ſake pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name be praiſed, and we doubt not but you be ſo in Chriſt's own ſweet ſchool. Heaven is all and wholly of our ſide; therefore, rejoice always in the Lord: and again, rejoice and be glad.

Your aſſured in Chriſt,
ROWLAND TAYLOR.

The HISTORY *of* AGNES POTTEN, *and* JOAN TRUNCHFIELD, MARTYRS, *perſecuted in* Suffolk.

IN the hiſtory of Robert Samuel mention was made before of two godly women of the ſame town of Ipſwich, who ſhortly after him ſuffered likewiſe, and obtained the crown of martyrdom: the name of the firſt was Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten; and another, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a ſhoemaker, both dwelling in one town: who, about the ſame time that the archbiſhop aforeſaid was burnt at Oxford, ſuffered likewiſe in the aforeſaid town of Ipſwich, either in the ſame month of March, or (as ſome ſay) in the end of February before.

Their opinion or perſuaſion was this, that in the ſacrament was the memorial only of Chriſt's death and paſſion: for (ſaid they) Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the ſcriptures, and not in the ſacrament, as he was born of the virgin Mary.

For this they were burnt. In whoſe ſuffering their conſtancy was worthy to be wondered at, who being ſimple women, ſo manfully ſtood to the confeſſion and teſtimony of God's word and verity: inſomuch that when they had prepared and undreſſed themſelves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the ſcripture they earneſtly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions, deſpiſing the ordinances and inſtitutions of the Romiſh Antichriſt, with all his ſuperſtitions and rotten religion; and ſo continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands and called unto God conſtantly ſo long as life did endure.

This Potten's wife, one night a little before her death, being aſleep in her bed, ſaw a bright burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the ſide of the fire ſhe thought there ſtood a number of queen Mary's friends looking on. Then being aſleep, ſhe ſeemed to muſe with herſelf whether her fire ſhould burn ſo bright or no: and indeed her ſuffering was not far unlike her dream.

This alſo I thought further to note, how theſe two being always together in priſon, the one which was Michael's wife, ſeemed to be nothing ſo ardent and zealous as Potten's wife was, although (God be thanked) they did both ſtoutly ſtand to the confeſſion of the truth; but when the ſaid Michael's wife came to the ſtake, and ſaw nothing but preſent death before her, ſhe much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; although both of them did ſo joyfully ſuffer, that it was marvelled at by thoſe who knew them, and did behold their end. And thus theſe two martyrs ended their lives with great triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like, Amen.

The HISTORY *of* JOHN MAUNDREL, WILLIAM COBERLY, *and* JOHN SPICER, MARTYRS, *perſecuted in the Dioceſe of* Saliſbury.

JOHN MAUNDREL was the ſon of Robert Maundrel of Rowd, in the county of Wilts, farmer; he was from his childhood brought up in huſbandry, and when he came to man's eſtate, he dwelt in a village called Buchampten, in the pariſh of Kevel, in the county aforeſaid, where he lived in good repute with his wife and children. After the ſcripture was tranſlated into Engliſh by William Tindal, this John Maundrel became a diligent hearer thereof, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, ſo that he delighted in nothing ſo much, as to hear and ſpeak of God's word, never being without the New Teſtament about him, although he could not read himſelf. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good memory, ſo that he could recite by heart moſt places of the New Teſtament; his life and converſation being very honeſt and charitable, as his neighbours could teſtify.

So it was, that in the days of king Henry the Eighth, at which time Dr. Trigonion and Dr. Lee did viſit the abbeys, the ſaid John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trigonion at an abbey called Edyngton in Wiltſhire; where he was accuſed that he had ſpoken againſt the holy water and holy bread, and ſuch like ceremonies, and for the ſame did wear a white ſheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the market, in the town of the Devizes, which is in the ſaid county. Nevertheleſs his ſervency did not abate, but by God's merciful aſſiſtance he took better hold, as the ſequel thereof did declare.

For in the days of queen Mary, when popery was reſtored again, and God's true religion put to ſilence, the ſaid John Maundrel left his own houſe and went into Glouceſterſhire, and into the north part of Wiltſhire, wandering from one to another to ſuch men as he knew feared God, with whom, as a ſervant to keep their cattle, he there did remain with one John Bridges, or ſome other at Kingſwood; but after a time he returned to his own country, and there coming to the Devizes to a friend of his named Anthony Clee, had talk and conference with him in a garden, of returning home to his houſe.

And when the other exhorted him by the words of ſcripture, to fly from one city to another, he replied again by the words of the Revelations xxi. of them that be fearful, and ſaid, that he muſt needs go home, and ſo did. Where he with Spicer and Coberly uſed at times to reſort and confer together.

At length upon the Sunday following they agreed together to go to the pariſh church, called Revel, where the ſaid Maundrel, and the other two, ſeeing the pariſhioners in the proceſſion following and worſhipping the idol there carried, adviſed them to leave the ſame, and to return to the living God, particularly ſpeaking to one Robert Barkſdale, head man of the pariſh, but he paid no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the ſouls in purgatory; the ſaid John Maundrel, ſpeaking with an audible voice, ſaid, that was the pope's pinfold, the other two affirming the ſame. After which words, by command of the prieſt, they were had to the ſtocks, where they remained till the ſervice was done, and then were brought before a juſtice of peace, and the next day were all three carried to Saliſbury, and preſented before biſhop Capon, and William Geffrey, being chancellor of the dioceſe. By whom they were impriſoned, and oftentimes examined concerning their faith, in their houſes, but ſeldom openly. And at the laſt examination theſe were the articles which the chancellor alledged againſt them, being accompanied by the ſheriff of the ſhire, Mr. St. Johns, and other popiſh prieſts in the pariſh church of Fiſherton Anger, demanding how they did believe.

They anſwered, as chriſtian men ſhould and ought to believe: and firſt they ſaid, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy ſcripture from the firſt of Geneſis to the laſt of the Revelations.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he propoſed them in particular articles: Firſt, whether they did not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar (as he termed it), after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt at maſs, there remained no ſubſtance of bread nor wine, but Chriſt's body, fleſh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary. Whereunto they anſwered negatively, ſaying that the popiſh maſs was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Chriſt; but confeſſing, that in a faithful congregation, receiving the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, being duly adminiſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, Chriſt's body and blood is ſpiritually received of the faithful believer.

Alſo, being aſked whether the pope was ſupreme head of the church, and Chriſt's vicar on earth; they anſwered negatively, ſaying, that the biſhop of Rome doth uſurp over emperors and kings, being Antichriſt, and God's enemy.

The chancellor ſaid, Will you have the church without a head? They anſwered, Chriſt was head of his church, and under Chriſt the queen's majeſty.

What, ſaid the chancellor, a woman head of the church? Yea, ſaid they, within her grace's dominions.

Alſo, whether the ſouls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardon, and the ſuffrages of the church.

They ſaid, they believed faithfully that the blood of Chriſt had purged their ſins, and the ſins of them that were ſaved, unto the end of the world, ſo that they feared nothing of the pope's purgatory, nor eſteemed his pardons.

Alſo, whether images were neceſſary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and ſaints to be prayed unto and worſhipped.

They anſwered negatively, John Maundrel adding, that wooden images were good to roaſt a ſhoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.

Thoſe articles thus anſwered (for their articles were one, and their anſwers in manner alike), the chancellor read their condemnation, and ſo delivered them to the ſheriff. Then ſpake John Spicer, ſaying, O maſter ſheriff, now muſt you be their butcher, that you may be guilty alſo with them of innocent blood before the Lord. This was the 23d day of March, 1556, and the 24th day of the ſame month, they were carried out of the common gaol to a place between Saliſbury and Wilton, where were two poſts ſet for them to be burnt at. Which men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers ſecretly together, and then being uncloathed to their ſhirts, John Maundrel ſpake with a loud voice, Not for all Saliſbury. Which words men judged to be an anſwer to the ſheriff, who offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner ſpake John Spicer, ſaying, This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw. Thus were the three burnt at two ſtakes: where moſt conſtantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their ſouls to the Lord, for the teſtimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberly, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife alſo, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper's houſe at the ſame time that her huſband was in priſon. Where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had ſecretly heated a key fire-hot, and laid it in the graſs in the back-yard. So ſpeaking to Alice Coberly to fetch her the key in all haſte, the ſaid Alice went with all ſpeed to bring it, and taking it up in haſte did piteouſly burn her hand. Whereupon ſhe crying out on the ſudden burning of her hand, Ah thou drab, quoth the other, thou that canſt not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body? and ſo ſhe afterward revoked.

But to return again ſo the ſtory of Coberly, who being at the ſtake, was ſomewhat long a burning as the wind ſtood: after his body was ſcorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the fleſh being burnt to the white bone, at length he ſtooped over the chain, and with the right hand, which was leſs injured, knocked upon his breaſt ſoftly, the blood and matter iſſuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, ſuddenly he roſe upright with his body again. And thus much concerning theſe three Saliſbury martyrs.

An ACCOUNT *of the* DEATH *of* SIX *other* MARTYRS *ſuffering at* LONDON, *whoſe* Names *follow.*

ABOUT the 23d day of April, 1556, were burned in Smithfield, at one fire, theſe ſix conſtant martyrs of Chriſt, ſuffering for the profeſſion of the goſpel, viz. Robert Drakes, miniſter. William Tyms, curate. Richard Spurge, ſheerman. Thomas Spurge, fuller. John Cavel, weaver. George Ambroſe, fuller.

They were all of Eſſex, and ſo of the dioceſe of London,

don, and were ſent up, ſome by the lord Rich, and ſome by others at ſundry times, unto Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, then lord chancellor of England, about the 22d day of March, 1555; who after a ſhort examination, ſent them, ſome unto the King's Bench, and others unto the Marſhalſea, where they remained almoſt the whole year, until the death of the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, and had during that time nothing ſaid unto them. Whereupon, after that Dr. Heath, archbiſhop of York, was choſen to the office of lord chancellor, four of theſe perſecuted brethren, being now weary of this their long impriſonment, made their ſupplication unto the ſaid Dr. Heath, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the copy whereof here followeth.

To the Moſt Reverend FATHER *in* GOD, THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP *of* YORK, Lord Chancellor *of* England.

MAY it pleaſe your honourable good lordſhip, for the love of God to tender the humble ſuit of your lordſhip's poor petitioners, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, who have lain in the Marſhalſea for ten months or more at the commandment of the late lord chancellor, to their utter ruin, with their wives and children. In conſideration whereof your lordſhip's ſaid ſupplicants do moſt humbly pray and beſeech your good lordſhip to ſuffer them to be brought before your honour; and there if any man of good conſcience can lay any thing to our charge, we truſt either to declare our innocence againſt their accuſations, or if otherwiſe their accuſations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign puniſhments to ſatisfy the law according to your wiſe judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy towards us and all men, according to your godly office, and in which we pray for your godly ſucceſs to the good pleaſure of Almighty God, Amen.

This ſupplication was ſent (as is ſaid) and ſubſcribed with the names of theſe four under written:

RICHARD SPURGE. GEORGE AMBROSE.
THOMAS SPURGE. JOHN CAVEL.

RICHARD SPURGE.

UPON the receipt hereof, it was not long after, but ſir Richard Reed, knight, then one of the officers of the court of Chancery, the 16th day of January, was ſent unto the Marſhalſea to examine the ſaid four priſoners; and therefore beginning firſt with Richard Spurge upon certain demands, received his anſwers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the parſon at Bocking, unto the lord Rich, for not coming to their pariſh church of Bocking, where they had inhabited; thereupon he was, by the ſaid lord Rich, ſent unto the late lord chancellor, about the 22d of March, 1555.

And farther, he ſaid, that he came not to the church ſince the firſt alteration of the Engliſh ſervice into Latin (Chriſtmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted), and that becauſe he miſliked both the ſame and the maſs alſo, as not conſonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Moreover he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unleſs it pleaſed the lord chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

THOMAS SPURGE.

THOMAS SPURGE being then next examined, made the ſame anſwer in effect that the other had done; confeſſing, that he abſented himſelf from the church, becauſe the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the ſacraments of Chriſt duly adminiſtered in ſuch ſort as was preſcribed by the ſame word. And being further examined of his belief concerning the ſacrament of the altar, he ſaid, that if any could accuſe him thereof, he would then make anſwer as God had given him knowledge therein.

GEORGE AMBROSE.

THE like anſwer made George Ambroſe, adding moreover, that after he had read the late biſhop of Wincheſter's book, *De vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, inveighing both againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, he did ſet much leſs by their doings than before.

JOHN CAVEL.

JOHN CAVEL agreeing in other matters with them, anſwered, that the cauſe why he did forbear coming to the church, was, that the parſon there had preached two contrary doctrines. For firſt, in a ſermon that he made at the queen's firſt entry to the crown, he did exhort people to believe the goſpel; for it was the truth, and if they did not believe it, they ſhould be damned. But in a ſecond ſermon, he preached that the Teſtament was falſe in forty places, which contrariety in him was a cauſe, amongſt others, of his abſenting from the church.

ROBERT DRAKES.

ABOUT the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes was alſo examined, who was parſon of Thunderſley, in Eſſex, and had there remained for the ſpace of three years. He was firſt made deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley, at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late archbiſhop of Canterbury. And within one year after (which was the third year after king Edward) he was, by the ſaid archbiſhop and Dr. Ridley, biſhop of London, admitted miniſter of God's holy word and ſacraments, not after the order then in force, but after ſuch order as was after eſtabliſhed; and was preſented to the ſaid benefice of Thunderſley by the lord Rich, at the ſuit of Mr. Cauſton and Mr. Treheron; and now notwithſtanding was ſent up by the ſaid lord Rich, with the others before-mentioned; and at his coming to the biſhop of Wincheſter, was by him demanded whether he could conform himſelf like a ſubject to the laws of this realm then in force. To whom he ſaid, he would abide all laws that ſtood with the laws of God; and thereupon was committed to priſon, where he, and the reſt above-named did remain ever ſince.

The History *of* WILLIAM TYMS, Deacon, *and* Curate *of* Hockley, *in* Eſſex.

IN the days of queen Mary there were two ſermons preached in the woods at Hockley, which woods belonged to one Mr. Tyrel; one was called Plumborough Wood, and the other Beches Wood, and there was at the ſame ſermons an honeſt man and his wife, whoſe name was John Gye, and ſervant to Mr. Tyrel at the farm called Plumborough. Shortly after it was known to Mr. Tyrel that his woods were polluted with ſermons, which he took very ill, and much matter did ariſe about it as an unlawful aſſembly, which was laid to John Gye's charge, becauſe he did not diſcloſe that unlawful act to his maſter, being then in the commiſſion of the peace, appointed at that time to keep down the goſpel, which he did to the utmoſt, as it may appear to many of his acts.

Soon after Mr. Tyrel came to Hockley to ſift out this matter, and to know who was at theſe preachings: And there were found many faulty; for it is ſuppoſed there were an hundred perſons at the leaſt. So it pleaſed Mr. Tyrel to begin firſt with John Gye, and aſked where that naughty fellow was that ſerved their pariſh, one Tyms; for it is told me, ſaid he, that he is the cauſe of theſe naughty fellows coming into the country. Therefore I charge thee, Gye, to fetch me this naughty fellow Tyms; for thou knoweſt where he is. No, ſaid Gye, I do not know. So in no wiſe could he make him fetch him.

Then ſtepped forth another of Mr. Tyrel's men, willing to pleaſe his maſter, whoſe name was Richard Sheriff, and ſaid to him, Sir, I know where he is. Well, ſaid his maſter, go to the conſtables, and charge them to bring him to me.

So this Richard Sheriff being very diligent, made ſure work. and had him brought by the conſtables (whoſe names were Edward Hedge and John James) before his maſter.

Then Mr. Tyrel commanded all the reſt to depart; and it was wiſely done, for he was not able to open his mouth againſt Tyms without reproach; and there he kept him about three hours. But there were ſome that liſtened at the walls, and heard Mr. Tyrel ſay thus to Tyms.

Methinketh, ſaid he, when I ſee the bleſſed rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why, ſir, ſaid Tyms, if an idol that is made with man's hands doth make you remember God, how much more ought the creatures of God, as man being his workmanſhip, or the graſs, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So Mr. Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms, as it were in a heat, calling him a traitorous knave.

Why, ſir, ſaid Tyms, in king Edward's days you affirmed the truth that I do now.

Affirm! quoth Tyrol, nay, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart.

Well, ſaid Tyms, I pray you, Mr. Tyrel, bear with me, for I have been a traitor but a while, but you have been a traitor ſix years.

After this Tyms was ſent to London to the biſhop, and from him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſo from him to the King's Bench, and then was Mr. Tyrel's rage over with them that were in the woods at the ſermons. So Mr. Tyrel took away Gye's coat, and gave it to John Traiford, and ſent him to St. Toſies to ſee good rule kept there.

When Tyms came before the biſhop of London, there was at that time the biſhop of Bath, and William Tyms was examined of his faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had wherewith to anſwer them both; for the conſtables ſaid, that brought them before the biſhop, that they never heard the like. Then the biſhop (as though he would have had Tyms to turn from the trial) ſaid to the conſtables, I pray you give him good counſel, that he may turn from his error. My lord, ſaid the conſtables, he is at a point, for he will not turn.

Then both the biſhops began to be weary of him, for he had troubled them about ſix or ſeven hours. Then the biſhops began to pity Tyms's caſe, and to flatter him, ſaying, Ah, good fellow, (ſaid they) thou art bold, and thou haſt a good freſh ſpirit, we would thou hadſt learning to thy ſpirit. I thank you, my lords, ſaid Tyms, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good ſpirit to your learning.

So thus they broke up, and ſent Tyms to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and then were Edward Hedge and John James the conſtables aforenamed diſcharged, and Tyms was commanded to the King's Bench, where he was mightily ſtrengthened with the good men that he found there.

And thus hitherto you have heard, firſt upon what occaſion this William Tyms was apprehended, how he was treated by Mr. Tyrel the juſtice, and by him ſent up to the ordinary of the dioceſe, which was biſhop Bonner; who, after ſome talk, and debating with the ſaid Tyms, at length directed him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, being then lord chancellor, and was commanded by him upon the ſame to the King's Bench.

Here by the way is to be underſtood, that Tyms as he was but a deacon, ſo he was but ſimply, or at leaſt not prieſtly appareled, foraſmuch as he went not in a gown, but in a coat; and his hoſe were of two colours, the upper part white, and the nether ſtocks of ſheep's ruſſet. Whereupon the prelate ſending for him to come before him, and ſeeing his ſimple attire, began to mock him, ſaying, Ah, ſirrah, are you a deacon? Yes, my lord, that I am, quoth Tyms. So methinketh, ſaid the biſhop, you are decked like a deacon. My lord, ſaid Tyms, my veſture doth not ſo much vary from a deacon: but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an apoſtle.

So then there ſpake one of the biſhop's gentlemen, My lord, (ſaid he in mockery) give him a chair, a toaſt, and drink, and he will be luſty. But the biſhop ordered him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But Wincheſter, for lack of leiſure, or becauſe of ſickneſs growing upon him, or for what cauſe elſe I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary biſhop from whence he came. So William Tyms being put off again to biſhop Bonner, was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs above-named, and with them brought together to public examination before the biſhop the 21ſt day of March, firſt in the biſhop's palace of London, where the ſaid biſhop, after his accuſtomed manner proceeded againſt them, inquired of them their faith upon the ſacrament of the altar. To whom they anſwered, that the body of Chriſt was not in the ſacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt: of which opinion they had been a long time, ſome later, ſome ſooner, even as God of his mercy did call upon them unto the knowledge of his goſpel.

Then the biſhop's chaplains began to reaſon with them, but with no great authorities either of the ſcriptures or of the ancient fathers, as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another EXAMINATION *of* W. TYMS *and* R. DRAKES, *&c. before the* Biſhop *of* London.

THE 23d day of the ſame month of March, the biſhop ſent again for Tyms and Drakes, and *ex officio* did object unto them certain articles, the ſum and manner whereof were the ſame which before were objected to Whittle, Green, Tudſon, &c. And the 26th day of the ſame month he ſent for the other four, adminiſtering to them alſo the ſame general articles. Unto which they all in effect anſwered in matters touching their faith, as did the ſaid Bartlet Green and the reſt. Other appearings they had, as the biſhop's common manner of proceeding was more (as I have often ſaid) for order and form of law, than for any zeal of juſtice.

But in concluſion, the 28th day of the ſaid month, William Tyms and Robert Drakes, with the other four above named, were brought to the open conſiſtory in St. Paul's before the ſaid biſhop of London, to be condemned for hereſy.

The biſhop firſt began in this manner: Tyms, ſaid he, I will begin with thee firſt, for thou art and haſt been the ringleader of theſe thy companions, thou haſt taught them hereſies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and haſt endeavoured as much as in thee lieth, to make them like unto thyſelf. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have uſed thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Chriſt, in the 18th of Matthew, have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldeſt not have heard me, I would not ſo have left thee, but I, with two or three others, would have exhorted thee; if that would not have ſerved, then would I have told the church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifeſt to the world, and thou thyſelf remaineſt ſtout in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. Paul ſpeaketh, 1 Tim. v. "Such as ſin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear." For this cauſe art thou brought before me in the face of this people to receive judgment according to thy deſerts. Let me ſee what thou canſt ſay, why I ſhould not proceed againſt thee as thine ordinary.

My lord, quoth Tyms, will you now give me leave to ſpeak? Yea, quoth the biſhop. Then ſaid Tyms, My lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company, but how untruly you have ſaid ſhall ſhortly appear: for there is none of all theſe my brethren, which are brought hither as priſoners, but when they were at liberty and out of priſon, they diſſented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this preſent; and for that cauſe they are now priſoners.

So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in priſon. And as for me, I never knew them, until ſuch time as I, by their commandment, was priſoner with them; how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? ſo that all the world may ſee how untruly you have ſpoken. And as for my fault which you make ſo grievous, whatſoever you judge of me, I am well aſſured that I hold none other religion than Chriſt preached, the apoſtles witneſſed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apoſtolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for which you have cruelly burnt them, and now you ſeek our blood alſo. Proceed on hardly, by what rule you will, I oppoſe not, neither refuſe you for mine ordinary.

Then, ſaid the biſhop, I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How ſayeſt thou, wilt thou ſubmit thyſelf to the catholic church as an obedient child? In ſo doing thou ſhalt be received, and do well enough, otherwiſe thou ſhalt have judgment as an heretic.

Then one of the priſoners (whoſe name is not certainly known) ſaid, My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own luſt. But if you will judge us according to the holy Teſtament of Chriſt, which is the word of truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that word we wholly ſubmit ourſelves. But as for your judgment without the truth, God ſhall condemn. This was very earneſtly expreſſed, inſiſting that they ſhould be judged by the word of God.

At this the biſhop was offended, calling him buſy knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould be had away to a place of ſmaller eaſe.

Then Tyms anſwered and ſaid, My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatſoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporal oath promiſed never to conſent to the ſame. Contrary to which you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falſely perjured and forſworn all the ſort of you. Beſides this, you have both ſpoken and written very earneſtly againſt that uſurped power, and now you burn men that will not acknowledge the pope to be ſupreme head.

Have I? quoth the biſhop, where have I written any thing againſt the church of Rome?

My lord, quoth Tyms, the biſhop of Wincheſter wrote a very learned oration, intitled, *De vera Obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter againſt the Romiſh authority: unto which book you made a preface, inveighing againſt the biſhop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falſhood, calling his power falſe and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.

Then was the biſhop ſomewhat aſhamed, and looking upon thoſe that were preſent, ſpake very gently, ſaying, Lo, here is a good matter indeed. My lord of Wincheſter being a very learned man, did write a book againſt the ſupremacy of the pope's holineſs, and I alſo did write a preface before the ſame book, tending to the ſame effect. And thus did we becauſe of the perilous times that then were. For then it was made treaſon by the laws of this realm, to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger it was to be ſuſpected a favourer of the ſee of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to comply with the time, for otherwiſe there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conſcience in maintaining the pope's authority, he ſuffered death for it.

And then turning his tale upon Tyms, he ſaid, But ſince that time, even ſince the coming in of the queen's majeſty, when we might be bold to ſpeak our conſcience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my lord of Wincheſter ſhamed not to recant the ſame at Paul's Croſs. And alſo thou thyſelf ſeeſt that I ſtand not in it, but willingly have ſubmitted myſelf. Do thou alſo as we have done.

My lord, quoth Tyms, that which you have written againſt the ſupremacy of the pope, may be well approved by the ſcriptures. But that which you now do, is againſt the word of God, as I can well prove.

Then another, I ſuppoſe it was Dr. Cooke, ſaid, Tyms, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou ſpeakeſt much of the ſcripture, and yet underſtandeſt it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayſt be compared: thou art like to one who intending to go a hunting, riſeth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth up to the hills, and down into the valleys; he paſſeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he ſearcheth the woods and thickets; thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night home he cometh, weary of his travel, not having caught any thing at all; and thus fareth it with thee. Thou laboureſt in reading of the ſcriptures, thou takeſt the letter, but the meaning thou knoweſt not, and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man that I ſpake of even now.

Sir, quoth Tyms, you have not well applied your ſimilitude; for I praiſe God, I have not read the ſcriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me ſo much as I doubt not is ſufficient for my ſalvation.

Then ſaid the biſhop, You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you ſpeak much of ſcripture, and you know not what ſcripture is. I pray thee tell me; how knoweſt thou that thing to be the word of God, which thou calleſt ſcripture?

To this anſwered Robert Drakes, that he knew it to be the word of God, becauſe it ſhewed unto men their ſalvation in Chriſt, and doth revoke and call all me back from their wicked lives, unto a pure and undefil conversation.

The biſhop replied, that the heathen writers hav taught precepts of good living, as well as the ſcriptur and yet their writings are not eſteemed to be God word.

Then ſaid Tyms, The Old Teſtament beareth w neſs of thoſe things which are written in the Ne for (quoth he) there is nothing taught in the N Teſtament but it was fore-ſhewed in the law and prophets.

I will deny all, quoth the biſhop, I will deny al what ſayeſt thou then? Then Robert Drakes alledg a ſentence in Latin out of the 59th chapter of Iſaiah prophecy: *Spiritus meus qui eſt in te*, &c. that is, "M Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have p in thy mouth, ſhall not depart out of the mouth of th feed, nor out of the mouth of the ſeed of thy ſeed fro henceforth even for ever;" meaning thereby to prov that he who had the Spirit of God, could thereb diſcern and judge truly which was God's wor but before he could explicate his mind, he was inte rupted by the biſhop, who ſpoke unto Dr. Pendleto ſaying,

Mr. Doctor, I pray you ſay ſomething to theſe fol that may do them ſome good. Then Dr. Pendleto leaning near the biſhop, covered his face with both h hands, to the end he might the more eaſily deviſe wh to ſay; but another converſation was preſently broug forward, ſo that for that time he ſaid nothing.

And thus much William Alſbury, witneſs here being preſent thereat, ſo far as he heard, hath faithfu recorded aud reported. What more was ſaid, (for th had not yet made an end) becauſe he departed then o of the houſe, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the biſhop, after this, and ſuch like commu cation, proceeded at length in form of law, cauſi both the articles and his anſwers to the ſame to be t and there openly read; the ſum of which his confeſſ recorded and left in his own hand-writing, is in eff as follows.

The ARTICLES *for which* WILLIAM TYMS, Hockley, *in* Essex, *was condemned in the* Conſiſ *of* St. Paul's, *the 28th of* March, *with his* A SWERS *and* CONFESSION *upon the ſame.*

FIRST, I did truly confeſs, and believe that I baptized in the true catholic church of Chriſt; wi when I was baptized, there was the element and the word of God, according to Chriſt's inſtitution. And my godfathers and godmothers did promiſe for me, that I ſhould forſake the devil, and all his works, and that I ſhould keep God's commandments, and believe all the articles of the chriſtian faith; all which I do believe at this day, and with God's help I truſt to do while I live; for it was not the wickedneſs of the miniſter that made the ſacrament of none effect, &c.

Item, I confeſſed two ſacraments, and but two in Chriſt's true church; that is, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and that Chriſt is preſent with his ſacraments, as it pleaſeth him.

Item, I confeſſed, that Chriſt hath a viſible church, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the ſacraments truly adminiſtered.

Item, I confeſſed the ſee of Rome to be as the late biſhop of Wincheſter hath written in his book *De vera Obedientia*, to which I ſaid unto the biſhop of London, that he had made a godly preface; and alſo John Bale hath plainly declared in his book, called, The image of both churches, even ſo much as I believe thereof.

Item, I confeſſed the maſs to be blaſphemy to Chriſt's death and paſſion.

Item, I confeſſed that in the ſacrament of the altar, Chriſt is not preſent either ſpiritually or corporally; but as they uſe it, it is an abominable idol.

Laſt of all, I confeſſed the biſhop of London to be mine ordinary.

After this the biſhop fell to intreaty and perſuaſions, earneſtly exhorted him to revoke his hereſies (as he termed them), and to reform himſelf unto the church of Rome, and not to ſtick ſo much to the literal ſenſe of the ſcriptures, but to uſe the interpretations of the old fathers.

To which Tyms anſwered, I will not reform myſelf thereunto. And I thank God for this day; for I truſt he will turn your curſings into bleſſings.

And furthermore aſking this queſtion, he ſaid; And what have you to maintain the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, but only the bare letter?

We have (quoth the biſhop) the catholic church.

No, ſaid Tyms, you have the popiſh church of Rome for you, for which you are perjured and forſworn. And the ſee of Rome is the ſee of Antichriſt; and therefore to that church I will not conform myſelf, nor once conſent unto it.

Then the biſhop ſeeing his conſtant boldneſs to be unmoveable, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced the ſentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the ſecular power.

Afterwards calling for Robert Drakes, he uſed towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before.

To whom Drakes replied, As for your church of Rome, I utterly defy and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the devil and all his works.

The biſhop then uſing his accuſtomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at laſt gave him the like bleſſing that Tyms had, and ſo charged the ſheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge being next demanded if he would return to the catholic church, ſaid as follows; As for your church of Rome, I do utterly deny it: but to the true catholic church I am content to return, and continue in the ſame, whereof I believe the church of Rome to be no part or member.

Then in ſhort, calling the reſt in their turn, and upon the like demands receiving the like anſwers, the ſaid biſhop gave unto each of them their ſeveral judgments; and ſo ridding his bloody hands, committed them unto the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of London, who ſent them unto Newgate, where they all went moſt joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good time, wherein they ſhould ſeal this their faith with the ſhedding of their blood; which they moſt ſtoutly and willingly performed, in the month of April.

LETTER I.

From WILLIAM TYMS *to his faithful* Siſter *in the* Lord, AGNES GLASCOCK, Pariſhioner *in the* Town *of* Hockley.

THE grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, with the ſweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlaſting comfort, be with you my dear ſiſter Glaſcock, both now and evermore, Amen.

My moſt dear and entirely beloved ſiſter, yea mother, I might right well call you for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have moſt heartily commended myſelf unto you, giving God moſt hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you ſo loving a heart to Chriſt's poor goſpel, and his poor afflicted flock for the ſame: and as you have full godly begun, ſo I beſeech God to give you power to go forward in the ſame, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire nor ſword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was preſent with you, and alſo written being abſent, and no doubt we ſhall ſhortly meet again with a moſt joyful meeting. I go on Friday next to the biſhop of London's coal-houſe, which is the 20th day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to ſpeak with me. However I truſt I ſhall not long tarry there, but ſhortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and ſiſters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you till we meet in heaven; and haſten you after.

I have tarried a great while for you, and ſeeing you are ſo long making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You ſhall find me merrily ſinging, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabbath, at my journey's end. Therefore now (my dear heart) make good haſte, and loiter not by the way, leſt night take you, and ſo you be ſhut out of the gate with the fooliſh virgins. And now (my ſiſter) in witneſs that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a teſtimonial unto you, that I will ſeal the ſimple doctrine which I have taught you, with the reſt. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from Antichriſt, and all his miniſters, the falſe prieſts, Amen.

Theſe words following were written with his own blood.

Continue in prayer. By me W. TYMS, in
Aſk in faith. the King's-Bench
And obtain your deſire. for the Goſpel of
Chriſt.

LETTER II.

From WILLIAM TYMS, *comforting his* Siſter GLASCOCK, *being in great* Sorrow *and* Repentance *for going to the* Maſs.

GOD be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your ſins, and ſend you faith to believe the ſame, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom, Amen.

My dear ſiſter, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that idolatrous prieſt; ſo have I, ſince I heard of your earneſt repentance, very much rejoiced, and alſo praiſed Almighty God for his mercy ſhewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourſelf, but ſince your denial he hath ſhewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did, and bitterly to weep for your ſins: whereas if God had left you to yourſelf, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart would either have been hardened, or elſe you would have deſpaired of the mercy of

God. And ſeeing that God hath been ſo merciful unto you as he hath been, be ye not unthankful unto him for the ſame. For I certify you that your ſorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your ſins for the blood-ſhedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as Peter, after the time that Chriſt had forgiven him his ſin, did boldly confeſs Chriſt before all his enemies; even ſo, my dear heart in the Lord, ſeeing that God hath ſo mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your ſins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the papiſts; and as they do bear witneſs with their father the devil, by going to the church, and ſhedding the innocent blood of thoſe that will not go with them; even ſo do you bear witneſs with Chriſt, by not coming there: for all thoſe that do go thither ſhall be partakers of their brethren's blood, that is ſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may ſo do, I beſeech the eternal God for his Chriſt's ſake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the ſame good God that hath been ſo merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beſeech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may always have affiance in him, and evermore ſeek his honour and glory to your everlaſting comfort in Chriſt, Amen. Thus fare you well. From the King's-bench, this 28th of Auguſt.

By me,
WILLIAM TYMS.

LETTER III.

From WILLIAM TYMS *to certain godly* WOMEN *of his* Pariſh, Followers *of the* Goſpel.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear ſiſters, I have me moſt heartily recommended unto you, thanking you for the great kindneſs ſhewed unto me in this time of mine impriſonment, and not only unto me, but alſo unto my poor wife and children; and alſo for the great kindneſs that you ſhew unto all the living ſaints that are diſperſed abroad, and are obliged to hide their heads for fear of this cruel perſecution.

Dear ſiſters, when I do remember your conſtancy in Chriſt, I call to remembrance the conſtancy of divers godly women, as Suſannah, Judith, Eſther, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions ſaved both her huſband's life, and all her houſhold, when David had thought to have ſlain him for his churliſh anſwer that he ſent him. Alſo I do remember Rahab that lodged the Lord's ſpies, how God preſerved her and her whole houſhold for her faithfulneſs that ſhe bare to God's people. So I do believe that when the Lord ſhall ſend his angel to deſtroy theſe idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and ſhall find the blood of the Lamb ſprinkled on the door-poſt of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but ſpare your whole houſholds for your ſakes. Alſo I remember Mary Magdalen, how faithful ſhe was; for ſhe was the firſt that preached the reſurrection of Chriſt. Remember the bleſſed marty, Anne Aſkew, in our time, and follow her example of conſtancy, and for the love of God take heed that in no caſe you conſent to idolatry, but ſtand faſt to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her ſeven ſons put to death before her face, and ſhe always comforting them, yea, and laſt of all ſuffered death herſelf, for the teſtimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beſeech God to ſend you grace and ſtrength to ſtand faſt to the Lord, as ſhe did, and then you ſhall be ſure of the ſame kingdom that ſhe is ſure of; to which kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me,
priſoner in the King's-bench,
WILLIAM TYMS.

LETTER IV.

From WILLIAM TYMS *to his* FRIENDS *in* HOCKLEY.

THE grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jeſus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlaſting comfort, be with you my dear brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I beſeech God to reward the great goodneſs that you have ſhewed unto me, ſeven-fold into your boſoms; and as you have always had a moſt godly love unto his word, even ſo I beſeech him to give you grace to love your own ſouls, and then I truſt you will flee from all thoſe things that ſhould diſpleaſure our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of thoſe that would have you to worſhip God any otherwiſe than is contained in his holy word. And beware of thoſe maſters of idolatry, that is, theſe papiſtical prieſts. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have ſaid unto you, and alſo written, which I am now ready to ſeal with my blood. I praiſe God that ever I lived to ſee the day, and bleſſed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And, dear hearts, I do now write unto you for none other cauſe, but to put you in remembrance that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but to remember well what I have ſimply by word of mouth and writing taught you. Which although it were moſt ſimply done, yet truly, as your own conſcience beareth me record: and therefore in any caſe take heed that you do not that thing which your own conſcience doth condemn. Therefore come out of Sodom and go heavenward with the ſervants and martyrs of God, leſt you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation from which the Lord God defend you, and ſend us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven; unto which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongſt you, which thing is uncertain unto me as yet.

By me in Newgate, your pooreſt and moſt unworthy brother in Chriſt,
Newgate, April 12. W. TYMS.

LETTER V.

From WILLIAM TYMS *to his* PARISHIONERS, *giving* Thanks *for their* Charity *ſhewed to his* Wife, *being brought to* Bed *of a* Child *in his* Captivity.

THE everlaſting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, with the ſweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increaſe of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlaſting kingdom of heaven, be with you, my dear brethren and ſiſters, both now and ever, Amen.

My moſt dear brethren and ſiſters in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I have me moſt heartily commended unto you with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have ſhewed unto me, and eſpecially now in the time of my neceſſity, when that God hath ſent my poor wife a child in my captivity; which is no little care to me, ſo to provide, that I might keep both the child and my wife from the antichriſtian-church: which thing I thank my God, through his moſt gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to the congregation of God, and it grieveth me that I have been ſo chargeable to them as I have been, and eſpecially you my dear brethren, I being ſo unworthy a member as I have been, and alſo of ſo ſmall acquaintance: but ſuch is the merciful goodneſs of God, ſo as to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts ſo to do, even ſo I beſeech God to give you power to forſake and reject all things which are diſpleaſing in his ſight, to do all things which are requiſite to a chriſtian; and ſend you grace to go forwards in the ſame, as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor ſword. And, my moſt dear hearts, remember well the ſimple plain doctrine which I have taught you, and alſo written unto you, which was the truth, and for a teſtimony of the ſame I truſt that you ſhall ſhortly hear, or elſe ſee that I will ſeal the ſame with my blood.

And in the mean time I deſire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with God's help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Chriſt's ſake, will ſo finiſh the days of our pilgrimage, that we may reſt together with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the everlaſting kingdom of heaven, to which I beſeech the eternal Lord for his Chriſt's ſake to bring both you and all your's, Amen.

By me, WILLIAM TYMS.

LETTER. VI.

From WILLIAM TYMS *to his* Siſters COLFOX *and* AGNES GLASCOCK.

GRACE and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved ſiſters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt the Comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

My moſt dear and intirely beloved ſiſters in the Lord, after my moſt hearty commendations, according to my moſt bounden duty, I do as I am accuſtomed, or at leaſt ought to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, which are the prieſts, and take good heed of them, for they ſerve a crafty maſter; yea, and as St. Peter ſaith, He ſleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring lion, ſeeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they ſee that you will not run into the idol's temples with them, it will ſeem a ſtrange thing unto them, that ye run not to the ſame exceſs of riot, as St. Peter ſaith, and therefore they will ſpeak evil of you, rail on you, and perſecute you.

But, my dear ſiſters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not ſeem a ſtrange thing unto you. But when they do ſo, remember wherefore it is, and for whoſe ſake, even becauſe you will not forſake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is God's cauſe, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his ſake, think yourſelves moſt happy. For if you ſuffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apoſtles, then ſhall ye be ſure to be partakers of the ſame joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants have always perſecuted the true members of Chriſt, as he himſelf hath promiſed that they ſhall do unto the end of the world.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen, who for favouring, maintaining, and defending the ſame doctrine that we now ſuffer for, was called a blaſphemer, and ſtoned to death at Jeruſalem. And Chriſt's apoſtles were diverſly afflicted all over the world for the ſame by this viperous generation. Antipas the faithful witneſs of Chriſt was ſlain at Pergamus. Jaſon for receiving Paul and Silas, with other diſciples and teachers of the goſpel, was brought before the council at Theſſalonica, and accuſed for a ſeditious traitor againſt Cæſar. No marvel therefore though at this day we are vexed on the ſame ſort, maintaining the ſame cauſe, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true ſervants of God now, than hath been aforetimes? No ſurely, for ſo hath Chriſt promiſed. And if they have perſecuted him, they needs muſt perſecute his members; if they have called the Maſter of the houſe Beelzebub, ſo will they do his houſhold; "You ſhall be hated of all men, (ſaith Chriſt) for my name's ſake."

It is no new thing, my dear hearts, to ſee the true members of Chriſt handled as in our days they are, as it is not unknown to you how they are cruelly treated, and blaſphemed without any reaſonable cauſe. For heretics muſt they be taken, who follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Chriſt an heretic, for he never went a proceſſion with the cope, croſs, or candleſtick. He never cenſed image, nor ſang Latin ſervice. He never ſat in confeſſion. He never preached of purgatory nor of the pope's pardons. He never honoured ſaints, nor prayed for the dead. He never ſaid maſs, mattins, nor even-ſong. He never commanded to faſt Friday nor vigil, lent nor advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, aſhes nor palms, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with ſuch like. But ſuch dumb ceremonies, not having the expreſs commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the phariſees, and damnable hypocriſy; admoniſhing his diſciples to beware of them. He curſeth all thoſe that add to his word ſuch beggarly ſhadows, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. St. Paul ſaith, they have no portion with Chriſt, which entangle themſelves again with ſuch yokes of bondage.

Therefore, my dear hearts, ſeeing that our good God hath, by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all ſuch dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith Chriſt hath made you free, bring not yourſelves again into the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which, as St. Peter ſaith, "will come as a thief in the night." And our captain Chriſt ſaith "If the good man of the houſe knew what hour the thief would come, he would ſurely watch."

Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage ever ſo ſore againſt you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who according to his promiſe for the weakneſs of our nature hath ſo aſſuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren that have gone before us, to the ſight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you ſurely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and ſay with St. Paul, Rom. viii. "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or hunger, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? as it is written, For thy ſake are we killed all the day long," &c.

Therefore, my dear ſiſters, if to ſave your lives, any diſſembling goſpellers would have you to go to the idol's temple with them, ſay unto them, No; for my maſter Chriſt ſaith, Matth. x. "He that would ſave his life ſhall loſe it." And in another place to comfort us, he ſaith, "There ſhall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your heavenly Father's will." And therefore ſay that you will not be of that ſort, that be neither hot nor cold, leſt God ſhould ſpue you out of his mouth. But make them this anſwer, ſaying, St. Paul ſaith, 2 Cor. vi. "Bear no ſtrange yoke with the unbelievers. For what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs, what company hath light with darkneſs, what concord hath Chriſt with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God, with images?" And ye are the temple of God, as God ſaith, I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing: ſo will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord."

Thus mine own bowels in the Lord, as I began, ſo make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your croſs, and follow your captain Chriſt in at the narrow gate here by perſecution, and then you ſhall be ſure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlaſting kingdom, which he himſelf hath purchaſed with his own moſt precious blood: to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour both now and for ever, Amen.

By me, WILLIAM TYMS.

LETTER VII.

From WILLIAM TYMS, *exhorting all* GOD's *faithful* Servants *to eſchew the* SOCIETY *of* IDOLATERS, *and* GOD's ENEMIES.

GRACE be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladneſs, becauſe of the fellowſhip which ye have in the goſpel, from the firſt day that I knew you, until this day; and I am ſurely certified of this, that he who hath begun a good work in you, ſhall go forth with it, until the day of Jeſus Chriſt, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increaſe more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I moſt heartily deſire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile earthly body in this time of perſecution, ſo he will ſtrengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my impriſonment do not diſcomfort, but rather ſtrengthen and comfort you, to ſee the goodneſs of God ſhewed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three ſuch biſhops concerning worldly wiſdom, he gave me both mouth and wiſdom; inſomuch that the biſhop of London went away in a great haſte from me; and after that he ſent his man with a Bible, turning to the 9th chapter to the Hebrews, and the biſhop of Bath looking on it, ſaid, What meaneth my lord? this maketh nothing for his purpoſe. Then I looked on it, and ſaid, My lord ſeeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me; for here he hath condemned the ſacrifice of your maſs: for you ſay that you offer a daily ſacrifice in your maſs, both for the quick and the dead; and here St. Paul ſaith, "Without blood-ſhedding there is no forgiveneſs of ſins;" therefore that is here condemned. He anſwered, Yea, ſaith he ſo? So ſay all ſuch heretics, and ſo forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbours that heard them can declare, therefore I leave them. This have I written that you ſhould not be afraid, but call upon God as he hath commanded us to aſk and we ſhall have; ſeek and you ſhall find, knock and it ſhall be opened unto you. Alſo he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promiſed to hear us. Therefore if we have not mouth and wiſdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedneſs, and amend our lives, or elſe we be unfaithful, and believe not the promiſes of God; and ſo we ourſelves are the cauſe that this wiſdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any caſe, as I have always ſaid unto you, ſince I firſt knew you, ſo ſay I now, beware of idolatry, and of your good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Iſrael had made them a golden calf, did not God ſay they had marred all, and would have deſtroyed them, had not Moſes earneſtly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry: therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep unſtained from it. You have example out of the Old Teſtament, how loth the godly fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: and yet to ſee how little we regarded it, it would make any chriſtian man's heart to weep. God ſend us more grace.

Firſt look in the 11th and 12th of Geneſis; Abraham, becauſe he would not be partaker of their idolatry, fled from the people of Chaldea, being his native country. And in the 19th of Geneſis, Lot at the commandment of the angels departed from Sodom, leſt be tarrying with the Sodomites ſhould have been conſumed with them. In the 21ſt of Geneſis, Sarah would not ſuffer Iſhmael, who was given to mocking, to keep company with her ſon Iſaac, leſt he ſhould alſo become a mocker. Look in the 16th of Numbers; Moſes at God's appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling-places of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, leſt they alſo ſhould be all wrapped in their ſins, and ſo periſh among them. So do I, even as Moſes commanded them that they ſhould not keep company with thoſe wicked people, leſt the vengeance of God ſhould light on them; ſo do I (I ſay) give you warning that you ſhould not keep company with the idolaters, in their idolatrous temples, leſt the wrath of God come upon you to deſtroy you.

Look what St. Paul ſaith in the ſecond epiſtle, and the ſixth chapter to the Corinthians: "Set yourſelves (ſaith he) therefore at large, and bear no ſtrange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what company hath light with darkneſs? what concord hath Chriſt with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as ſaith God; I will dwell among them, and they ſhall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves, ſaith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing."

Good brethren, mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. Syrach ſaith, "He that toucheth pitch, ſhall be defiled therewith; and he that keepeth company with the proud, ſhall clothe himſelf with pride." Even ſo he that is familiar with idolaters, cannot be unſtained with idolatry, except he do it to win them to Chriſt, as there be but a few that do. Yea, it may not be where idolatry is openly committed, as for an example; Peter, ſo long as he continued with Chriſt and Chriſt's diſciples, continued in the truth, preached the truth, confeſſed openly Chriſt to be the Son of the living God, and promiſed that he would not only go to priſon, but alſo to very death with him: but when he came once into the court of the biſhop's houſe, he ſtraitway was ſtricken with ſuch fear, by a poor maiden, and a ſimple ruffian (ſuch a one as my lord of London hath, that ſaid, By God's blood, if I meet with any of theſe vile heretics, I will thruſt an arrow in him) that when, I ſay, he was amongſt them, he denied his maſter, ſwore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confeſſed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the unbelieving Jews, commanding them, among other his godly exhortations, to ſave themſelves from that untoward generation. How many of our prieſts before this ſtorm of perſecution, when the goſpel was truly preached, were bold, and could ſay, They would die rather then deny their maſter! but when they come once into the biſhops houſes, they preach no more Chriſt, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or elſe ſend them more grace and ſtrength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

Paul, all the while he was among the biſhops, was a cruel perſecutor; but after he was called by God from the biſhops, he became a true preacher: therefore God keep all chriſtian men out of the hands of our biſhops. St. Paul, in the fifteenth to the Romans, ſaith, I dare not ſpeak any of thoſe things that Chriſt hath not wrought by me. He ſaith alſo, Rom. xvi. "I beſeech you, brethren, mark them that make diviſion, and give occaſion of evil, contrary to the doctrine that ye have learned, and avoid them: for they that are ſuch ſerve not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies, and with ſweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the ſimple." Our maſter Chriſt himſelf hath given us warning which they be; for he hath ſet the plain mark on them, in the 24th of Matthew, "If they ſay, here is Chriſt, or there is Chriſt, believe them not. If they ſay he is in the deſart, go not forth. If they ſay he is in the ſecret place, believe them not." And I pray you where can he be more ſecret, than in ſo ſmall a piece of bread? For my lord of London, like a liar, ſaid to me, that after the words be ſpoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wine. Then I aſked him what he ſaid to David, where he ſaith, "Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee corruption." How ſay you to that? Will not the ſacrament of the altar putrify or corrupt? He anſwered, Yes. I aſked him, what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He anſwered, and ſaid the accidents. I ſaid unto him, It was a mad accident without ſubſtance: for you ſay, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to corrupt; with many ſuch like arguments.

Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with ſuch arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, becauſe you have had ſo much warning. Repent ye betimes of your ſinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or elſe take them away, or elſe he will give us that which he promiſed to his diſciples, if we be contented to take the ſame reward they had. And if we diſdain the one, let us not look for the other. For he that will be the father's heir, muſt be contented to receive his father's correction. For St. Paul ſaith in the 12th to the Hebrews, "if we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we baſtards and not ſons."

And you know what belongeth to a baſtard; he ſhall not be his father's heir. And if we remember ourſelves well, how negligent we have been to our father's commandment, we ſhall find ourſelves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuſe his correction, he will refuſe us to be his ſons. I pray you look what he promiſed to his diſciples, and I pray you alſo look how willingly they received it: and ſo muſt we do if we will be partakers with them. Firſt let us ſee what Chriſt promiſed to his diſciples. Look in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, and there ſhall you ſee theſe words, "Behold, I ſend you forth as ſheep among wolves. Be wiſe therefore as ſerpents, and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they ſhall deliver you up to the councils, and ſhall ſcourge you in their ſynagogues: ye ſhall be brought before the head-rulers and kings for my name's ſake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought how or what you ſhall ſpeak: for it ſhall be given you in the ſame hour what you ſhall ſpeak. For it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father," &c. Read the whole chapter, for it is very comfortable to a chriſtian man; and mark it well, and you ſhall find what we ought to do in the time of perſecution. Alſo look into the fourth chapter of the ſecond epiſtle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, where it is ſaid, "For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jeſus' ſake, that the life alſo of Jeſus might appear in our mortal fleſh." Thus have you heard that St. Paul doth boaſt of perſecution; even ſo ſhould we, for it is the way to bring us to reſt.

Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the ſaying of St. Paul in the 21ſt chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, when he was going to Jeruſalem. When he was in the houſe of Philip the Evangeliſt, there came in a prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, ſaying, "Thus ſhall they do with the man that owneth this girdle, when he cometh to Jeruſalem." When the diſciples heard that, they would have perſuaded him that he ſhould not go thither. Here you ſhall ſee what anſwer this paſtor made them; he was a faithful ſhepherd; "What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not only ready to be bound, but alſo to die at Jeruſalem, for the name of the Lord Jeſus."

Yet I think there are ſome that will ſay, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I ſay unto them, that the ſhrinking away of ſo many of our ſhepherds as are gone, maketh ſo many of the flock to ſcatter; which will be required at their hands, by the maſter of the ſheep. What will he ſay to them on the day of account, when they ſhall come to receive their wages? He ſhall ſay to them, Depart from me ye wicked hirelings, for when ye ſaw the wolf come, ye ran away, and left my ſheep in the wilderneſs. If you had been good ſhepherds, you would rather have loſt your lives than have loſt one ſheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what caſe are the ſheep in, when the ſhepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth ſo well.

Therefore let us pray God to ſend us faithful ſhepherds, and alſo obedient ſheep, that will not hear a ſtranger's voice. I would all men would mark well the ſaying of St. Paul in the eighth chapter of his epiſtle to the Romans, where he thus ſaith, "Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? As it is written, For thy ſake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as ſheep appointed to be ſlain: nevertheleſs, we overcome ſtrongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am ſure, that neither death nor life, neither angels nor rule, nor power, nor things preſent, nor things to come, neither height nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God," &c. Alſo he ſaith in another place, "All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution," 2 Tim. iii. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father's rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us.

Yet hear what St. Peter ſaith in his firſt epiſtle, and the fourth chapter, "Dearly beloved, (ſaith he) be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you; but rejoice inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's paſſions, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God reſteth upon you. On their part he is evil ſpoken of, but on your part he is glorified." Here St. Peter ſaith, it is no ſtrange thing; and that I have partly proved before, becauſe we have nothing elſe promiſed us in this world.

Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye ſure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for example, look in the firſt book of Samuel, chap. xix. you ſhall ſee how Saul perſecuted David, purpoſing to kill him: but his labour was in vain.

Alſo in the 19th chapter of the firſt book of Kings, Jezebel threatened and ſware to ſlay Elias, but the Lord preſerved him. Alſo in the ſecond chapter of Job, you ſee that Satan could no nothing to Job till God ſuffered him, neither exerciſe his cruelty any further than God had appointed him. The godly woman Suſannah, through the falſe accuſation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. This have I written to put you in remembrance, that man can do no more than is the will of God: therefore let us not reſiſt his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

Dear brethren, for the blood of Chriſt refuſe not the croſs of Chriſt, but remember the ſaying of the godly man David in his 119th Pſalm, where he ſaith, "It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy ſtatutes." In the ſame place he ſaith, "Before I was in trouble I went wrong, but now I have kept thy word." Even ſo it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never ſo ſweet and comfortable as it is now that we are in trouble. Alſo St. Paul ſaith in the fifth chapter to the Romans, "We rejoice in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not aſhamed."

Alſo I pray remember the ſaying of St. Paul in the firſt chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, where he faith, "Be not aſhamed to teſtify the Lord; neither be aſhamed of me." Even ſo I ſay unto you, dear brethren, be not aſhamed of my impriſonment, neither ſorry, but rejoice with me, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs to call me to ſuch a dignity, as this ſhall be unto me, if I may have his grace to loſe my life (which I regard as moſt vile) for his name's ſake: for then I ſhall be ſure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I deſire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodneſs will ſend me his grace and ſtrength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preſerve you from all the wicked ways of Antichriſt, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleaſure, that you ſhall ſuffer any thing for his name's ſake, as he hath faithfully promiſed to do.

And I certify you, that if all men knew the comfort they ſhould receive at the hand of God being in priſon, I think there would come more to priſon than there do. For ſurely we find ſuch comfort at the hand of God ſince we have been in priſon, that we had rather die than be abroad to ſee the idolatry that is committed among them that are abroad; beſide the ſeeking of one another's blood, with other wickedneſs too much; God ſend me more grace. But I truſt, among you there be none ſuch: and if there be, repent and amend, leſt it be verified in you, that which is ſpoken by the prophet Jeremy, the ſecond chapter, where he ſaith, "My people hath committed too great evils: they have forſaken me the fountain of living waters, and digged them pits; pits (I ſay) that are broken, and can hold no water." Alſo in the ſeventh chapter he ſaith, "Hear not the words of the prophets that preach their own dreams." Good brethren, beware of thoſe falſe prophets that I have given you warning of.

Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, deſiring the ſame health both of body and ſoul unto you all that I would have myſelf, and I end with the ſame that St. Peter ſaith in the fifth chapter of his firſt epiſtle: "Submit yourſelves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be ſober and watch, for your adverſary the devil like a roaring lion walketh about ſeeking whom he may devour, whom reſiſt ſtedfaſt in faith:" remembering that ye do but fulfil the ſame afflictions, that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace that called you unto his eternal glory by Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall himſelf, after you have ſuffered a little affliction, make you perfect, ſhall ſettle, ſtrengthen, and eſtabliſh you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth, Amen.

Greet one another with an holy kiſs of love. Peace be with you all which are in Chriſt Jeſus. I pray you all ſay, Amen.

There are in the ſame priſon where I am, the biſhop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, of Hadley, Mr. Philpot, and my ſingular good father Mr. Bradford, with five others, laymen of Suſſex.

I deſire ſome good brother to write this over again, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the keepers had ſeen me, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and ink alſo.

Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me paſt all the comfort of any man: for I thank him, I was never merrier in Chriſt.

By me, priſoner in the King's-bench,

WILLIAM TYMS.

ABOUT this time certain commiſſioners, aſſigned by the queen and council, came to Norfolk, (as they did to other counties) to inquire after matters of religion: unto which commiſſioners there was a ſupplication then exhibited by ſome well diſpoſed men dwelling about thoſe parts. Which ſupplication, for the worthy matter contained in it, I thought proper here to inſert.

The SUPPLICATION *exhibited by certain* INHABITANTS *of the* COUNTY *of* NORFOLK, *proper to be read and obſerved by all* MEN.

IN moſt humble and lowly wiſe, we beſeech your honours, right honourable commiſſioners, to tender and pity the humble ſuit of us poor men, and true, faithful and obedient ſubjects, who as we have ever heretofore, ſo intend we, with God's grace, to continue in chriſtian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverent fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all thoſe ſuperior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul ſaith, Rom. xiii. "Let every ſoul be ſubject to the ſuperior powers. For there is no power but of God: but thoſe powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whoſoever reſiſteth the powers, the ſame reſiſteth God, and they that reſiſt get themſelves judgment." Theſe leſſons (right honourable commiſſioners) we have learned of the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

Firſt, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical uſurpation, but a juſt, holy, lawful, and neceſſary eſtate for a man to be governed by, and that the ſame is of God, the fountain and author of righteouſneſs.

Secondly, That to obey the ſame in all things not againſt God, is to obey God; and to reſiſt them is to reſiſt God. Therefore, as to obey God in his miniſters and magiſtrates bringeth life; ſo to reſiſt God in them bringeth puniſhment and death. The ſame leſſon have we learned of St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. ſaying, "Be ye ſubject to all human ordinances for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king, as ſupreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. For ſo is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men. As free, and not uſing your liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God."

Wherefore conſidering with ourſelves, both that the magiſtrates' power is of God, and that for the Lord's ſake we are bound by chriſtian obedience unto them, having now preſently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's majeſty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained of God (which we acknowledge to ſtand wholly and perfectly in her grace), and with due reverence unto her grace's commiſſioners, we humbly beſeech you with patience and pity to receive this our anſwer unto this commandment, given unto us.

Firſt, Right honourable commiſſioners, we have conſidered ourſelves to be not only Engliſhmen, but alſo chriſtians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptiſm, to prefer God's honour in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly ſpirits) is due unto God's word; inſomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that fully and wholly agreeth not with God's word.

Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the reſtitution of the late aboliſhed Latin ſervice, given unto us to diſſent and diſagree from God's word, and to command manifeſt impiety, and the overthrow of godlineſs and true religion, and to import a ſubverſion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romiſh biſhop's ſupremacy, with all errors, ſuperſtitions, and idolatry, waſting of our goods and bodies, deſtroying of our ſouls, bringing with it nothing but the ſevere wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear leſt the ſame ſhall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly proteſt, that we cannot be perſuaded, that the ſame wicked commandment ſhould come from the queen's majeſty, but rather from ſome other, abuſing the queen's goodneſs and favour, and ſtudying to work ſome miſchief againſt the queen, the crown, and the realm, to pleaſe with it the Romiſh biſhop, at whoſe hands the ſame thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

As the Agagite Haman wrought maliciouſly againſt the noble king Ahaſuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought againſt the good king Darius; ſo think we the queen's moſt gentle heart to be abuſed by ſome, who ſeeking themſelves and their own vain glory, procure ſuch commandments as are againſt the glory of God. For we cannot have ſo evil an opinion of her majeſty, that ſhe ſhould ſubvert the moſt godly and holy religion, (ſo accordingly to God's word ſet forth by the moſt noble, virtuous, and innocent king, our late moſt dear king Edward, her grace's brother) except ſhe were wonderfully abuſed; who, as hating reformation, will rather the deſtruction of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and to be according to God's word reformed. For truly, the religion lately ſet forth by king

Edward, is ſuch in our conſciences, as every chriſtian man is bound to confeſs to be the truth of God, and every member of Chriſt's church here in England muſt needs embrace the ſame in heart, and confeſs it with mouth, and (if need require) loſe and forſake not only land, and poſſeſſions, riches, wife, children, and friends; but alſo (if God will ſo call them) gladly to ſuffer all manner of perſecution, and to loſe their lives in the defence of God's word and truth ſet out amongſt us. For our Saviour Chriſt requireth the ſame of us, ſaying, "Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me and my word before this adulterous and ſinful generation, the Son of man will alſo be aſhamed of him, when he ſhall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." And again he ſaith, "Whoſoever will confeſs me before men, I will confeſs him before my Father which is in heaven. And whoſoever will deny me before men, I will alſo deny him before my Father that is in heaven. And whoſoever ſhall ſpeak a word againſt the Son of man, it ſhall be forgiven him; but whoſoever ſhall rail againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him."

We humbly beſeech the queen's majeſty, and you her honourable commiſſioners, be not offended with us, for confeſſing this truth of God, ſo ſtraightly given us in charge of Chriſt; neither bring upon us that great ſin that never ſhall be forgiven, and ſhall cauſe our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the bleſſed price and ranſom of his blood wherewith we are redeemed.

For in that day, neither the queen's highneſs, nor you, nor any man ſhall be able to excuſe us, nor to purchaſe a pardon of Chriſt for this horrible ſin and blaſphemy of caſting aſide and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor conſent unto this ſo horrible a ſin; but we beſeech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace, moſt earneſtly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be ſo) to ſuffer all extremity aud puniſhment in this world, than to incur ſuch damnation before God.

Manaſſes, who reſtored again the wickedneſs of idolatrous religion, (before put down by Ezechias his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people: ſo that the ſcripture ſaith, 2 Kings xxiii. "Notwithſtanding the reformation made by Joſias, the Lord turned not from the fierceneſs of his great wrath wherewith he was angry againſt Judah, becauſe of the provocation with which Manaſſes provoked him. And the Lord ſaid, Even Judah will I caſt away from my preſence, as I caſt away Iſrael: and I will caſt away this city of Jeruſalem, and the houſe whereof I ſaid, My name ſhall be there." Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected a new-found ſervice of God, and not only ſinned himſelf, but alſo made all Iſrael to ſin with him, ſo that not only was he damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Iſrael for obeying that his ungodly commandment: yet was it not ſo heinous an offence to bring in an idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kings and princes, by the virtuous and holy biſhops, by the prophets and ſervants of God, to reject and caſt off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a blaſphemous impiety.

This moſt heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the ſame be painted and coloured with the name of reformation, reſtoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the catholic church, of unity, catholic truth, and with the cloak of feigned holineſs. Theſe are ſheep ſkins, under which (as Chriſt ſaith) ravening wolves hide themſelves. But Chriſt willeth us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them; and truly that is no good fruit to caſt aſide God's word, and to baniſh the Engliſh ſervice out of the churches, and in the place of it to bring in a Latin tongue unknown to the people. Which as it edifieth no man, ſo it hath been occaſion of all blindneſs and error among the people. For before the bleſſed reformation begun by the moſt noble prince of godly memory, the queen's good father; and by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother, finiſhed; it is not unknown what blindneſs and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realm, unlearned in the Latin, could ſay in Engliſh the Lord's prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or rehearſe any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, the mother of miſchief, was the very root and well-ſpring of idolatry, Sodomitical monkery, and whoriſh chaſtity of unmarried prieſts, of all whoredom, drunkenneſs, covetouſneſs, ſwearing, and blaſphemy, with all other wicked ſinful living. Theſe brought in the ſevere wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing them with famine and peſtilence; and at laſt the ſword conſumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living. As it is grearly to be feared the ſame or more grievous plagues ſhall now again follow.

We cannot therefore conſent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our Engliſh tongue, which we underſtand, ſhould be taken away from us, and for it a Latin ſervice, we know not what, (for none of us underſtand it) to be again brought amongſt us, eſpecially ſeeing that Chriſt hath ſaid, "My ſheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlaſting life." The ſervice in the Engliſh teacheth us that we are the Lord's people, and the ſheep of his paſture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderneſs, leſt he ſwear unto us, as he did ſwear unto them, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt.

The ſervice in Latin is a confuſed noiſe; which if it be good (as they ſay it is), yet unto us that lack underſtanding, what goodneſs can it bring? St. Paul commandeth, that in the churches all things ſhould be done to edifying, which we are ſure is God's commandment. But in the Latin ſervice nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to deſtroy thoſe that are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing of the ſame, and ſo to bring us to believe lies and fables, that tempting and provoking God, we ſhould be brought into that judgment that bleſſed Paul ſpeaketh of, ſaying, "Antichriſt ſhall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and ſigns, and lying wonders, in all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs in thoſe that periſh: becauſe they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be ſaved. And therefore God will ſend them ſtrong deluſion, that they ſhould believe lies and be damned, as many as have not believed the truth, but have approved unrighteouſneſs."

Thus, altogether drawn from God, we ſhall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he ſwear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that ſuch infidels ſhall not enter into his reſt.

In the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper, which we confeſs to be the holy communion, and partaking with Chriſt and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments, and at the rehearſal of every one of them to aſk God mercy for our moſt grievous tranſgreſſions againſt them, and to aſk grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the ſame may not only outwardly ſound in our ears, but alſo inwardly by the Holy Ghoſt be written in our hearts.

We have learned alſo the holy prayer made for the queen's majeſty: wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God; therefore we pray to God for her, that ſhe, and all magiſtrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we, her ſubjects, obey according to the ſame.

Truly, moſt honourable commiſſioners, we cannot think theſe things evil, but think them moſt worthy to be retained in our churches, and we ſhould not think ourſelves to have true ſubjects hearts, if we ſhould go about to put away ſuch godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this preſent the unquiet multitude had more need to have theſe things more often and earneſtly beaten and driven into them, (eſpecially given in many places to ſtir and trouble) than to take from that bleſſed doctrine, whereby only they may, to their ſalvation, be kept in quiet.

Furthermore, we cannot forſake that bleſſed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's inſtitution,

tution, miniſtered with ſuch godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Chriſt, breaking his body upon the croſs for our ſins, and ſhedding his moſt precious blood for our redemption: which we, in eating of that bleſſed bread, and drinking of the bleſſed cup, aſſuredly believe that we receive, and are perfectly joined with Chriſt in his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby every member faithfully embraceth each other. We muſt needs confeſs this inſtitution of Chriſt to be moſt holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in conſcience againſt ſin and damnation, with the aſſurance of ſalvation, and whereof hath enſued reformation of many heinous ſins, much lawing, ſtrife, and contention being ended; drunkenneſs, whoredom, and other vices in ſome reformed; goodneſs and virtue increaſed and nouriſhed.

In the Latin maſs we never had any ſuch edifying, but only we ſaw a great many ceremonies and ſtrange geſtures; as turning of the prieſt, croſſings, bleſſings, breathings, waſhing of hands, and ſpreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we underſtand not. And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the prieſt prayeth, we know not whether he bleſſeth or curſeth us. We are not partakers of the ſacrament, as Chriſt's inſtitution appointeth we ſhould be.

In the miniſtering of the ſacrament, the prieſts alter the inſtitution of Chriſt, committing theft and ſacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Chriſt's blood, contrary to Chriſt's commandment, ſaying, Drink ye all of this.

They rob us alſo of God's word, ſpeaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Chriſt commandeth not that his ſupper ſhould be adminiſtered in an unknown tongue: but foraſmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Chriſt's word and promiſe made unto us in the holy ſacrament, ſaying, "This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for you, for the remiſſion of ſins;" if the ſame promiſes of Chriſt either be not at all recited, or elſe ſo recited in Latin, that the congregation underſtandeth not, or heareth not what is ſpoken? St. Paul ſaith thus, reciting the ſaying of Iſaiah, "As truly as I live, ſaith the Lord, all knees ſhall bow unto me, all tongues ſhall give praiſe unto God." Alſo he ſaith, "All tongues muſt confeſs that Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord, unto the glory of God the father." The Holy Ghoſt came upon the apoſtles in fiery tongues, ſo that they ſpake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul miniſtered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother-tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of ſtrange tongues into the congregations. We cannot think that to be right, which ſo holy an apoſtle rebuked. And whatſoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to ſuch as underſtand it, to us Engliſhmen not underſtanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edification, and therefore unmeet for our churches.

The prieſts complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honour, but it is their own fault: for how ſhould we love them that only ſeek to keep us in blindneſs and ignorance, to damn our ſouls, to deſtroy our bodies, to rob and ſpoil our goods and ſubſtance under a colour of pretended holineſs? We know (right honourable commiſſioners) what honour is due to ſuch wolves, and how by the authority of God's word ſuch are to be avoided as peſtilences to the Lord's lambs, whom they miſerably murder daily.

But we have rather choſen, by this our meek ſupplication, humbly to deſire the queen's majeſty, and you her honourable commiſſioners, to reſtore God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the ſame. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately ſet out by the holy ſaint of God, our late moſt dear king Edward, is Chriſt's true religion written in the holy ſcripture of God, and by Chriſt and his apoſtles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with ſafe conſciences this refuſal of it, and caſting of it out of our churches; foraſmuch as to refuſe, caſt off, and to reject it, is to caſt off Chriſt himſelf, and to refuſe our part in his bleſſed body broken for our ſins, and his blood ſhed for our redemption. Which thing whoſo doth, the ſame without repentance can look for no ſacrifice for his ſins, but muſt fearfully wait for the judgment, and for that vehement fire that ſhall deſtroy Chriſt's adverſaries. For if he that deſpiſeth the law of Moſes, is without mercy put to death under two or three witneſſes, how much more grievous torments ſhall he ſuffer that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and eſteemeth the blood of the Teſtament (whereby he was ſanctified) as a profane thing, and contumeliouſly uſeth the Spirit of grace?

Wherefore we moſt humbly pray and beſeech the queen's gracious majeſty to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful ſubjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is againſt our conſciences, and ſo incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin maſs and ſervice that nothing edifieth us, and by caſting out Chriſt's holy communion and Engliſh ſervice, ſo cauſing us to ſin againſt our redemption. For ſuch as wittingly and willingly againſt their conſciences ſhall ſo do, (as it is to be feared many a one doth) they are in a miſerable ſtate, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe that they ſhall eternally be damned: and as in this world they deny Chriſt's holy word and communion before men, ſo ſhall Chriſt deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

And whereas it is very earneſtly required, that we ſhould go in proceſſion (as they call it), at which time the prieſts ſay in Latin ſuch things as we are ignorant of, the ſame edifieth nothing at all unto godlineſs, and we have learned that to follow Chriſt's croſs is another matter, namely, to take up our croſs, and to follow Chriſt in patient ſuffering for his love, tribulations, ſickneſs, poverty, priſon, or any other adverſity, whenſoever God's holy will and pleaſure is to lay the ſame upon us. The triumphant paſſion and death of Chriſt, whereby in his own perſon he conquered death, ſin, hell, and damnation, hath moſt lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Chriſt's croſs declared by our preachers: whereby we have learned the cauſes and effects of the ſame more lively in one ſermon, than in all the proceſſions that ever we went in, or ever ſhall go in.

When we worſhipped the Divine Trinity kneeling, and in the Litany invocating the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, aſking mercy for our ſins, and deſiring ſuch petitions as the need of our frail ſtate and this mortal life required, we were edified, both to know unto whom all chriſtian prayers ſhould be directed, and alſo to know that of God's hand we receive all things, as well to the ſalvation of our ſouls, as to the relief of our mortal neceſſities. And we humbly beſeech the queen's majeſty, that the ſame moſt holy prayers may be continued amongſt us; that our miniſters praying in our mother-tongue, and we underſtanding their prayers and petitions, may anſwer, Amen, unto them. At evening-ſervice we underſtood our miniſters prayers, we were taught and admoniſhed by the ſcriptures then read; which in the Latin even-ſong is all gone.

At the miniſtration of holy baptiſm, we learned what league and covenant God made with us, and what vows and promiſes we upon our part had made, namely, to believe in him, to forſake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

The chriſtian catechiſm continually taught and called to remembrance the ſame, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of forty years, that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, but to waſh their hands ere they departed the church, or elſe to faſt five Fridays with bread and water.

O merciful God, have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether caſt from thy preſence? We may well lament our miſerable ſtate, to receive ſuch a commandment, to reject and caſt out of our churches all theſe moſt godly prayers, inſtructions, admonitions, and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Chriſt our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our ſalvation, the candle to our feet, and the light to our ſteps, the bread that cometh down from heaven that giveth life, which whoſo eateth, it ſhall be to him a well-ſpring ſtreaming unto eternal life; whereby we have learned all righteouſneſs, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity one towards another, all good works that God would have us to walk in, what puniſhment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to thoſe that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

Wherefore, right honourable commiſſioners, we cannot without impiety refuſe and caſt from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing ſet forth by our late godly king Edward and his virtuous proceedings, ſo agreeable to God's word. And our moſt humble ſuit is, that the commandment may be revoked, ſo that we may not be conſtrained thereunto. For we proteſt before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken ſome root amongſt us, we could not in times paſt have done that poor duty of our's, which we did in aſſiſting the queen, our moſt dear ſovereign, againſt her grace's mortal foe, that then ſought her deſtruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did ſome part of our bounden ſervice.

And we meekly pray and beſeech the queen's majeſty for the dear paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, that the ſame word may not be taken away out of our churches, nor from us her loving, faithful, and true ſubjects; leſt if the like neceſſity ſhould hereafter chance, (which God for his mercy's ſake forbid, and ever ſave and defend her grace, and us all) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occaſion of great ruin to an infinite number of her grace's true ſubjects. And truly we judge this to be one ſubtle part of the devil (enemy to all godly peace and quietneſs) that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all miſchief and wickedneſs; and by baniſhing the holy goſpel of peace he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues; as death, ſtrange ſickneſs, peſtilence, murrain, moſt terrible uproars, commotions, and ſeditions. Theſe things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refuſing his word, ſaying, "Go, and thou ſhalt ſay unto this people, Ye ſhall hear indeed, but ye ſhall not underſtand, ye ſhall plainly ſee, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, ſtop their ears, and ſhut their eyes, that they ſee not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, underſtand not with their hearts, and be converted and healed. And I ſaid, How long, Lord? And he anſwered, Until the cities are deſtroyed, utterly waſted without inhabitants, and the houſes without men, till the land alſo be deſolate, and lie unbuilded." And the prophet Micah in the ſeventh chapter, conſidering the contempt of God's word among the Iſraelites, threatened them thus, "When the day that thy preachers warned thee of coming, thou ſhalt be waſted away. And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy boſom: for the ſon ſhall put his father to diſhonour, and the daughter ſhall riſe againſt her mother, the daughter-in-law againſt the mother-in-law; and a man's foes ſhall be even they of his own houſhold." The ſame plague Chriſt threatened unto the Jews, for refuſing his peace proffered them in the goſpel, and he wept on the city of Jeruſalem which murdered the prophets, and ſtoned ſuch as were ſent unto her.

The ſame plagues, we are afraid, will alſo fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Chriſt's word and peaceable goſpel, we had great benedictions of God, eſpecially this chriſtian concord and holy peace, ſo that all were at a full and perfect ſtay in religion, and no man offended with another, but as the ſons of peace, each of us with chriſtian charity embraced other: now, alas, for pity, the devil (riding upon the red horſe, ſhewed unto St. John in the Revelations) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious buſy bodies curiouſly ſearch out his deeds, mark his words, and if he agree not with them in deſpiſing God's word, then will they ſpitefully and hatefully rail againſt him and it, calling it error and hereſy, and the profeſſors thereof heretics and ſchiſmatics, with other odious and ſpiteful names, as traitors and not the queen's friends, nor favourers of the queen's proceedings; as if to love God's word were hereſy, and as though to talk of Chriſt were to be ſchiſmatic; as though none could be true to the queen that were not falſe to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but ſuch as deſpitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they ſet forth; as though none favoured the queen's majeſty, but ſuch as hate all godly knowledge.

And in very deed theſe things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations without commandment or example either of Chriſt or of his apoſtles; and there is not one word in the Bible, that being truly alledged, maintaineth them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Auguſtine's days, as it hath deen divers times ſufficiently proved before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet theſe being mere traditions of biſhops, are ſet out for God's commandments; and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) muſt be abuſed to put down God's word. And you, right honourable juſtices, and keepers of laws and righteouſneſs, are alſo abuſed and made the biſhops apparators, to ſet forth ſuch Romiſh traſh as is to Chriſt's diſhonour, and againſt the ſupreme authority of the regal ſtate of this realm. And we poor ſubjects, for ſpeaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily puniſhed, railed upon, and noted for ſeditious, and not the queen's friends.

But God (who is bleſſed for ever) knoweth that they ſlander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot, and put it in our's: for the ſearcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not againſt God and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to enlighten her grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the goſpel, that ſhe may eſtabliſh and confirm that religion, which her grace's brother, our moſt dear king, did ſet amongſt us; and ſo governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, ſhe may long live, and with proſperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

But we cannot think that thoſe men do ſeek either God's honour, or her grace's proſperity, or wealth of the realm, that take from her grace's faithful ſubjects God's word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her grace, and of all honeſty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear leſt the root being taken away, the branches will ſoon wither and be fruitleſs. And when the Philiſtines have ſtopped up the well-ſpring, the fair ſtreams that ſhould flow ſhall ſoon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained God's word, we ſhall have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refuſed and caſt off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then ſhall we look for the Lord's wrath and ſevere viſitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And Paul ſaith, Rom. ii. "God gave them the ſpirit of unquietneſs and uproar, eyes wherewith they ſhould not ſee, and ears wherewith they ſhould not hear, until this day:" and as David ſaid, Pſalm lxix. "Let their table be made a ſnare to catch them, and a ſtumbling-block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they ſee not, and bow thou down their backs always."

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increaſed, and we fear at laſt it will ſo bow down our backs, that we ſhall be utterly deſtroyed; the troubleſome ſpirit of uproars and unquietneſs daily troubleth men's hearts, and worketh ſuch unquietneſs in all places, that no man that loveth quietneſs can tell where to place himſelf. Men have eyes, and ſee not how grievous an offence it is to caſt off the yoke of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and hear not the warning of God's word calling us to true repentance, nor his threats againſt our impiety. Our moſt ſweet table of Chriſt's word and moſt holy communion is taken away, and turned to a moſt perilous ſnare, through the brawling diſputations of men. And as the idol of abomination betokened final ſubverſion unto the Jewiſh nation, ſo we fear this ſetting aſide of the goſpel and holy communion of Chriſt, and the placing in of a Romiſh religion, betokeneth the deſolation of this noble realm of England to be at hand.

For the plagues of hunger, peſtilence, and ſword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs ſhall be ſo bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never ſeen. And no marvel: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and caſt off Chriſt and his word, and in plain Engliſh to ſay, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is that which followeth in the goſpel? "Thoſe mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them hither, and ſlay them before me," Luke xix. God be merciful to us, and move the heart of the queen's majeſty, and the hearts of her honourable council, and your hearts (right worſhipful commiſſioners), to weigh theſe dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council, and then you ſhall ſee how it agreeth with this unreaſonable commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the ſame, as you are prudent and wiſe in matters of this world, leſt, if the Almighty be contemned, he ſtretch forth his arm, which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, which no man can quench.

We have humbly opened to you our conſciences, doubtleſs ſore wounded and grieved by this commandment; and we meekly pray and beſeech the queen's majeſty, for the precious death and blood-ſhedding of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her grace's poor commons, faithful and true ſubjects, members of the ſame body politic, whereof her grace is ſupreme head. All our bodies, lands, goods, and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience, and true ſervice of all commandments that are not againſt God and his word: but in things that import a denial of Chriſt, and refuſal of his word and holy communion, we cannot conſent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourſelves in baptiſm to be Chriſt's diſciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment: which we truſt her benign grace will not require of us.

And we humbly beſeech her majeſty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we ſerve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandment; ſo we may be permitted freely to ſerve God and Chriſt our Saviour, and keep unto him our ſouls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that ſo (as Chriſt teacheth) we may render to Cæſar that which is due to Cæſar, and to God that which is due to God.

For we think it no true obedience unto the queen's majeſty, or to any other magiſtrate ordained of God under her to obey in things contrary to God's word, although the ſame be ever ſo ſtraitly charged in her grace's name. The biſhop of Wincheſter hath truly taught in this point, in his book of true obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not againſt the Lord: as the apoſtles anſwered before the council at Jeruſalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Jeſus: "Judge you (ſaid they) whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hear you rather than God." And again they ſaid, "We muſt obey God rather than man." Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords, and for him, in him, and not againſt him and his word, to obey princes and magiſtrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is diſobeyed, nor yet diſobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

Tobias diſobeyed not his king, although contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the uſage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, he went unto Jeruſalem, and worſhipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refuſing Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleaſed God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel that prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the king, than thoſe wicked counſellors that procured that wicked law, or thoſe that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two peſtilences (fear and flattery) have ever deſtroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked men (that care not if the devil were worſhipped, ſo they might get and obtain riches, promotions, dignity, and worldly glory) turn to and fro as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men, fearing loſs of goods, puniſhment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing which their hearts and conſciences inwardly abhor, and ſo outwardly diſobey God, and in heart diſſemble with man, which diſſimulation we think worthy the hate of all men, and moſt uncomely with chriſtian men.

Wherefore we humbly beſeech the queen's majeſty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable ſuit of us her poor ſubjects, which be by this commandment ſore hurt, and wounded in our conſciences, and driven to many miſeries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men ſuffer great wrongs and injuries, ſlanders, loſs of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful ſtir or commotion to ſeek remedy; but intend, by God's grace, to obey her majeſty in all things not againſt God and his holy word. But unto ſuch ungodly commandments as are againſt God, we anſwer with the apoſtles, "God muſt be obeyed rather than man." If perſecution ſhall enſue, which ſome threaten us with, we deſire the heavenly Father, according to his promiſe, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adverſaries, and to give us faith, ſtrength, and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to ſhorten theſe evil days for his choſen's ſake; and ſo we faithfully believe he will.

Notwithſtanding, we truſt the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not ſuffer ſuch tyranny to be done againſt her poor, innocent, faithful, and obedient ſubjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world but to ſue unto her highneſs, our moſt gracious and benign ſovereign; whom we pray and beſeech, for the dear blood of Chriſt, to pity our lamentable caſe and hurt of conſcience, and to call back all ſuch commandments as are againſt God's honour, as the good king Darius, Ahaſuerus, Trajan, Theodoſius, and divers others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion (ſet forth by our moſt holy and innocent king Edward) to be reſtored again unto our churches, to be frequented amongſt us. So ſhall we grow and increaſe in the knowledge of God and of Chriſt, in true repentance and amendment of life: ſo ſhall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magiſtrates, and all ſuperiors ordained of God: ſo ſhall love and charity (of late through this commandment ſo decayed) be again reſtored, the honour of her regal eſtate the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, and godlineſs and a virtuous life among her loving ſubjects increaſed and maintained.

And we moſt heartily pray you (right honourable commiſſioners) to be means unto the queen's highneſs, and to her honourable council, that this our humble ſuit may be favourably tendered, and graciouſly heard and granted. And we ſhall not ceaſe day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father, long to preſerve her grace, and all other magiſtrates, in his fear and love, and in proſperous peace and wealth, with long life and honour, Amen.

Your poor ſuppliants, the lovers of
Chriſt's true religion in Norfolk
and Suffolk.

The History *of* John Harpole *of* Rocheſter, *and* Joan Beach, Widow, *of* Tunbridge, Martyrs.

TOUCHING the examination of Joan Beach, widow, and of John Harpole, within the dioceſe of Rocheſter, by Maurice, biſhop of the ſaid dioceſe, mention was made before in the hiſtory of Nicholas Hall, wherein were declared the four articles conſiſtorial of the biſhop, objected and laid, as unto the ſaid Nicholas Hall and his company, ſo alſo to this Joan Beach, widow: whereof the firſt was this;

1. That ſhe was of the pariſh of Tunbridge, in the dioceſe of Rocheſter.

2. Item, That all perſons who preach, teach, believe, or ſay otherwiſe or contrary to that their mother holy catholic church of Chriſt doth, are excommunicate perſons and heretics.

3. Item, That the ſaid Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the ſaid mother church of Chriſt, namely, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very body and blood of Chriſt is in heaven, and not in the ſacrament.

4. Item, That ſhe hath been, and yet is amongſt the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently ſuſpected to be a ſacramentary and heretic.

To which aforeſaid articles her anſwers were as follow:

1. That ſhe was and is of the ſaid pariſh of Tunbridge, in the dioceſe of Rocheſter.

2. That all perſons which do preach and hold otherwiſe and contrary to that which the holy catholic church of Chriſt doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics; adding withal, that nevertheleſs ſhe believeth not the holy catholic church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

3. That ſhe hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold, and affirm, in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and this his body and ſubſtance is only in heaven, and not in the ſacrament.

Laſtly, As touching how ſhe hath been or is noted and reputed among the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, ſhe ſaid ſhe could not tell; however ſhe believed ſhe was not ſo taken and reputed.

The like matter, and the like four articles were alſo the ſame preſent time and place miniſtered to John Harpole, by the aforeſaid biſhop Maurice; who, after the like anſwers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of ſentence, according to the tenor and courſe of their ſeveral ſentences, which may be read before in the hiſtory of Mr. Rogers.

An Account *of* John Hullier, Miniſter *and* Martyr.

JOHN HULLIER, miniſter, was firſt brought up in Eaton-ſchool, from whence he went to King's College, in Cambridge. He ſuffered under Dr. Thirlby, biſhop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the ſincere preaching of the goſpel. In whoſe behalf it is much to be lamented, that among ſo many freſh wits and ſtirring pens in that univerſity, ſo little matter is left unto us concerning the proceſs of his judgment, and order of his ſuffering, who ſo innocently gave his life in ſuch a cauſe amongſt the midſt of them. By certain letters which he himſelf left behind, it appeared that he was zealous and earneſt in that doctrine of truth, which every true chriſtian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was on the ſecond day of April, in the year 1556.

LETTER I.

From John Hullier *to the* Chriſtian Congregation, *exhorting them faithfully to abide in the* Doctrine *of the* Lord.

IT ſtandeth now moſt in hand (O dear chriſtians) all them that look to be accounted of Chriſt's flock at the great and terrible day, when a ſeparation ſhall be made of the ſort that ſhall be received, from the other which ſhall be refuſed, faithfully in his time of great afflictions to hear our maſter Chriſt's voice, the only true ſhepherd of our ſouls, who ſaith, "Whoſoever ſhall endure to the end, ſhall be ſafe." For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well ſay) that our Saviour Chriſt ſpake of long before, which ſhould follow the true and ſincere preaching of his goſpel. Therefore in this time we muſt needs either ſhew that we are his faithful ſoldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breaſt-plate of love, the helmet of hope and ſalvation, and the ſword of his holy word (which we have heard plentifully), with all inſtance of ſupplication and prayer; or elſe if we do not work and labour with theſe, we are apoſtates and falſe ſoldiers, ſhrinking moſt unthankfully from our gracious and ſovereign lord and captain Chriſt, and leaning to Belial. For as he ſaith plainly, Luke xiv. "Whoſoever beareth not my croſs and followeth me, he cannot be my diſciple." And Matth. vi. "No man can ſerve two maſters: for either he muſt hate the one, and love the other, or elſe he ſhall lean to the one, and deſpiſe the other." Which thing the faithful prophet Elias ſignified, when he came to the people, and ſaid, "Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him," 1 Kings xviii.

Now let us not think, but that the ſame was recorded in writing for our inſtruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the apoſtle St. Paul ſaith, Rom. xv. "Whatſover things are written aforehand, that are written for our learning." If Chriſt be that only good and true ſhepherd that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our conſciences ſprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our ſalvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profeſſion and firſt promiſe. But if we ſhall not ſo do, certainly, (ſay what we can) although we bear the name of Chriſt, yet we be none of his ſheep indeed. For he ſaith very manifeſtly, John x. "My ſheep hear my voice, and follow me: a ſtranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a ſtranger.

Therefore let every man take heed in theſe perilous days, (whereof we have had ſo much warning aforehand) that he be not beguiled by the godly outward ſhew and appearance, as Eve was of our old ſubtle enemy, whoſe craft and wilineſs is ſo manifold and divers, and ſo full of cloſe windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain ſtrait way to conſent to his ſuggeſtions, then he will allure him and wind him in by ſome other falſe ways, (as it were by a train) that he ſhall not perceive it, to deceive withal, and to ſteal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and eternal crown of glory, which no man elſe can have, but he that fighteth lawfully: as at this preſent day, if he cannot induce him thoroughly, as others do, to favour his deviliſh religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the ſame, yet he will inveigle him to reſort to his wicked and whoriſh ſchool-houſe, and at the leaſtwiſe to be converſant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and ſay nothing, whatſoever he think, ſo that he be not a diligent ſoldier and a good labourer on Chriſt's ſide, to further his kingdom: by that ſubtle means flattering him that he ſhall both ſave his life, and alſo his good, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Chriſt's holy will and teſtament, we ſhall perceive that he came not to make any ſuch peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any ſuch peace to his diſciples; "I leave peace with you (ſaith he), my peace I give you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me you ſhould have peace. In the world ye ſhall have affliction, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. The ſervant is not greater than his lord and maſter: if they have perſecuted me, they ſhall alſo perſecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife, children, ſiſters, yea, and moreover his own life, it is not poſſible for him to be my diſciple. Bleſſed be ye that now weep, for ye ſhall laugh: and woe be unto you that now laugh, for ye ſhall mourn and weep. He that will find his life, ſhall loſe it."

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preſerve and keep us, that we never obey ſuch a falſe flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietneſs, everlaſting trouble, vexation, and diſquietneſs; for theſe vain and tranſitory goods, extreme loſs and utter damage of the eternal treaſure and inheritance; for this mortal life, deprivation of the moſt joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endleſs death moſt miſerable, unmeaſurable pain and torment both of body and ſoul.

Now conferring the ſetwo ſchoolmaſters together, let us conſider the thing well, and determine with ourſelves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way that ſeemeth here moſt pleaſant, and that the moſt part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better to go to ſchool with our maſter Chriſt, and to be under his ferula and rod, (although it ſeemeth ſharp and grievous for a time) that at length we may be inheritors with him of everlaſting joy, than to keep company with the devil's ſcholars, the adulterous generation, in his ſchool that is all full of pleaſure for a while, and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the moſt horrible lake which burneth evermore with fire and brimſtone without end. What ſhall then theſe vain goods and temporal pleaſures avail? Who ſhall then help, when we cry inceſſantly, Woe, woe, alas, and weal away, for unmeaſurable pain, grief, and ſorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this world for a time, that we may pleaſe God. Our Saviour Chriſt the true teacher faith, "Every branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away, John xv."

It is alſo not written in vain, Ecclus. xli. "The children of the ungodly are abominable children, and ſo are they that keep company with the ungodly." What doth he elſe, I pray you, that reſorteth to the adminiſtration and ſervice that is moſt repugnant and contrary to Chriſt's Holy Teſtament, there keeping ſtill ſilence, and nothing reproving the ſame, but in the face of the world, by his very deed itſelf, declare himſelf to be of a falſe, fearful, diſſembling, feigned, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, diſcouraging as much as lieth in him all the reſidue of Chriſt's hoſt, and giving a manifeſt offence to the weak, and alſo confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adverſaries in all their evil doings. By which example he doth ſhew himſelf neither to love God, whom he ſeeth to be diſhonoured and blaſphemed by an Antichriſtian miniſter, nor yet his neighbonr before whom he ſhould rebuke the evil, as it is expreſsly commanded in God's holy law, where it is ſaid, "Thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not ſin for his ſake," Lev. xviii. Wherefore let ſuch a one never fancy to deceive himſelf, that his name is regiſtered in the book of life, to have the ſtipend of Chriſt's ſoldier, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a faithful and right true ſoldier, as others have done before. For ſuch fearfulneſs cometh not from God, as teſtifieth St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. ſaying, "God hath not given us the ſpirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not aſhamed, faith he, to teſtify our Lord, but ſuffer adverſity alſo with the goſpel, through the power of God, which ſaved us, and called us with an holy calling.

To be now fearful, when moſt need is that we ſhould be of ſtrong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulneſs and diſobedience to the expreſs commandment of our Saviour Chriſt, who faith in his holy goſpel, Matth. x. "Fear not them that kill the body," &c. For what faithfulneſs do we expreſs towards him, when he faith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Iſraelites, who unfaithfully feared God's enemies the Canaanites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true prophet Moſes, to do the contrary? For which cauſe all the whole number of that ſect were deſtroyed in proceſs of time in the wilderneſs, and enjoyed not the pleaſant land of promiſe. That was a bodily figure ſhewed before, and now agreeing to the promiſe of the heavenly inheritance, which ſhall be given to none other, but only to ſuch as with love unfeigned be wholly bent, without any fear of man, to fulfill God's holy will and pleaſure. But all they that pertain to the lively faith, to the winning of the ſoul, will faithfully ſtick to the commandment, truſting moſt firmly and faithfully that he that gave the ſame, will alſo give ſtrength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakeſt veſſels of all, as we have heard and ſeen by divers examples; he only therefore be praiſed.

St. Peter faith, 1 Pet. iii. "Fear not though they ſeem terrible unto you, neither be troubled, but ſanctify the Lord God in your hearts." "Only (faith St. Paul, Phil. i.) let your converſation be as it becometh the goſpel of Chriſt. Continue in one ſpirit, and in one ſoul, labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the goſpel, and in nothing fearing your adverſaries, which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of ſalvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given that not only ye ſhould believe in Chriſt, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake." Wherefore let us be right well aſſured, that we ſhall yield a moſt ſtrict account, if we tranſgreſs the ſaid moſt wholeſome precepts given us of our maſter Chriſt, and of his apoſtles, and now in this troubleſome time wherein the goſpel is perſecuted, ſhew ourſelves fearful ſoldiers; as it is manifeſtly declared in the Revelation of St. John, chap. xxi. where it is written, "That the fearful ſhall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death." Again, it is written in the ſame book for our warning, chap. iii. "Becauſe thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will ſpew thee out of my mouth."

Now therefore (good Chriſtians) theſe true teſtimonies of God's lively word deeply conſidered and weighed, let us chiefly ſtand in awe of his moſt terrible judgments, and be not as they that preſumptuouſly tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chaſteneth, he now nurtureth us for our profit, delighteth in us even as a loving father in his beloved child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his holineſs. He now judgeth us (not utterly taking away his everlaſting love and mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked) that we ſhould not be condemned with the wicked world: but if we now refuſe his moſt loving chaſtiſing, and follow the world, we muſt needs have our portion with the world. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to deſtruction, and many there be which go in thereat: but ſtrait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a time!

In conſideration whereof, let us without any more ſlacking and furthering delays in this great warning by God's loving viſitation, ſubmit ourſelves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build farther, beſeeching you moſt heartily to pray for me, that I may be ſtrong through the power of his might, and ſtand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal reſt;

and I will pray for you as I am moſt bound. So I truſt he will graciouſly hear us for his promiſe ſake made unto all the faithful of his dearly beloved Son Chriſt our alone Saviour, whoſe grace be with your ſpirit, moſt dear chriſtians, for ever. So be it.

By your chriſtian brother John Hullier,
a priſoner of the Lord.

The ſecond letter, written after his condemnation, addreſſed in the ſame terms, more immediately tends to charge the pope and the church of Rome with being the beaſt of the Revelation, and the antichriſt of the ſcriptures. It warns them againſt apoſtacy from the faith, and to ſubmit to perſecution, but not wilfully to invite it; and ſets before them briefly, the narrow way which leadeth unto life, and the broad way that leadeth to deſtruction, and calls upon them to chuſe which they will prefer. Expecting, as he then did, within a few days, to ſeal his faith with his blood; he bids them an affectionate farewel, and finally concludes with exhorting them to watch and pray.

The Martyrdom *of ſix conſtant* Profeſſors *of* Chriſt, *burned at* Colcheſter, *for the* Teſtimony *of the* Goſpel, *the 28th Day of April.*

NOT long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Eſſex martyrs, who ſuffered in Smithfield, as is before ſpecified, followed in the ſame order likewiſe of martyrdom, at one fire in the town of Colcheſter, (where moſt of them inhabited) ſix other martyrs, whoſe names be theſe:

Chriſtopher Lyſter, of Dagneham, huſbandman; John Mace, of Colcheſter, apothecary; John Spencer, of Colcheſter, weaver; Simon Joyne, ſawyer; Richard Nichols, of Colcheſter, weaver; John Hammond, of Colcheſter, tanner.

With theſe ſix was alſo joined another, whoſe name was Roger Graſbroke, but he afterward ſubmitted himſelf. Of theſe above named, the biſhop, becauſe (as it ſeemed by the ſhort proceſs recorded by his regiſter) he waxed now weary, made a very quick diſpatch. For ſoon after that they were delivered unto one John Kingſtone, bachelor of the civil law, and then commiſſary to the biſhop, by the earl of Oxford, and other commiſſioners, (as appeareth by a bill indented, made between the commiſſioners and the ſaid commiſſary, for the receipt of the ſaid priſoners, dated March the 28th, in the ſecond and third years of the reign of king Philip and queen Mary, which was in the year of our Lord 1556) and by him ſent unto his lord and maſter, the biſhop cauſed them to be brought unto his houſe at Fulham; where, in the open church, judicially were miniſtered unto them the ſame articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To which they made their ſeveral anſwers, agreeing altogether in one truth.

As theſe anſwers were ſo extremely ſimilar to thoſe which were given by thoſe faithful martyrs, it ſeems unneceſſary to repeat them in this place; for as they contain no new doctrine, but generally concur in oppoſition to the doctrines of the ſacrament of the altar, with tranſubſtantiation and the popiſh doctrines of the maſs, &c. we cannot but refer our readers to the account of thoſe martyrs, to refreſh their memories on theſe ſubjects.

Theſe anſwers thus made, the biſhop diſmiſſed them for that preſent until the afternoon. At which time, having firſt their articles and anſwers read unto them again, and they ſtanding moſt firmly unto their chriſtian profeſſion, they were by divers ways and means eſſayed and tried if they would revoke the ſame their profeſſed faith, and return to the unity of Antichriſt's church.

Which when they refuſed, the biſhop ſtoutly pronounced ſentence of condemnation againſt them, committing them unto the ſecular power. Who, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, ſent them unto Colcheſter, where the 28th day of April, moſt chearfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

An account of the Martyrdom *of* Hugh Laverock, *an old* Man, *and* John Apprice, *a blind* Man, *burned at* Stratford *the* Bow.

IN the diſcourſe of this part of hiſtory, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unſearchable mercies of God, or elſe to note the unreaſonable, or rather unnatural doings of theſe unmerciful catholics, I mean biſhop Bonner and his accomplices.

Hugh Laverock, of the pariſh of Barking, painter, was of the age of ſixty-eight, and a cripple, and John Apprice, a blind man.

Theſe two poor and ſimple creatures being alike accuſed by ſome promoting neighbour of their's, unto the biſhop and other of the king and queen's commiſſioners, were ſent for by their officer; and being brought and delivered into the hands of the ſaid biſhop, were the firſt day of May examined before him in his palace at London; where he firſt propounded and objected againſt them thoſe nine articles, whereof mention is made before, miniſtered as well unto Bartlet Green, as alſo unto many others. To which they anſwered in effect as Chriſtopher Lyſter, John Mace, and others before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again ſent to priſon, and beſide other times, the ninth day of the ſame month, in the conſiſtory of St. Paul's were again openly produced, and there intreated to recant their opinions againſt the ſacrament of the altar.

Whereunto Hugh Laverock firſt ſaid, I will ſtand to mine anſwers, and to that I have confeſſed; and I cannot find in the ſcriptures, that the prieſts ſhould lift up over their head a cake of bread.

The biſhop then turned unto John Apprice, and aſked what he would ſay.

To whom he anſwered, Your doctrine that you ſet forth and teach, is ſo agreeable with the world, and embraced of the ſame, that it cannot be agreeable with the ſcripture of God. And you are not of the catholic church; for you make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman.

At which words the biſhop belike ſomewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their condemnation any longer, (ſuch was now his hot burning charity) commanded that they ſhould be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he went before dinner, and there in the afternoon, after his ſolemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the definitive ſentence of condemnation againſt them, and ſo delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to diſpatch his hands of them, but could not ſo diſpatch his conſcience before the judgment of God, from the guiltineſs of innocent blood.

The poor men being now in the temporal officer's hands, might not be ſuffered long to remain there, and therefore the fifteenth day of May, very early in the morning, they were carried in a cart from Newgate to Stratford the Bow, and moſt quietly in the fire praiſing God, yielded up their ſouls into his hands through a lively faith in Jeſus Chriſt, whom unto the end they did moſt conſtantly confeſs.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, caſt away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice his fellow-martyr, ſaid unto him, Be of good comfort, my brother, for my lord of London is our good phyſician. He will heal us both ſhortly, thee of thy blindneſs, and me of my lameneſs. And ſo patiently they ſuffered together.

An Account of the Martyrdom *of* Catherine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, *and* Joan Horns, *in* Smithfield.

THE next day after the martydom of this lame and blind man above ſpecified, were brought to the fire three women, with whom alſo was adjoined another, who being in the ſame conſtancy with them, was likewiſe partaker of the ſaid condemnation. Theſe were,

Catherine Hut, of Bocking, widow. Joan Horns, of Billericay, maid. Elizabeth Thackvel, of Great Burſted, maid. Margaret Ellis, of Billericay, maid.

How theſe with divers others were perſecuted and ſent up, eſpecially by ſir John Mordaunt, and Edmund Tyrel, eſquire, juſtices of peace, the following letter will declare.

A LETTER

From Sir John Mordaunt, Knight, *and* Edmund Tyrel, Eſq. Juſtices *of* Peace *for the* County *of* Eſſex, *to* Bonner, Biſhop *of* London.

OUR humble commendations to your lordſhip: theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that we have ſent unto your good lordſhip, Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, ſervant of William Harris, of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they are not conformable to the orders of the church, nor to the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, to uſe your lordſhip's pleaſure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the puniſhment of theſe and others before ſent to your lordſhip, but that the pariſh of Great Burſted and Billericay ſhall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good lordſhip to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave. From Great Burſted, this ſecond day of March, 1556.

Your lordſhip's to command,
John Mordaunt.
Edmund Tyrel.

After the receipt of theſe letters, biſhop Bonner entering into the examination of theſe four women above named, laid and objected the like articles to them, as after his uſual form he was uſed to adminiſter, and are before expreſſed: whereunto the ſaid women likewiſe agreeing in the ſame unity of the ſpirit and doctrine, accorded in their anſwers, much agreeing unto the other before them.

After theſe their anſwers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further examination, and ſo at length to their final judgment; where Catherine Hut, widow, ſtanding before the biſhop, boldly and conſtantly ſtood to that which ſhe had ſaid before, neither yielding to his fair promiſes, nor overthrown with his terror. Who being required to declare her mind concerning the ſacrament, and to reform herſelf unto the fellowſhip of the catholic faith, openly proteſted, ſaying, I deny it to be God, becauſe it is a dumb god, and made with men's hands.

Joan Horns, maid, produced likewiſe to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmneſs and chriſtian fortitude declared herſelf a true martyr and follower of Chriſt's Teſtament, giving no place to the adverſary; but being charged that ſhe did not believe the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood to be Chriſt himſelf, of which ſacrament (contrary to the nature of a ſacrament) the adverſaries are wont to make an idol ſervice; to this ſhe proteſting openly her mind, ſaid as follows; If you can make your god to ſhed blood, or to ſhew any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread, (as touching the ſubſtance thereof) meaning the matter whereof the ſacrament conſiſteth; and that which you call hereſy, I truſt to ſerve my Lord God in, &c.

And as touching the Romiſh ſee, ſhe ſaid, My lord, (ſpeaking to Bonner) I forſake all his abominations, and from them good Lord deliver us. From this her ſtable and conſtant aſſertion, when the biſhop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly ax of his ſentence. And ſo the holy virgin and martyr was committed to the ſhambles of the ſecular ſword, and offered up with her other fellows a burnt ſacrifice to the Lord, in the ſavour of a ſweet and pleaſant ſmell.

As touching Margaret Ellis, ſhe likewiſe perſevering in her aforeſaid confeſſion, and reſiſting the falſe catholic errors of the papiſts, was by the ſaid Bonner judged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate.

No leſs ſtrength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid Elizabeth Thackvel, whoſe heart and mind the Lord had ſo confirmed in his truth, and ſo armed with patience, that as her adverſaries could by no ſufficient knowledge of ſcripture diſprove her affirmation, ſo by no forcible attempts could they remove her confeſſion.

Theſe three innocent and godly women, thus falſely and wrongfully by men condemned for the juſt quarrel and cauſe of God's goſpel, were brought to Smithfield, and there cruelly bound to the ſtake, gave their bodies to the tormentors on the 16th day of May, 1556.

An Account of the Martyrdom *of* Thomas Drowry, *a blind* Boy, *and* Thomas Croker, Bricklayer.

A Little before, ye have heard of two men, the one blind and the other lame, which ſuffered about the 15th of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, who ſuffered the like paſſion and martyrdom for the ſame cauſe of religion at Glouceſter.

How long this blind boy was in priſon, and in what year he ſuffered, I am not certain. Of this credible intelligence I have received by the teſtimony of the then regiſter of Glouceſter, named John Taylor, alias Barker, that the ſaid blind boy, at his laſt examination and final condemnation, was brought (by the officers, under whoſe cuſtody he had remained) before Dr. Williams, then chancellor of Glouceſter, ſitting judicially with the ſaid regiſter in the conſiſtory, near unto the ſouth-door, in the nether end of the church of Glouceſter. Where the ſaid chancellor then miniſtered unto the boy ſuch uſual articles as are accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, and are ſundry times mentioned in this book.

Chancellor. Doſt thou not believe, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth the very real body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar?

To whom Thomas Drowry anſwered, No, that I do not.

Chancellor. Then thou art an heretic, and ſhalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this hereſy?

Drowry. You, maſter chancellor.

Chancellor. Where, I pray thee?

Drowry. Even in yonder place: pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, ſtanding upon the north ſide of the church.

Chancellor. When did I teach thee ſo?

Drowry. When you preached there (naming the day) a ſermon to all men as well as to me, upon the ſacrament. You ſaid the ſacrament was to be received ſpiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papiſts have heretofore taught.

Chancellor. Then do as I have done, and thou ſhalt live as I do, and eſcape burning.

Drowry. Though you can ſo eaſily diſpenſe with yourſelf, and mock with God, the world, and your own conſcience, yet will I not ſo do.

Chancellor. Then the Lord have mercy upon thee, for I will read the condemnation ſentence againſt thee.

Drowry. God's will be fulfilled.

The regiſter being herewith ſomewhat moved, ſtood up and ſaid to the chancellor:

Fie for ſhame, man, will you read the ſentence againſt him, and condemn yourſelf? Away, away, and ſubſtitute ſome other to give ſentence and judgment.

Chaucellor. No, regiſter, I will obey the law, and give ſentence myſelf according to mine office.

And ſo he read the ſentence condemnatory againſt the boy, (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conſcience) delivering him over to the ſecular power. Who the ſaid fifth day of May, brought the ſaid blind boy to the place of execution, at Glouceſter; together with one Thomas Croker, a bricklayer, condemned alſo for the like teſtimony of the truth. Where both together in one fire moſt conſtantly and joyfully yielded their ſouls into the hands of the Lord Jeſus.

PERSECUTION *in the* COUNTY *of* SUFFOLK.

AFTER the death of theſe above rehearſed, were three men burnt at Beckles, in Suffolk, in one fire about the 21ſt day of May, Anno 1556. Whoſe names are here ſpecified.

Thomas Spicer, of Winſton, labourer; Johny Denny, and Edmund Poole.

This Thomas Spicer was a ſingle man, of the age of nineteen years, and by vocation a labourer, dwelling in Winſton, in the county of Suffolk, and there taken in his maſter's houſe in ſummer, about, or ſoon after ſun-riſing (being in his bed) by James Ling and John Keretch, of the ſame town, and William Davies, of Debnam, in the ſaid county.

He was apprehended for not coming to hear maſs, and becauſe he would not receive their idol at the commandment of ſir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, and certain other juſtices there, who ſent both him and them to the dungeon, in the town of Eye, in Suffolk, from whence they were all three together brought before Dunning, then chancellor of Norwich, and Mr. Mings the regiſter ſitting at the town of Beckles to be examined.

And there the chancellor endeavoured, but to no purpoſe, to perſuade them from the truth. Wherefore minding in the end to give ſentence on them, he burſt out into tears, intreating them to remember themſelves, and to turn again to the holy mother church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they ought not wilfully to caſt themſelves away, with ſuch like words.

As he was thus labouring with them, and ſeemed very loth to read the ſentence (for they were the firſt that he condemned in that dioceſe), the regiſter there ſitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or elſe perceiving the conſtant martyrs to be at a point, called upon the chancellor in haſte to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the ſecular power.

The articles objected to theſe, and commonly to all others condemned in that dioceſe by Dr. Hopton, biſhop of Norwich, and by Dunning his chancellor, were theſe:

1. Firſt, it was articulate againſt them, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be ſupreme head, immediately under Chriſt, in earth, of the univerſal catholic church.

2. Item, That they believed not holy bread and holy water, aſhes, palms, and all other like ceremonies uſed in the church, to be good and laudable for ſtirring up the people to devotion.

3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, the very natural body of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance of bread and wine to be in the ſacrament of the altar.

4 Item, That they believed it to be idolatry to worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.

5. Item, That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion.

6. Item, That they would not follow the croſs in proceſſion, nor be confeſſed to a prieſt.

7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himſelf free-will to do good or evil.

For this doctrine and theſe articles they were all three condemned by Dr. Dunning, and committed to the ſecular power, ſir John Silliard being high ſheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk at the ſame time.

And the next day following they were all burnt together in the town of Beckles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the writ *De Comburendo*, was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor Heath being at London the ſame time. Which, if it be true, then it is plain that they both went beyond their commiſſion, that were the executioners; and alſo the clergy which were the inſtigators thereof, cannot make good what they now pretend; ſaying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Almighty find out when he ſeeth his time.

In the mean time while theſe good men were at the ſtake, they prayed, and ſaid their belief; and when they mentioned the catholic church, ſir John Silliard ſpake to them; That is well ſaid, ſirs, quoth he, I am glad to hear you ſay you do believe the catholic church. That is the beſt word I have heard of you yet.

To which his ſayings Edmund Poole anſwered, That though they did believe the catholic church, yet do they not believe in their popiſh church, which is no part of Chriſt's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they roſe from prayer, they all went joyfully to the ſtake, and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they praiſed God in ſuch an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all thoſe that ſtood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the ſaid Beckles, a great enemy of God's truth, and a perſecutor of his people, being there preſent within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw one faggot to ſtop the breath of the knaves, as he termed them; ſo hot was his burning charity. But theſe good men not regarding their malice, confeſſed the truth, and yielded their lives to death for the teſtimony of the ſame, very gloriouſly and joyfully. Which conſtancy the Lord grant we may imitate, whether it be by death or by life, to glorify the name of Chriſt, Amen.

And foraſmuch as we have here entered into the perſecution of Norfolk and Suffolk, it cometh therefore to mind, by occaſion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, ſome part (for the whole cannot be ſo expreſſed as it was done) touching the troubles of the town of Winſon and Mendleſam, in Suffolk, raiſed and ſtirred by the ſaid ſir John Tyrrel and other juſtices there of the like affinity. The ſum and effect of which briefly is thus ſignified to me in writing.

The PERSECUTION *in the* TOWNS *of* WINSON *and* MENDLESAM, *in* SUFFOLK.

BY the procurement of ſir John Tyrrel, knight, and others of his colleagues, there were perſecuted out of the town of Winſon, in Suffolk, theſe perſons hereafter following.

Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman, of the age of threeſcore years and more, and two of her ſervants.

Humphrey Smith, and his wife.
William Catchpoole, and his wife.
John Mauling, and his wife.
Nicholas Burlingham, and his wife.
And one Routh, and his wife.

Such as were perſecuted and driven out of the town of Mendleſam, in the county of Suffolk, now follow.

Symon Harlſtone, and Catherine his wife, with his five children.

William Whitting, and Catherine his wife.
Thomas Dobſon, and his wife.
Thomas Hubbard, and his wife.
John Doncon, and his wife and maid.
William Doncon.
Thomas Woodward, the elder.
———Konnold's wife.
A poor widow.

One mother Semon's maid.

Beſides thoſe that were conſtrained to do againſt their conſcience by the help of the pariſh prieſt.

Theſe are the chief cauſes why thoſe above-named were perſecuted.

Firſt, They held and believed the holy word of God to be ſufficient unto their ſalvation.

Secondly, They denied the pope's uſurped authority, and did hold all that church of Antichriſt to be Chriſt's adverſaries. And further, they refuſed the abuſed ſacraments, defied the maſs and all popiſh ſervice and ceremonies, ſaying, they robbed God of his honour, and Chriſt of his death and glory, and would not come to the church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly, They did hold that the miniſters of the church by God's word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague ſent of God for ſin, &c.

Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their falſe confidence in works, and their falſe truſt in man's righteouſneſs. Alſo when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted for going ſo openly, and talking ſo freely, their anſwer was, They acknowledged, confeſſed, and believed, and therefore they muſt ſpeak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that his judgments were right, to puniſh them with others for their ſins; and that of very faithfulneſs and mercy God had cauſed them to be troubled, ſo that one hair of their heads ſhould not periſh before the time, but all things ſhould work unto the beſt to them that love God; and that Chriſt Jeſus was their life and only righteouſneſs, and that only by faith in him, and for his ſake, all good things were freely given them, alſo forgiveneſs of ſins, and life everlaſting.

Many of theſe perſecuted were of great ſubſtance, and had poſſeſſions of their own.

Give God the praiſe.

Foraſmuch as we are now in the month of May, before we overpaſs the ſame, and becauſe the ſtory is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it ſhall not grieve the ſtudious reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muſe at the great works of the Lord. "They that go down (ſaith the pſalmiſt) into the ſea, labouring upon the water, have ſeen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep," Pſal. cvi. The truth whereof may well appear in this following ſtory; which, as it was written to me by the very perſon himſelf, one Thomas Morſe, who was the doer thereof, ſo I thought proper to inſert the ſame in the following manner.

The HISTORY *of one* GREGORY CROW, *who was miraculouſly preſerved with his* New Teſtament *upon the Seas, May* 26.

UPON Tueſday in Whitſun-week, May 26, 1556, (or elſe, as he rather thinketh, in the year immediately before) a certain poor man, named Gregory Crow, dwelling in Maulden, went to ſea, intending to have gone into Kent for fullers earth, but by the way being bad weather, was driven upon a ſand, where preſently the boat ſunk, and was full of water, ſo that the men were forced to hold by the maſt of the boat, and all things that could ſwim, did ſwim out of her. Amongſt which Crow ſaw his Teſtament in the water, and caught it, and put it into his boſom. Now it was ebbing water, ſo that within one hour the boat was dry, but ſo broken that they could not ſave her; but they went themſelves upon the ſand (being at leaſt ten miles from the land) and there made their prayers together, that God would ſend ſome ſhip to their aſſiſtance (being in all two men and one boy), for they could ſtay there but an hour longer before it would be flood. In which time they found their cheſt, wherein were five pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence, belonging to the ſaid Crow; which money the other man (whoſe name I know not) took up, and gave it to the owner, who caſt it into the ſea, ſaying, If the Lord will ſave our lives, he will provide us a living; and ſo they got upon the maſt, and there hung by the arms and legs for the ſpace of ten hours, in which time the poor boy was ſo weary, and beaten with the ſea, that he fell off and was drowned.

And when the water was gone again, and the ſand dry, Crow ſaid to the other man, It were beſt for us to take down our maſts, and when the flood cometh we will ſit upon them, and ſo it may pleaſe God to bring us to ſome ſhip that may take us up. Which accordingly they did, and ſo at ten of the clock in the night of the ſame Tueſday, the flood did bear up the maſt whereon they ſat.

And upon the Wedneſday in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So that there was none left but Crow, who driving up and down in the ſea, called upon God as he could, and might not ſleep for fear that the ſea would have beaten him off.

So at length I myſelf (ſaid Thomas Morſe) being laden to Antwerp with my crayer, going from Lee upon Friday, having within my veſſel, of mariners and merchants, to the number of forty-ſix perſons, and ſo coming to the Foreland, the wind was not very good, ſo that I was conſtrained to go ſomewhat out of my way, being in the afternoon about ſix of the clock, where at the laſt we ſaw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a ſmall buoy, that fiſhermen do uſe to lay with their hooks.

When we ſaw it, ſome ſaid, Let us have ſome fiſh. And I ſaid to him that was at the helm, Keep your courſe away, for we ſhall but hinder the fiſhermen, and have no fiſh neither: and ſo at my command he did. But at length he at the helm ſtanding higher than all we did, ſaid, Methinks, maſter, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a fiſherman's buoy, turned the ſhip from him again to keep their courſe.

Crow beholding the ſhip to turn from him, being then in utter deſpair, and ready now to periſh with watching, famine, and moreover miſerably beaten with the ſeas, at laſt took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the ſame with his arm as high as he could, thought by ſhaking it as well as he might, to give them ſome token of better ſight.

Whereupon the ſteerman, more ſenſibly perceiving a thing to move, advertiſed us again, declaring how he did plainly ſee a man's arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and ſo came to him and took him up. And as ſoon as we had him in our ſhip, he began to put his hand into his boſom, and one aſked him if he had money there. No, ſaid he, I have a book here, I think it be wet; and ſo drew out his Teſtament, which we then dried. But the ſea had ſo beaten him, that his eyes, noſe and mouth, were almoſt cloſed with ſalt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So that we made fire and ſhifted him with dry cloaths, and gave him aqua compoſita to drink, and ſuch meat as was in the ſhip, and then let him ſleep.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the morning, and his blood began ſomewhat to appear in his fleſh (for when we took him up, his fleſh was even as though it had been ſodden, or as a drowned man's is) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearſed. And ſo ſailing to Antwerp, the merchants who ſaw the thing, publiſhed the ſame in Antwerp; and becauſe it was wonderful, many of the people there, both men and women, came to the ſhip to ſee him. Some gave him a petticoat, and ſome a ſhirt, ſome hoſe, and ſome money (always noting how he caſt away his money and kept his book.)

And many of the women wept when they heard and ſaw him. And Maſter Governor of the Engliſh nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and pitying his caſe, commanded the officer of the Engliſh houſe to go to the free Oſte-houſes amongſt the Engliſh-merchants, and I with them, and

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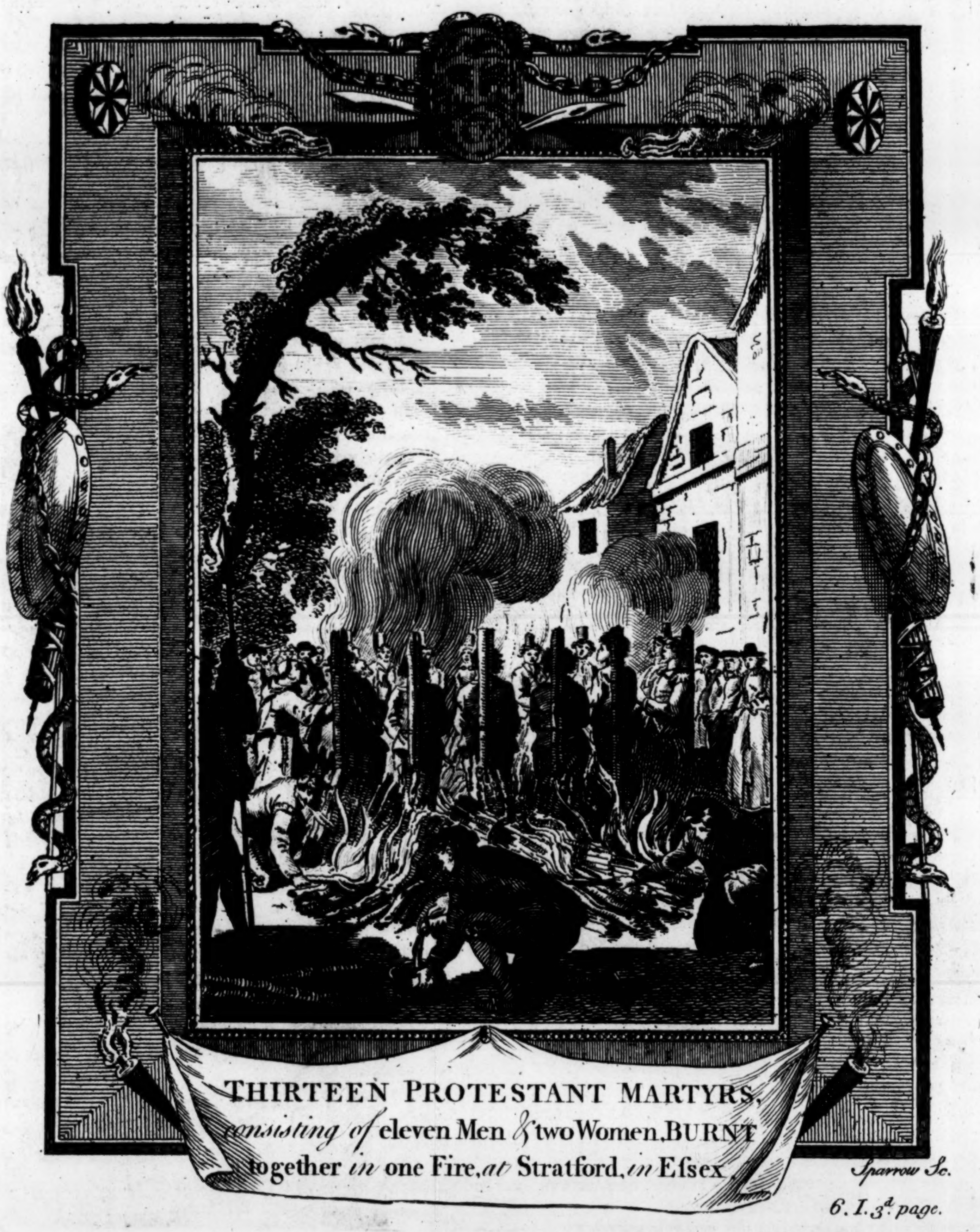

THIRTEEN PROTESTANT MARTYRS, *consisting of* eleven Men *&* two Women, BURNT together *in* one Fire, *at* Stratford, *in* Eſsex.

Sparrow Sc.

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at three houſes there were given him ſix pounds ten ſhillings. And ſo from thence he went to Roan, where the people alſo came to him to ſee him, marvelling at the great works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor man, with his New Teſtament preſerved in the ſea, (which Teſtament the pope's clergy condemn on the land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the party above named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in Lee, well known to all merchants of London. In which ſtory, this by the way underſtand, good reader, (which rightly may be ſuppoſed) that if this poor man, thus found and preſerved in the ſea with a New Teſtament in his boſom, had had inſtead of that a pix with a conſecrated hoſt about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Chriſtendom over for a miracle, ſo far as the pope hath any land.

But to let the pope with his falſe miracles go, let us return again and adjoin another hiſtory of much like condition, teſtified likewiſe by the information of the ſaid Thomas Morſe above-mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The ſtory is thus declared, which happened Anno 1556, about Michaelmas.

Another STORY *of* GOD's PROVIDENCE *in the* PRESERVATION *of* THREE MEN *at* SEA.

THERE was a ſhip (ſaith the ſaid Thomas Morſe) whereof I had a part, going toward the Bay for ſalt, with two ſhips of Brickleſey, which were altogether going for ſalt, as before is ſaid. At the time we were within ten miles of the North Foreland, otherwiſe called Tenet, the wind did come ſo contrary to our ſhip, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other two ſhips kept their courſe ſtill, until our ſhip was almoſt out of ſight of them. And then they ſaw a thing driving upon the ſea, and hoiſted out their boat and went unto it; and it was three men ſitting upon a piece of their ſhip, who had ſat ſo two days and two nights.

There had been in their ſhip eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France, called Olloronne. They had been at Dantzick, and loſt their ſhip about Orford Neſs, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was owner of the ſhip. Their exerciſe, while they were in our ſhip, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance: both morning and evening they exerciſed prayer, and alſo before and after meat; and when they came into France, our ſhips went to the ſame place where theſe men dwelt, and one of theſe men did ſell unto our men their ſhip's lading with ſalt, and did uſe them very courteouſly and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whenſoever that ſhip cometh thither, (as ſhe hath been there twice ſince) he always doth for them, ſo that they can lack nothing. I ſhould have noted, that after our ſhip had taken up thoſe three men out of the ſea, they had the wind fair preſently, and came and overtook the other two ſhips again, and ſo they proceeded in their voyage together.

For the more credit of this ſtory above recited, to ſatiſfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alledged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but alſo expreſſed the matter in his own words, as I received it of him; the party and reporter himſelf being yet alive, and dwelling at Lee, a man ſo well known among the merchants of London, that whoſoever heareth the name of Thomas Morſe, will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter itſelf being ſo notoriouſly known to merchants as well here as at Antwerp, that though his name were not expreſſed, the ſtory can lack no witneſſes.

The laſt day of the ſaid month of May, in the year aforeſaid, William Slech being in priſon for the ſaid doctrine of the Lord's goſpel, and the confeſſion of his truth, died in the King's Bench, and was buried in the back-yard of the ſaid priſon, for that the Roman catholic ſpirituality thought him not worthy to come within their pope-holy church-yards, neither in any other chriſtian burial-place, as they call it.

The HISTORY *of* FOUR MEN *condemned at* LEWES, *June* 6.

IN June next following, about the ſixth day of the ſame month, four martyrs ſuffered together at Lewes, whoſe names were theſe:

Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote, carpenter.
John Oſwald, of Woodmancote, huſbandman.
Thomas Avington, of Ardingly, turner.
Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland, I find in the biſhop of London's regiſters, to be objected to for his not coming to church. Whereunto he anſwered, That after the maſs was reſtored, he never had will to hear the ſame, becauſe (ſaid he) it was Latin, which he did not underſtand, therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit, as never the better.

John Oſwald denied to anſwer any thing, until his accuſers ſhould be brought face to face before him; and nevertheleſs ſaid, The fire and faggots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers which were in king Edward's time have ſuffered and gone before, ſo was he ready to ſuffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

Theſe four, after long impriſonment in the King's-Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Suſſex, in one fire.

In the ſame town of Lewes, and in the ſame month likewiſe, were burned Thomas Whood, miniſter, and Thomas Milles, about the twentieth day of the ſame month, for reſiſting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic church of Rome.

On the 24th of the ſame month likewiſe William Adherhall, miniſter, died in the priſon of the King's-Bench, and was buried in the back-yard: alſo John Clement, wheelwright, who dying in the ſaid priſon, was buried in like manner upon the dung-hill in the back-yard, viz. the 25th day of June.

The next day following of the ſaid month, we read of a certain young man, a merchant's ſervant, who for the like godlineſs ſuffered cruel perſecution from the papiſts, and was burnt at Leiceſter the 26th day of June 1556.

An ACCOUNT *of* THIRTEEN MARTYRS, *burned at* STRATFORD *the* BOW.

NOT long after the death of the merchant's ſervant before-mentioned, there followed in this bleſſed order of martyrs, burned in one fire at Stratford the Bow, by London, eleven men and two women, whoſe dwellings were in ſundry places in Eſſex, and whoſe names hereafter follow.

Henry Adlington.
Laurence Parnam.
Henry Wye.
William Hallywel.
Thomas Bowyer.
George Searles.
Edmund Hurſt.
Lyon Cawch.
Ralph Jackſon.
John Derifall.
John Routh.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.

Unto whom, the ſixth of June, 1556, Dr. Darbyſhire, biſhop Bonner's chancellor, in form of law miniſtered the ſame articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his companions, mentioned before, to which they made their ſeveral anſwers, in ſimplicity and in a good conſcience. The ſum and effect whereof enſueth.

To the firſt, they all anſwered affirmatively; but Lyon Cawch added further, that he believed that the true faith and religion of Chriſt is whereſoever the word of God is truly preached.

To the ſecond article they all anſwered in effect, denying that there be ſeven ſacraments; ſome affirming that in the church of Chriſt there are but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper: others referring themſelves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: and others refuſed to make anſwer becauſe of their ſimplicity.

To the third article they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the fourth article they all anſwered affirmatively, except John Routh, who ſaid he would make no anſwer thereunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that he believed the article to be true; but it was becauſe he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in the time of king Edward the Sixth, ſhe went from her old faith and religion, and believed in the faith and religion that was then taught and ſet forth.

To the fifth they alſo anſwered in effect affirmatively, except John Routh, whoſe anſwer was, that the maſs is ſuch a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conſcience. And Henry Adlington anſwered, that for nine or ten years before, he miſliked the maſs, and alſo the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe they cannot be proved by the ſcriptures. And as touching the authority of the ſee of Rome, he being but fourteen years of age, took an oath againſt the ſame, which oath, he ſaid, he intended to keep by the grace of God.

To the ſixth they all anſwered affirmatively, except John Routh and William Hallywel who both refuſed to anſwer, becauſe they knew not what they meant by this article. But the two women added, that they refuſed to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then uſed in the realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Chriſt.

To the ſeventh article they all anſwered affirmatively; but William Hallywel denied that ever he called the maſs idolatry and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true: yet he confeſſed his infirmity, that he went to his pariſh-church and received, before he was put to priſon.

To the eighth article Edmund Hurſt, Ralph Jackſon, and George Searles, anſwered affirmatively: Henry Wye ſaid, he was brought before certain juſtices of the peace in Eſſex, concerning one Higbed his late maſter, and thereupon he was committed to Colcheſter caſtle, and from thence ſent to London to the biſhop to be further examined. William Hallywel affirmed the like confeſſion as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall ſaid he was called before the lord Rich and Mr. Mildmay, of Chelmsford, and was by them ſent to Bonner, biſhop of London, to be further examined. Thomas Bowyer ſaid he was brought before Mr. Wiſeman, of Felſed, and by him was ſent to Colcheſter caſtle, and from thence was carried to Bonner, biſhop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cowch ſaid, that he was ſent for to come before the king and queen's commiſſioners, and appearing before them three times, was ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington ſaid, that he coming to Newgate to ſpeak with one Gratwike there, being priſoner for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. John Routh ſaid, that he was convented before the earl of Oxford, and by him was ſent to the caſtle of Colcheſter, and from thence conveyed to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam ſaid, that he was committed to Hertford priſon, becauſe he would not go to church, and from thence ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Agnes George ſaid, that ſhe was committed to priſon in Colcheſter, at the command of one Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, becauſe ſhe would not go to church, and from thence was ſent to biſhop Bonner, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper ſaid, ſhe was apprehended by two conſtables and an alderman, for that ſhe would not come to church, and by them was ſent to Bonner, biſhop of London, to be by him further examined.

To the ninth article, they believed the premiſes all to be true as above by them confeſſed, and that they were of the dioceſe and juriſdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, that ſhe was of the town of Colcheſter.

And Agnes George added, that ſhe was of the pariſh of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, that he was at that preſent a merchant there.

Henry Wye, brewer, was of the pariſh of Stantford le Hore, and 32 years of age.

William Hallywel was a ſmith, of the pariſh of Waltham Holy-Croſs, and of the age of 24 years, or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackſon was a ſerving man of Chippin-Ongar, and of the age of 25 years.

Laurence Pernam was a ſmith of Hodſdon, within the pariſh of Amwell, in the county of Hertford, and of the age of 22 years.

John Derifall was a labourer, of the pariſh of Rettington, in Eſſex, and of the age of 50 years and above.

Edmund Hurſt, labourer, of St. James's, in Colcheſter, was 50 years of age.

Thomas Bowyer was a weaver of Much Dunmow, and of the age of 36 years.

George Searles was a taylor, between 20 and 21 years of age, of the pariſh of White-Nottle, where he was taken and carried to the lord Rich, who ſent him to Colcheſter caſtle, with a commandment that no friend he had in the world ſhould ſpeak with him. There he lay ſix weeks, and was ſent up to London, where he was ſome time in the biſhop's coal-houſe, ſome time in Lollard's tower, and laſt of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent, about a fortnight before Eaſter, in the place aforeſaid.

Lyon Cawch was a broker in Flanders, but when he was apprehended he reſided in the city of London, and of the age of 28 years.

Henry Adlington was a ſawyer, of Greenſted, in the county of Suſſex, of the age of 30 years.

John Routh was a labourer, and of the pariſh of Wickes, in Eſſex, of the age of 26 years.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper, weaver, of the pariſh of St. James, in the town of Colcheſter, of the age of 30 years, or thereabouts, who when ſhe was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as ſhe then teſtified to one Boſom's wife, who then unlooſed her handkerchief, ſaying moreover, when ſhe was aſked why ſhe did not tell them, Why, ſaid ſhe, they knew it well enough. O! ſuch be the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occaſion can ſtay them from their miſchievous murdering of the innocent ſaints of the Lord, who truly profeſs Chriſt crucified only and alone for the ſatisfaction of their ſins.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George, huſbandman, of Weſt Barefold, in the county of Eſſex, and of the age of 26 years. This Richard George had another wife before her, who was burnt in the Poſtern, at Colcheſter, and himſelf lay in priſon till queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then he was releaſed.

When theſe thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed that they ſhould ſuffer, which was the 27th of June, 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London the ſame day, to Stratford-Bow, (the place appointed for their martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two ſeveral chambers. Afterwards the ſheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore ſhould be ſaved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to caſt themſelves away.

Unto whom they anſwered, that their faith was not built upon man, but on Chriſt crucified. Then the ſheriff perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and ſaid (like a liar) the like to them, that they with whom he had been before, had recanted, and ſhould therefore not ſuffer death, counſelling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themſelves, but to play the wiſe men, &c.

Unto whom they anſwered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Chriſt and his word, &c.

Now when he ſaw it needleſs to perſuade (for they were, God be praiſed, ſurely grounded on the Rock Jeſus Chriſt) he then led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, and being there all together, they moſt earneſtly prayed unto the Lord, and then joyfully went to the ſtake and kiſſed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three ſtakes, and the two women looſe in the middle without any ſtake, and ſo they were all burnt in one fire, with ſuch love to each other, and conſtancy in our Saviour Chriſt, that it made all the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleaſure of his will, Amen.

In the company of theſe aforeſaid thirteen, were three more condemned to die, whoſe names are hereunder ſpecified.

Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, and William Adams.

Theſe three anſwered to the ſame articles that were propounded to the aforeſaid thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the ſecular power, Cardinal Poole ſent his diſpenſation for their lives, by what occaſion I cannot ſafely ſay, but by means thereof they then eſcaped.

The Sunday after theſe aforeſaid ſixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, preached at Paul's Croſs, where he declared, that he had as many ſundry opinions as they were ſundry perſons. At the hearing whereof they drew out their faith, and ſet to their hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the ſame to their friends, and the faithful congregation, as followeth.

Unto all our dearly beloved FRIENDS, *and the holy* CONGREGATION *of* JESUS CHRIST, *even ſo many as love* GOD, *grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. So be it.*

BE it manifeſt to all unto whom this our certificate ſhall be ſeen, that whereas, upon Saturday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham before the biſhop of London, ſixteen of us (whoſe names are hereundar ſubſcribed) were condemned to die for the moſt pure and ſincere truth of Chriſt's verity; which moſt godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adverſaries thereof continually defeated, and is by the devil and his imps, even at this preſent, likewiſe daily ſlandered: upon this occaſion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea conſtrained, in the ears of all men to manifeſt our belief, and alſo briefly the articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of falſe reports and ſlanderous tongues, which might happen by the moſt ungodly and uncharitable ſermon lately preached at Paul's croſs, the fourteenth of the ſaid month, being Sunday, by Mr. Fecknam, now dean of the ſame church; where he, in that moſt worthy audience, defamed us to be in ſixteen ſundry opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all chriſtian verity: and for a teſtimonial thereof, this hereunder written ſhall anſwer our cauſe, and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

The firſt, We believe we were baptized in the faith of Chriſt's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church, in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preſerved in us by the Holy Ghoſt: which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the ſame, and we do perſiſt, and will by God's aſſiſtance to the end. Now mark, that although the miniſter were of the church malignant, yet his wickedneſs did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confeſſing the articles of the chriſtian faith for us, and alſo witneſſes that we are baptized, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Chriſt's church.

1. Item, There are but two ſacraments in Chriſt's church, that is, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper. For in theſe are contained the faith of Chriſt's church; that is, the two teſtaments, the law and the goſpel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the goſpel remiſſion of ſins.

2. Item, We believe that is a viſible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy ſacraments truly adminiſtered, viſible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of ſaints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet as well as no.

3. Item. The ſee of Rome is the ſee of Antichriſt, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the pope is head under the devil.

4. Item, The maſs is not only a profanation of the Lord's ſupper, but alſo a blaſphemous idol.

5. Item, God is neither ſpiritually nor corporally in the ſacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no ſubſtance in the ſame, but only the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

For theſe articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be diſſolved in the fire, all with one voice aſſenting and conſenting thereunto, and in no point diſſenting or diſagreeing from any of our former articles.

Apparent alſo let it be and known, that being examined on the former articles before the bloody biſhop, the ſaid day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would prove by the ſcriptures. But he ſaid that he would not ſtand to prove it with heretics, but ſaid they themſelves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or elſe to be cut off like withered branches.

Ralph Jackſon.
Henry Adlington.
Lyon Cawch.
William Hallywel.
George Searles.
John Routh.
John Derifall.
Henry Wye.
Edmund Hurſt.
Laurence Parnam.
Thomas Bowyer.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.
Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams.

About the fourteenth of June, in the ſame year, John Colſtock, who was lately come from London, and now dwelling at Wellington, though he did not ſuffer martyrdom, yet he ſuſtained ſome trouble, being examined by the biſhop, named Ralph Bane, for his religion, eſpecially for two points, in holding againſt the reality of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and againſt auricular confeſſion to be made to the prieſt. For which cauſe being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cedde to bear a faggot before the croſs bareheaded, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongſt divers others, which in the ſame dioceſe, and at the ſame time, were ſuſpected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier, of Uttoxater, ſhoe maker; Nich. Ball, of Uttoxater; Thomas Pyot, of Chedull.

Item, Henry Crimes, for marrying his wife on Palm-Sunday eve, &c. Some others alſo there were which had the like penance enjoined them, as Thomas Johnſon, about the 26th day of this month of June, becauſe he ſware by the holy maſs before the biſhop ſitting in judgment, who for the ſame was driven to go before the croſs with his taper and beads, &c.

In the ſame month of June one Thomas Parret died in the priſon of the King's-Bench in Southwark, and was buried in the back-yard the 27th day of the ſaid month.

Alſo Martin Hunt (as is reported) was famiſhed in the ſame priſon the 29th day. At which time likewiſe died in the ſame priſon, as I find recorded, one John Norice, and after the ſame ſort as the other was buried in the back-yard of the ſaid priſon.

The MARTYRDOM *of* ROGER BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER, *and* ROBERT LAWSON.

WHEN Roger Bernard came before the biſhop, firſt he aſked, whether he had been with the prieſt at Eaſter to be ſhriven, and whether he had received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard anſwered, No: I have not been with the prieſt, nor confeſſed myſelf unto him, but I have confeſſed my ſins to Almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgiven me; whereof I ſhall not need to go to the prieſt for ſuch matters, who cannot help himſelf.

Biſhop. Surely, Bernard, thou muſt needs go, and confeſs thyſelf unto him.

Bernard. That ſhall I not do (by God's grace) while I live.

Biſhop. What a ſtout heretic is this! How impudently he anſwereth!

Bernard. My lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called heretic at your hands: for ſo your forefathers called the prophets and confeſſors of Chriſt long before this time.

At theſe words the biſhop roſe up in great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the biſhop went and kneeled before what they call the ſacrament of the altar, and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and aſked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard anſwered, I cannot tell why I ſhould do ſo. Why, quoth the biſhop, thou lewd fellow, whom ſeeſt thou yonder? pointing to the pyx over the altar.

Bernard. I ſee no body there. Do you, my lord?

Biſhop. Why, naughty man, doſt thou not ſee thy Maker?

Bernard. My Maker? No, I ſee nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap.

With that the biſhop roſe up ſore diſpleaſed, and commanded the gaoler to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him. For, ſaid he, I will tame him ere he go from me; I think ſo: and ſo he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the biſhop, who aſked him, if he did not remember himſelf ſince the day before that he was before him.

Bernard. Yes, my lord, I have remembered myſelf very well; for the ſame man I was yeſterday, I am this day, and I hope ſhall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the guard ſtanding by, ſaid, My lord, I pray you, trouble not yourſelf any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I ſhall handle him after another ſort, I think, and make him a fair child ere he go, you ſhall ſee.

So he was committed to him, and brought by him to an inn, where were a great many prieſts aſſembled together, and there they all fell to flatter him, and perſuaded him with fair enticing words, what they could; but when they could not prevail therein, then they began to threaten him with whipping, ſtocking, burning, and ſuch like. Unto whom Bernard ſaid, Friends, I am not better than my maſter Chriſt, and the prophets which your fathers ſerved after ſuch ſort; and I, for his name's ſake, am content to ſuffer the like at your hands, if God ſhall ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame according to his promiſe, in ſpite of the devil and all his miniſters. So when they could not make him relent or yield, they ſaid, Behold a right ſcholar of John Fortune, whom they had then in priſon. Then they carried him to the biſhop, who immediately condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the ſecular power.

This Roger Bernard was a ſingle man, and by his vocation a labourer, dwelling in Framſden, in Suffolk, who was taken in the night by Mr. Tamage's men, becauſe he would not go to church to hear their unſavoury ſervice, and ſo by them carried to priſon.

The HISTORY *of* ADAM FOSTER.

ADAM FOSTER, of the age of ſix and twenty years, huſbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendleſam, in the county of Suffolk, was taken at home in his houſe, a little before the ſun's going down, by the conſtables of the ſaid town, George Revet and Thomas Mouſe, at the commandment of ſir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, becauſe he would not go to church and hear maſs, and receive at Eaſter, except he might have it after Chriſt's holy ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he muſt go with them unto the juſtice. Unto whom Adam Foſter ſaid, For Chriſt's cauſe, and to ſave his conſcience, he was well contented; and ſo they led him to ſir John Tyrrel, and he ſent him to Eye-dungeon, in Suffolk, from whence at length he was ſent to Norwich, and there condemned by biſhop Hopton.

Now after his apprehenſion, the ſaid Thomas Mouſe and George Revet were ſtricken with a great fear and ſickneſs, whereby Mouſe pined and conſumed away, even unto death, although he was a luſty young man. But George Revet, who was the ſaid Mouſe's fellow, and a great reader of the ſcripture, or (as many term it) a talkative goſpeller, would not be premoniſhed by the works of God, but ſet his ſon to help the prieſt at maſs, and to be clerk of the ſame town of Mendleſam for lucre ſake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the grace ſo to conſider it, which thing was this:

A young man of the ſame pariſh, newly married, called Robert Edgore, being of a ripe wit and ſound judgment, was clerk in the ſaid church before the ſaid Revet ſet his ſon in that room, and executed the office a little; yea, alas, too long, againſt his own conſcience; whereby at length the Lord ſo took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woeful wife, good woman, was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, leſt he ſhould unawares do himſelf or ſome other ſome miſchief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I ſaid) would not admoniſh Revet, but needs he muſt perſiſt in his wicked purpoſe. Notwithſtanding at length, as many men were offended with him in the pariſh, ſo honeſt women eſpecially, (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and ſaid, Neighbour Revet, are you not afraid to let your ſon help the naughty prieſt to ſay maſs, and to ſerve that abominable idol? And he ſaid, No.

Then ſaid they, We fear not to go to church and hear maſs, ſeeing you, being a man that ſo much profeſs chriſtianity, will let your ſon help the prieſt to ſay maſs, &c.

At which words Revet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer unto God after this manner, or with ſuch like words, ſaying, O Lord, if it be not thy will that my ſon ſhould ſo do; then I beſeech thee ſend ſome ſtrange token, to let me underſtand what thy good pleaſure is therein, &c. So according to his petition, within a ſhort ſpace after, his neighbour's bull came into his paſture, and he having a very proper gelding, which was his felicity above every thing he had, the bull running upon him, did ſo wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his gelding died, and he thereby nothing amended. For although he knew and confeſſed, that it was the Lord's hand upon him for the ſufferance of his ſon in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him ſtill to uſe and frequent the ſame againſt his own conſcience.

At laſt the Lord ſent upon him a great ſwelling in his legs, which did ſo grievouſly vex and trouble him, by reaſon it ſwelled upward, that at length, having thereby brought upon him a very ſtrange ſickneſs, he died moſt miſerably, and ſo impatient a manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant, for Chriſt's ſake, that we may obſerve his judgments better, to his glory, and our comfort, Amen.

The HISTORY *of* ROBERT LAWSON.

ROBERT LAWSON was a ſingle man, of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen-weaver, who was apprehended in the night, by one Robert Kereth, at the command of ſir John Tyrrel, of Gipping-hall, in Suffolk, knight, and ſo was immediately carried to Eye-dungeon, in Suffolk, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to Bury. The cauſe of his being taken, was for that he would not go to church to hear maſs, and receive their popiſh idol.

When theſe three aforeſaid martyrs were carried to their death, namely Roger Bernard, Adam Foſter, and Robert Lawſon, of Bury, after they had made their prayer, being at the ſtake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they moſt triumphantly ended their lives, in ſuch a happy and bleſſed condition, as did notably ſet forth their conſtancy and joyful end, to the great praiſe of God, and their commendation in him, and alſo to the encouragement of others in the ſame quarrel to do the like. The Lord of ſtrength fortify us to ſtand as his true ſoldiers in what ſtanding ſoever he ſhall think it good to place us, Amen.

In the examination of Roger Bernard, you heard a little before, how he was compared by the prieſts there to John Fortune, and called his ſcholar. This John Fortune, otherwiſe called Cutler, of Hintleſham, in Suffolk, was by his occupation a black-ſmith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, on the 20th day of April. In ſpirit he was zealous and ardent, in the ſcriptures ready, in Chriſt's cauſe ſtout and valiant, in his anſwers marvellous, and no leſs patient in his wrongful ſuffering, than conſtant in his doctrine. Whether he was burnt or died in priſon, I cannot certainly find; but I rather ſuppoſe that he was burnt. Certain it is, howſoever, he was made away with, as he never yielded. What his anſwers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the biſhop, you ſhall hear, although not with his own mouth ſpoken, yet with his own hand written what he did ſay, as followeth.

The FIRST EXAMINATION *of* JOHN FORTUNE *before* Dr. PARKER *and* Mr. FOSTER.

FIRST, Dr. Parker aſked me how I believed in the catholic faith.

And I aſked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death.

Dr. Parker being moved, ſaid, What an impudent fellow is this? You ſhall ſoon ſee anon, he will deny the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid Mr. Foſter, I know you well enough. You are a buſy merchant. How ſayeſt thou by the bleſſed maſs?

And I ſtood ſtill and made no anſwer.

Then ſaid Foſter, Why ſpeakeſt thou not, and make the gentleman an anſwer?

And I ſaid, Silence is a good anſwer to a fooliſh queſtion.

Then ſaid Dr. Parker, I am ſure he will deny the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar alſo.

And I anſwered, I know none ſuch but only the ſacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Then ſaid Dr. Parker, You deny the order of the ſeven ſacraments. And why doſt not thou believe in the ſacrament of the altar?

And I anſwered, Becauſe it is not written in God's book.

Then, ſaid he, you will not believe unwritten verities.

And I anſwered, I will believe that thoſe unwritten verities that agree with the written verities be true: but thoſe unwritten verities that are of your own making, and inventions of your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, ſaid Mr. Foſter, you ſhall be whipped and burned for this gear.

Then anſwered I, If you knew how theſe words do rejoice my heart, you would not have ſpoken them.

Then ſaid Mr. Foſter, Away, thou fool, doſt thou rejoice in whipping?

Yes, anſwered I, for it is written in the ſcriptures, and Chriſt ſaith, Thou ſhalt be whipped for my name's ſake: and ſince the time that the ſword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that were whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this perſecution.

Away with him then, ſaid he, for he is ten times worſe than Samuel: and ſo he was carried to priſon again.

The SECOND EXAMINATION *of* JOHN FORTUNE, *before the* BISHOP *of* NORWICH.

WHEN I came before the biſhop, he aſked me if I did not believe in the catholic church.

I anſwered, I believe that church whereof Chriſt is the head.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Doſt thou not believe that the pope is ſupreme head of the church?

And I anſwered, No, Chriſt is the head of the true church.

Biſhop. So do I believe alſo: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive ſins alſo.

Fortune. The pope is but a man, and the prophet David ſaith, "That no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement unto God for him; for it coſt more to redeem their ſouls, ſo that he muſt let that alone for ever."

And the biſhop again fetching about a great circumſtance, ſaid, Like as the bell-weather weareth the bell, and is the head of the flock of ſheep: ſo is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a maſter-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again: ſo doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I aſked him, whether the pope were a ſpiritual man. And he ſaid, Yea. And I ſaid again, They are ſpiteful men; for in 17 months there were three popes, and one poiſoned another for that preſumptuous ſeat of Antichriſt.

Biſhop. It is maliciouſly ſpoken, for thou muſt obey the power and not the man. And thus was the pope denied to be ſupreme head. Well, what ſayeſt thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I anſwered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, ſhall be plucked up by the roots," ſaith our Saviour: for they are not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the end.

Biſhop. They are good and godly, and neceſſary to be uſed.

Fortune. St. Paul called them weak and beggarly.

Biſhop. No, that is a lie.

I hearing that, ſaid, that St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth chapter to the Galatians, "You fooliſh Galatians, (ſaith he) who hath bewitched you, that ye ſeek to be in bondage to theſe weak and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you doth lie, you or St. Paul? And alſo it is ſaid, That works inſtituted, and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worſhip of God, according to the text, Matth. xv. "In vain do men worſhip me with men's traditions and commandments." And St. Paul, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Chriſt to another kind of doctrine?" And Chriſt openly rebuked the ſcribes, lawyers, phariſees, doctors, prieſts, biſhops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to ſupport their own tradition.

Biſhop. Thou lieſt, there is not ſuch a word in all the ſcriptures, thou impudent heretic. Thou art worſe than all other heretics; for Hooper and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou doſt not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive how that the catholic church cannot err, but whatſoever they ſay muſt needs be true.

And ſo my Lord biſhop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men plainly in the next.

The THIRD EXAMINATION *of* JOHN FORTUNE, *before the* BISHOP *of* NORWICH.

THE next day I was brought before the ſaid biſhop again, where he preached a ſermon upon the ſixth chapter of St. John's goſpel, from Chriſt's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great bibSle babble to no purpoſe. So in the end I was called before him, and he ſaid to me:

Biſhop. How believeſt thou in the ſacrament of the altar? Doſt thou not believe, that after the conſecration, there is the real ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt?

Fortune. That is the greateſt plague that ever came into England.

Biſhop. Why ſo?

Fortune. If I were a biſhop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be aſhamed to aſk ſuch a queſtion: for a biſhop ſhould be apt to teach and not to learn.

Biſhop. I am appointed by the law to teach, you are not.

Fortune. Your law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true biſhops and preachers, and maintained liars in their ſtead.

Biſhop. Now you may underſtand that he is a traitor: for he denieth the higher powers.

Fortune. I am no traitor: for St. Paul ſaith, "All ſouls muſt obey the higher powers," and I reſiſt not the higher powers concerning my body, but I muſt reſiſt your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my ſoul.

Then ſaid a doctor, My lord, you do not well: let him anſwer ſhortly to his articles.

Biſhop. How ſayeſt thou? make an anſwer quickly to theſe articles.

Fortune. St. Paul ſaith, Heb. x. "Chriſt did one ſacrifice once for all, and ſat him down at the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making interceſſion for ſins.

Biſhop. I aſk thee no ſuch queſtion, but make anſwer to this article.

Fortune. If it be not God before the conſecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Biſhop. Lo, what a ſtiff heretic is this! He hath denied all together: how ſayeſt thou? Is it idolatry to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament or no?

Fortune. God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in ſpirit and truth.

Biſhop. I aſk thee no ſuch queſtion: anſwer me directly.

Fortune. I anſwer, that this is the God Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

Biſhop. It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou haſt a tongue to ſpeak.

Then ſaid the ſcribe, Here are a great many articles.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Away with him: for he hath ſpoken too much.

The LAST EXAMINATION *of* J. FORTUNE.

WHEN I came to mine examination again, the biſhop aſked me if I would ſtand unto mine anſwers that I made before: and I ſaid, yea; for I had ſpoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumſtance upon the ſacrament.

Then I deſired him to ſtand to the text, and he read the goſpel on Corpus Chriſti day, which ſaid, "I am the bread which came down from heaven:" believeſt thou not this? and I ſaid, Yea truly.

And he ſaid, Why doſt thou deny the ſacrament?

Becauſe your doctrine is falſe, ſaid I.

Then, ſaid he, how can that be falſe which is ſpoken in the ſcripture?

And I anſwered, Chriſt ſaid, "I am the bread:" and you ſay the bread is he. Therefore your doctrine is falſe.

And he ſaid, Doſt thou not believe that the bread is he? I anſwered, No.

Biſhop. I will bring thee to it by the ſcriptures.

Fortune. Hold that faſt, my lord: for that is the beſt argument that you have had yet

Biſhop. Thou ſhalt be burned like an heretic.

Fortune. Who ſhall give judgment upon me?

Biſhop. I will judge an hundred ſuch as thou art, and never be ſhriven upon it.

Fortune. Is there not law for the ſpirituality, as well as for the temporality?

And ſir Clement Higham ſaid, Yes, what meaneſt thou by that?

Fortune. When a man is perjured by the law, he is caſt over the bar, and ſitteth no more in judgment. And the biſhop is a perjured man, and ought not to ſit in judgment.

Biſhop. How proveſt thou that?

Fortune. Becauſe you took an oath in king Henry's days to reſiſt the pope. So both ſpiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Biſhop. Thinkeſt thou to eſcape judgment by that? No: for my chancellor ſhall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

C. Higham. It is time to weed out ſuch fellows as you are, indeed.

Biſhop. Good fellow, why believeſt thou not in the ſacrament of the altar?

Fortune. Becauſe I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart.

Biſhop. How knoweſt thou it is not there?

Fortune. Becauſe it is contrary to the ſecond commandment: and ſeeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the biſhop having no more to ſay, commanded the bailiff to take him.

And thus much concerning the examinations of this man. Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwiſe prevented with death, as I ſaid before, I am uncertain.

In the regiſter of Norwich this I do find, that his ſentence of condemnation was drawn and regiſtered; but whether it was pronounced, is not expreſſed in the ſaid regiſter, according as the uſual manner of the notary is ſo to declare, in the end of the ſentence. Neverthelеſs this is moſt certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howſoever it pleaſed the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

The DEATH *of* JOHN CARELESS, *in the* King's-Bench.

ABOUT the firſt of July, John Careleſs, of Coventry, weaver, died in the King's-Bench priſon: who though he were by the ſecret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, ſo that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no leſs worthy to be counted in honour and place of Chriſt's martyrs, than others that ſuffered moſt cruel torments; as well becauſe he was for the ſame truth's ſake a long time impriſoned, as alſo for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had ſo determined it, as may well appear by his examination before Dr. Martin. Which examination, becauſe it contained nothing almoſt but wrangling interrogatories, and matters of contention, wherein Dr. Martin would enter into no communication about the articles of his accuſation, but only urged him to detect his fellows, it is not therefore greatly material to expreſs the whole, but only to inſert ſo much as pertains to the queſtion of predeſtination, which may bring ſome fruit to the reader.

The Effect of JOHN CARELESS's EXAMINATION *before* Dr. MARTIN, *briefly declared.*

FIRST, Dr. Martin calling John Careleſs to him in his chamber, demanded what was his name? To whom when the other had anſwered, that his name was John Careleſs, then began Dr. Martin to deſcant at his pleaſure upon that name, ſaying, that it would appear by his condition, by that time he had done with him, that he would be a true careleſs man indeed. And ſo after a deal of unneceſſary talk there ſpent about much needleſs matter, then he aſked him where he was born.

Forſooth, ſaith Careleſs, at Coventry.

Martin. At Coventry? What, ſo far, man? How cameſt thou hither? Who ſent thee to the King's-bench priſon?

Careleſs. I was brought hither by a writ, I think; what it was I cannot tell. I ſuppoſe maſter Marſhal can tell you.

Marſhal. In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my lord chief juſtice ſent him from the bar.

Martin. Well, Careleſs, I would thou ſhouldſt play the wiſe man's part. Thou art a handſome man, and it is a pity but thou ſhouldſt do well, and ſave that which God hath bought.

Careleſs. I thank your good maſterſhip moſt heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am moſt ſure and certain of my ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that my ſoul is ſafe already, whatſoever pains my body ſuffer here for a little time.

Martin. Yea marry, you ſay truth. For thou art ſo predeſtinate to life, that thou canſt not periſh in whatſoever opinion thou doſt die.

Careleſs. That God hath predeſtinated me to eternal life in Jeſus Chriſt, I am moſt certain, and even ſo am I ſure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am ſealed) will preſerve me from all hereſies and evil opinions, that I ſhall die in none at all.

Martin. Go to, let me hear thy faith in predeſtination. For that ſhall be written alſo.

Careleſs. Your maſterſhip ſhall pardon me herein. For you ſaid yourſelf ere now, that you had no commiſſion to examine my conſcience. I will trouble myſelf with anſwering no more matters than I needs muſt, until I come before them, that ſhall have more authority further to examine me.

Martin. I tell thee then I have a commiſſion and commandment from the council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy articles.

Careleſs. Yea, I think indeed that your maſterſhip is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confeſs them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predeſtination, whereof my articles ſpeak nothing at all.

Martin. I tell thee yet again, that I muſt alſo examine thee of ſuch things as be in controverſy between thee and thy fellows in the King's-bench, whereof predeſtination is a part, as thy fellow N—— hath confeſſed, and thyſelf doſt not deny it.

Careleſs. I do not deny it. But he that firſt told you that, might have found himſelf much better occupied.

Martin. Why, what if he had not told me, thinkeſt thou that I would not have known it? Yes, or elſe thou ſhouldſt have withſtood my commiſſion. For I tell thee the truth, I may now examine thee of the bleſſed ſacrament, or any other thing that I like, but that I would ſhew thee favour, and not be too haſty with thee at the firſt.

Marſhal. Yea, indeed, Careleſs, Mr. Doctor hath a commiſſion to examine you or any other of your fellows.

Martin. Yea, marry that I have, I tell thee the truth of it.

Careleſs. Then let your ſcribe ſet his pen to the paper, and you ſhall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God, our moſt dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs, did elect in Chriſt.

Martin. Tuſh, what need of all that long circumſtance? Write, I believe God elected; and make no more ado.

Careleſs. No, not ſo, Mr. Doctor: it is an high myſtery, and ought reverently to be ſpoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not ſpeak at all.

Martin. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more buſineſs than needeth.

Careleſs. I believe that Almighty God, our moſt dear and loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs (through Jeſus Chriſt), did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, ſo that not one of them ſhall ever finally periſh.

When this was written, Mr. Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, ſaying,

Why, who will deny this?

Careleſs. If your maſterſhip do allow this, and other learned men when they ſhall ſee it, I have my heart's deſire.

Martin. And do you hold no otherwiſe than is here written?

Careleſs. No verily, nor never did.

Martin. Write what he ſaith, Otherwiſe he holdeth not. So that was written.

Martin. It was told me alſo, that thou doſt affirm, That Chriſt did not die effectually for all men.

Careleſs. Whatſoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them anſwer. For indeed I do believe that Chriſt did effectually die for all thoſe that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other. So that was written alſo.

Martin. Now, ſir, what is Trew's faith of predeſtination? He believeth that all men are predeſtinate, and that none ſhall be damned, doth he not?

Careleſs. No forſooth, that he doth not.

Martin. How then?

Careleſs. Truly I think he doth believe as your maſterſhip and the reſt of the clergy do believe of predeſtination, that we are elected in reſpect of our good works, and ſo long elected as we do them, and no longer.

Martin. Write what he ſaith, That his fellow Trew believeth of predeſtination as the papiſts do believe.

Careleſs. Ah, maſter Doctor, did I ſo term you? Seeing that this my confeſſion ſhall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I ſpeak them.

Martin. Well, well, write that Trew is of the ſame faith as the catholics be.

Careleſs. I did not ſo call you neither; I wonder what you mean.

Martin. You ſaid the clergy, did you not?

Careleſs. Yes forſooth did I. So then it was written of the clergy.

Martin. Now, ſir, what ſay you more?

Careleſs. Forſooth I have no further to ſay in this matter.

Martin. Well, Careleſs, I pray thee prove thyſelf a wiſe man, and do not caſt away thy life wilfully.

Careleſs. Now the Lord he knoweth, good Mr. Doctor, I would full gladly live, ſo that I might do the ſame with a ſafe conſcience. And your maſterſhip ſhall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I ſtand upon I will have ſure ground.

Martin. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careleſs, that I would gladly make ſome means to preſerve thy life. But thou ſpeakeſt ſo much of the Lord, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my lord Fitzwater into Ireland? Methinks thou art a handſome fellow, and would do the queen a ſervice there. What ſayeſt thou?

Careleſs. Verily, Mr. Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place elſe, I am ready to do her grace the beſt ſervice that I can, with body, goods, and life, ſo long as it doth laſt.

Martin. That is honeſtly ſaid, I promiſe thee every man will not ſay ſo. How ſay you, Mr. Marſhal?

This man is meet for all manner of ſervice. Indeed thou art worthy, Careleſs, to have the more favour.

Careleſs. Indeed, ſir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true chriſtian ſubject to do. And if her grace or her officers under her do require of me to do any thing contrary to Chriſt's religion, I am ready alſo to do my ſervice in Smithfield for not obſerving it, as my bed-fellow and other worthy brethren have done, praiſed be God for them.

Martin. By my troth thou art as pleaſant a fellow as ever I talked with of all the proteſtants, except it were Tomſon. I am ſorry that I muſt depart from thee ſo ſoon; but I have ſuch buſineſs now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canſt not deny, but you are at variance among yourſelves in the King's-bench, and it is ſo throughout all your congregation: for you will not be a church.

Careleſs. No, maſter Doctor, that is not ſo. There is a thouſand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the catholic church, yea, and that in the ſacrament, for which there is ſo much blood ſhed now-a-days, I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old, they agree wholly with us.

Martin. No, Careleſs, this is not ſo; there thou art deceived.

Careleſs. Verily it is ſo, maſter Doctor; I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by ſuch as God hath indued with great learning.

Then he turned to the marſhal, and whiſpered with him a while.

Turning to me again, he ſaid, Farewel, Careleſs: for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my buſineſs is ſuch.

Careleſs. God be with you, my good maſter Doctor, the Lord give your maſterſhip health of body and ſoul.

Martin. God have mercy, good Careleſs, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wiſh myſelf.

Careleſs. I thank your good maſterſhip: I pray God I may do always that which is acceptable in his ſight. Whereunto they all ſaid, Amen. And ſo I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praiſe, Amen.

It appeareth by the examination of the ſaid John Careleſs, that he ſuffered two whole years impriſonment, having a wife and children. When he was in Coventry gaol, he was in ſuch credit with the keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the pageant about the city with his companions, always returning punctually to priſon again at the hour appointed.

After that, being brought to London, he was indued with ſuch patience and conſtant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earneſtly, than the promotion of dying in the fire for the profeſſion of his faith: but it pleaſing God to prevent him by death in the priſon, he was buried in the fields in a dunghill.

While he was priſoner in the King's-bench, he happened to be very much troubled in conſcience, whereupon he wrote to Mr. Philpot, then in biſhop Bonner's coal-houſe: upon occaſion whereof, Mr. Philpot ſent him an epiſtle of conſolation, which is inſerted before among Mr. Philpot's letters. Unto which epiſtle John Careleſs made the following anſwer.

LETTER I.

From Mr. John Careless, *in anſwer to the loving Epiſtle ſent to him by* Mr. John Philpot.

A faithful friend is a ſtrong defence; whoſo findeth ſuch a one, findeth a treaſure.

A faithful friend hath no peer; the weight of gold and ſilver is not to be compared to the goodneſs of his faith.

A faithful friend is a medicine of Life, and they that fear the Lord ſhall find him, Eccleſ. vi.

THE Father of mercy and God of all conſolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit, my moſt dear and faithful loving friend, good Mr. Philpot, as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the ſame; the everlaſting God therefore be praiſed for ever, Amen.

Ah, my dear heart, and moſt loving brother, if I ſhould do nothing elſe day and night, ſo long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read pſalms, I can never be able to render unto God ſufficient thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindneſs, and moſt loving compaſſion extended unto me moſt vile, ſinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord would open my mouth, and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the ſame might flow his continual praiſe. O that my ſinful fleſh (which is the cauſe of ſorrow) were clean ſeparated from me, that I might ſing pſalms of thankſgiving unto the Lord's name for ever; that with good Samuel's mother, I might continually record this noble verſe following, which by the good experience I have found moſt true, praiſed be my God therefore.

"The Lord (ſaith that good woman) killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again. Praiſed be the Lord for ever, yea, and praiſed be his name for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the ſame. Bleſſed be the Lord God, whoſe mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deſerts, nor deſtroyed me in his diſpleaſure when I had juſtly deſerved it. Oh, what reward ſhall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my ſoul! I will gladly receive the cup of ſalvation at his hand, and will worſhip his name with prayer and with praiſe."

Ah, my dear heart, yea moſt dear to me in the Lord, think not this ſudden change in me to be ſome fickle phantaſy of my fooliſh head, (as indeed ſome others would ſurely ſuſpect it to be) for doubtleſs it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, moſt merciful unto me his unworthy creature. God, for his great mercy's ſake, give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall from his favour again.

And now, my dear brother, and moſt bleſſed meſſenger of the Lord, whoſe beautiful feet have brought many glad tidings to my ſoul, what ſhall I do or ſay unto you, in the leaſt part to recompenſe the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me? O that God would give me the ſpirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way ſupply ſome little part of my duty toward you. Ah, my true loving friend, how ſoon did you lay aſide all other buſineſs, to make a ſweet plaiſter for my wounded conſcience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of ſtocks, which place muſt needs be uneaſy to write in; but God hath brought you into a ſtrait place, that you might ſet my ſoul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful ſeat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious ointment, the ſweet ſavour whereof hath greatly refreſhed my tired ſoul. The Lord likewiſe refreſh you, both body and ſoul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit in your ſweet heart.

Ah, good Jeremy, hath Phaſſor put thee into the ſtocks? why, now thou haſt the reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but ſhortly, inſtead of Ahikam, the ſon of Shapham, Jesus the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and alſo make good, againſt them and their antichriſtian ſynagogue, all the words that thou haſt ſpoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this day a ſtrong defenced tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall againſt the whole rabble of Antichriſt: and though they fight againſt thee ever ſo fiercely, yet ſhall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himſelf is with thee to help and deliver thee: and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the tyrants. And in that you are not buſy in caſting pearls before ſwine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my ſimple judgment. And ſure I am that your circumſpect and modeſt behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's glory, and to the ſhame and confuſion of your enemies, as any men's doings that are gone before you.

Wherefore my advice and moſt earneſt deſire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you ſtill keep that order with thoſe blood-thirſty ſheep-biters, biſhops I ſhould ſay, that you have begun. For though in concluſion they will ſurely have your blood, yet ſhall they come by it with ſhame enough, and to their perpetual infamy whilſt the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in private, to darken God's glory, if it might be: but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his ſubtilty is by you well foreſeen. Therefore let them do whatſoever God ſhall ſuffer them to do: for I know all things ſhall turn to your benefit. Though you lie in the dark, ſullied with the biſhop's black coal-duſt; yet ſhall you be ſhortly reſtored to the heavenly light, and be made as white as ſnow in Salmon, as the wings of a dove that is covered with ſilver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the veſſel, before it is made bright, is ſoiled with oil and other things, that it may ſcour the better.

O happy be you that you be now in the ſcouring-houſe; for ſhortly you ſhall be ſet upon the celeſtial ſhelf as bright as angels. Therefore, my dear heart, I will now, according to your loving requeſt, caſt away all care, and rejoice with you, and praiſe God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now, with God's grace, ſing pſalms of praiſe and thankſgiving with you. For now my ſoul is turned to her old reſt again, and hath taken a ſweet nap in Chriſt's lap. I have caſt my care upon the Lord, who careth for me, and will be careleſs, according to my name, in that reſpect you would have me. I will leave out my unſeemly addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is reſident. So ſoon as I had read your moſt godly and comfortable letter, my ſorrows vaniſhed away as ſmoke in the wind, my ſpirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am ſure the Spirit of God was the author of it.

O my good Mr. Philpot, which art a principal pot indeed filled with moſt precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the ſame: O pot moſt happy, of the high Potter ordained to honour, which doſt contain ſuch heavenly treaſure in the earthen veſſel: O pot thrice happy, in whom Chriſt hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the beſt, whereout the maſter of the feaſt hath filled my cup ſo full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the ſame. When martyrdom ſhall break thee, O veſſel of honour, I know the fragrant ſavour of thy precious ointment will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Chriſt's true members, although the Judaſes will grudge and murmur at the ſame; yea, and burſt out into words of ſlander, ſaying, It is but loſs and waſte.

Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical ſpeech; for I am diſpoſed to be merry, and with David to dance before the ark of the Lord: and though you play upon a pair of organs not very comely or eaſy to the fleſh, yet the ſweet ſound that came from the ſame, cauſeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as preſent I am in ſpirit, that I might ſing all care away in Chriſt: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you ſhortly, if all things happen right; for my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me, not ſix days ago, ſaying, I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's bleſſing on their hearts for their good report. God make me worthy of that dignity, and haſten the time that I may ſet forth his glory.

Pray for me, dear heart, I beſeech you, and deſire all your company to do the ſame, aud I will pray God for you all, ſo long as I live. And now farewel in Chriſt, thou bleſſed of God's own mouth. I will for a time to take my leave, but not my laſt farewel. Bleſſed be the time that ever I came into the King's-Bench, to be joined in love and fellowſhip with ſuch dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford ſhall not be dead while you are alive: for verily the ſpirit of him doth reſt on you in a moſt ample manure. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, the Lord give good increaſe. My dear brethren and fellow-priſoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your miſery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous conſolation and comfort in Chriſt. We are all chearful and merry under our croſs, and do lack no neceſſaries, praiſed be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen.

LETTER II.

From Mr. John Careless *to his* Wife.

As by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good will and providence appointed, my dearly beloved wife, you and I were joined together in the holy and chriſtian ſtate of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Chriſt, as alſo to the increaſe of his bleſſed church and faithful congregation, by having lawful children by and in the ſame, with which God of his mercy hath bleſſed us, praiſed be his name therefore: even ſo now by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come (ſo far as I can perceive) wherein he will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, diſſolve the ſame, and ſeparate us aſunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, by this ſimple letter to provoke, ſtir, and admoniſh you, to behave yourſelf in all your doings, ſayings, and thoughts, moſt thankfully unto our good God for the ſame. And therefore, my dear wife, as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodneſs, in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even ſo now I deſire you, when this time of our ſeparation ſhall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him moſt hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endleſs advantage) ſeparated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himſelf, out of this miſerable world into his celeſtial kingdom; believing and hoping alſo aſſuredly, that God of his goodneſs, for his Son Chriſt's ſake, will ſhortly bring you, and your dear children, thither to me, that we may moſt joyfully together ſing praiſes unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I deſire you, for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his moſt merciful will upon me.

I hear ſay, that you do oftentimes repeat this godly ſaying, "The Lord's will be fulfilled." Doubtleſs it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and for the Lord's ſake uſe that godly prayer continually, teach your children and family to ſay the ſame day and night: and not only ſay it with your tongues, but alſo with your heart and mind, and joyfully ſubmit your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing aſſuredly, that nothing ſhall come to you or any of your's, otherwiſe than it ſhall be his almighty and fatherly good-will and pleaſure, and for your eternal comfort and advantage. Which thing to be moſt true and certain, Chriſt teſtifieth in his holy goſpel, ſaying, "Are not two little ſparrows ſold for a farthing, and yet not one of them ſhall periſh without the will of our heavenly Father?" And he concludeth, ſaying, "Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better than many ſparrows." As though he ſhould have ſaid, If God have ſuch reſpect and care for a poor ſparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it ſhall not be taken in the lime-twig, net, or pitfal, unleſs it be his good will and pleaſure; you may be well aſſured, that not one of you (whom he ſo dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) ſhall periſh, or depart out of this miſerable life, without his almighty good will and pleaſure.

Therefore, dear wiſe, put your truſt and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not your's, except it be agreeable to his will; which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well aſſured the Lord, your dear God and Father, will not ſee you nor your's lack, if you continue in his love and childly fear, and keep a clear conſcience from all kind of idolatry, ſuperſtition, and wickedneſs, as my truſt is that you will do, although it be with the loſs and danger of this temporal life. And, good Margaret, fear not them that can but kill the body (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave), but fear to diſpleaſe him that can kill both body and foul, and caſt them into hell-fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himſelf will be a father and a mother, better than ever you or I could have been unto them. He himſelf will do all things neceſſary for them. He hath given his angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear conſcience, (for elſe I would not have you to live) and ſee the bringing up of your children yourſelf, look that you nurture them in the fear of God, and keep them far from idolatry, ſuperſtition, and other kind of wickedneſs; and for God's ſake help them to ſome learning if it be poſſible, that they may increaſe in virtue and godly knowledge, which ſhall be a better dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly ſubſtance; and when they are come to age, provide them ſuch huſbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them not with papiſts; and if you live and marry again yourſelf (which thing I would wiſh you to do if need require, or elſe not), good wiſe take heed how you beſtow yourſelf, that you and my poor children be not compelled to wickedneſs. But if you ſhall be well able to live God's true widow, I would counſel you to live ſo ſtill, for the more quietneſs of yourſelf and your poor children. Take heed, Margaret, and play the wiſe woman's part. You have warning by others, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my ſweet children unto God's moſt merciful defence. The bleſſing of God be with you, and God ſend us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewel in Chriſt, farewel mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

LETTER III.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS *to* Mr. BRADFORD.

THE peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comfort of his ſweet Spirit, which hath ſurely ſealed you unto eternal ſalvation, be with you, and ſtrengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celeſtial Jeruſalem (my dear friend, and moſt faithful brother Mr. Bradford), to the ſetting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Chriſt, Amen.

Ever ſince that good Mr. Philpot ſhewed me your laſt letter, my dear heart in the Lord, I have continued in great heavineſs and perplexity; not for any hurt or diſcommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubtleſs death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loſs that God's church here in England ſhall ſuſtain by the taking away of ſo godly, worthy, and neceſſary an inſtrument as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life, and a thouſand more of ſuch wretched lives might go for your's. O why doth God ſuffer me and ſuch caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but conſume the alms of the church, and take away you, ſo worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our ſins and great unthankfulneſs, which is the greateſt cauſe of the taking away ſuch worthy inſtruments of God, as ſhould ſet forth his glory, and inſtruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good miniſters of his word, we had not been ſo ſoon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and ſins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Chriſt's ſake. Take not away all thy true preachers out of this realm, O Lord, but leave us a ſeed, leſt England be made like to Sodom and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

But why go I about to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your juſt joy with my deſerved ſorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I ſhould ſurely rejoice with you moſt heartily, and praiſe God on your behalf from the very bottom of my heart. I ſhould praiſe God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and ſhould give him moſt humble thanks for your vocation by his goſpel, and your true knowledge in the ſame; I ſhould earneſtly praiſe him for your ſweet juſtification, whereof you are moſt certain by God's grace and Spirit, and ſhould inſtantly pray unto him for your glorification, which ſhall ſhortly enſue; I ſhould rejoice and be glad to ſee you ſo dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to teſtify his truth, and to ſeal it with your blood; I ſhould highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies, viſible and inviſible, and hath given you grace and ſtrength to finiſh the tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I ſhould moſt heartily rejoice and be glad to ſee you delivered from this body of ſin, and vile priſon of the fleſh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle where you ſhall be ſafely kept, and never offend him more.

This and much more ſhould I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child. But, alas! I am an hypocrite, and do ſeek nothing but mine own advantage; I would have God's everlaſting providence give place to my peeviſh will and purpoſe, although it were to the hindrance of his glory, and your ſweet comfort. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, ſins, and offences againſt him: and, good brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulneſs towards you, and henceforth I promiſe you, I will put my will to God's will, and pray that the ſame may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will moſt heartily praiſe the Lord for you, ſo long as I have my being in this world. Ah, my dear heart, now I muſt take my leave of you, and as I think, my laſt farewel in this life, but in the life to come I am right well aſſured we ſhall merrily meet together, and that ſhortly I truſt. And in taking of my leave of you, my dear heart in the Lord, I ſhall deſire you faithfully to remember all the ſweet meſſages that the Lord our good God and moſt dear loving Father hath ſent you by me his moſt unworthy ſervant, which as they are moſt true, ſo ſhall they be moſt truly accompliſhed upon you eternally; and for the more aſſurance and certificate thereof to your godly conſcience, he hath commanded me to repeat the ſame unto you again, in his own name and word.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth give ear, and bear me witneſs at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lord's meſſage unto his dear ſervant, his ſingularly beloved and elect child, John Bradford. John Bradford, thou art a man ſo ſpecially beloved of God, I pronounce and teſtify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy ſins, whatſoever they be, be they ever ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great, be fully and freely pardoned, releaſed, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt, thine only Lord and ſweet Saviour, in whom thou doſt undoubtedly believe. Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteouſneſs, and hath made thee in the ſight of God his Father, without ſpot or wrinkle; ſo that when the fire doth it's appointed office, thou ſhalt be received (as a ſweet burnt ſacrifice) into heaven, where thou ſhalt joyfully remain in God's preſence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlaſting kingdom, unto which thou waſt undoubtedly predeſtinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is moſt true that I have ſaid, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and Eternal Majeſty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to my record at this preſent; whom I humbly beſeech to confirm and ſtabliſh in thee the true and lively feeling of the ſame, Amen.

Now with a merry heart and joyful ſpirit, ſomething mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewel of you, my own dear brother in the Lord, who will ſend us ſhortly a merry meeting in his kingdom, that we may both ſing praiſes together unto him with his holy angels and bleſſed ſpirits for ever and ever. Farewel, thou bleſſed in the Lord, farewel in Chriſt, depart unto thy reſt in the Lord; and pray for me for God's ſake.

As I had made an end of this ſimple letter, I heard ſome comfort both of good Mr. Philpot's ſervant and your's; but, alas, I do ſcarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will ſend me ſome comfort to-morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for God's ſake. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

Your's for ever in the Lord Jeſus,

J. Careless, living in hope againſt hope.

In reading this letter of John Carleſs to Mr. Bradford above prefixed, wherein he maketh ſo much mention of a certain letter of his ſent to him, and of the exceeding great conſolation he received of the ſame, thou wilt wiſh, peradventure (good loving reader) in thy mind, to have ſome ſight alſo of the ſaid letter of Mr. Bradford; wherefore to ſatiſfy thy deſire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hitherto annexed the ſame, to the intent thon mayſt not only underſtand the contents thereof, but alſo receive fruit thereof to thy conſolation likewiſe. The purport of the letter here followeth.

LETTER IV.

From Mr. Bradford *to* Mr. Careless.

ALMIGHTY God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Dear brother Careleſs, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of manifold ſins and moſt grievous offences, which need no other demonſtration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved myſelf ſo negligently in anſwering your godly triple letters, which are three witneſſes againſt me. God lay not them, nor any other to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, not my will, but his be done. Concerning your requeſt of abſolution, my deareſt brother, what ſhall I ſay, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatſoever they be, that ever hitherto thou haſt committed againſt his majeſty: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his child, dear brother, John Careleſs, in token that thy ſins are pardoned; he (I ſay) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which deſireth to repent and believe.

Wherefore, my good brother, be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy ſins; thou ſhalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy ſins. The Eaſt is not ſo far from the Weſt, as the Lord hath now put thy ſins from thee. Look how high the heavens are in compariſon of the earth, ſo far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear child, John Careleſs, through Chriſt the beloved. Say therefore with David, Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me praiſe his holy name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy ſins; as truly he hath. And hereof I deſire to be a witneſs. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true meſſage for myſelf. Mine own dearly beloved, you have cauſe to thank God moſt heartily that he hath given you ſuch repentance and faith; the Lord increaſe the ſame in you, and me a moſt miſerable wretch, whoſe heart is harder than an adamant ſtone, or elſe I could not thus long have ſtayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpoſe and promiſe you to make amends. Pray for me, my moſt dear brother, I heartily beſeech you, and forgive me my long ſilence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

Your's in the Lord,

J. Bradford.

The fifth Letter is from Mr. John Careleſs to his faithful brethren in Newgate, who had been condemned to die for the teſtimony of the truth; in which he more particularly addreſſes himſelf to his faithful loving brother Tyms, rejoicing in their firmneſs and conſtancy, and patience in ſufferings, and declaring his own readineſs to follow them. He particularly mentions brother Drake alſo, and the four other martyrs from Eſſex; and finally committing them all to God's moſt merciful defence, whoſe quarrel they had defended, whoſe cauſe they had promoted, whoſe glory they had ſet forth, and whoſe name they had conſtantly confeſſed, and that they were going to take their places under the altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers. Hooper, Saunders, Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, and many others.

The ſixth Letter is addreſſed alſo from Mr. John Careleſs to Mr. Whittle, Mr. Green, and other priſoners at that time in Newgate, who had been condemned, and were ready to be burnt for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and the truth of the goſpel. In the ſame ſtrain of joy and ſatisfaction he praiſes the magnanimity and courage, and extols in elevated ſtrains the honour which God has beſtowed upon them, in counting them worthy to ſuffer for his ſake; and then pathetically ejaculates, "Oh that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you." To his brother Green he thus feelingly writes, "Happy art thou to be appointed to die for his ſake! Although thou here go forth ſowing thy good fruit with tears, the time ſhall come that thou ſhalt reap with joy and gladneſs the fruits of everlaſting life, without ceaſing." And, after congratulating the other priſoners, who were ſhortly to become martyrs, he thus addreſſes, as a faithful ſiſter, Joan Warne *alias* Laſhford, in theſe words; "Thy trial hath been great; thy victory in Chriſt hath been notable. Thou haſt overcome many a ſharp ſhower and ſtorm. Shortly ſhalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet reſt, and receive the reward due to a conſtant martyr. Thou ſhalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and poſſeſs for ever the inheritance which Chriſt hath purchaſed for thee, where thy earthly parents be ſtill looking for thee, who have triumphed over Antichriſt moſt victoriouſly. O bleſſed parents of happy children, who have ſhewn ſuch an example as the like hath been ſeldom ſeen! I ſalute thee, dear ſiſter of like conſtant mind, whoſe conſtant example is worthy of continual memory. Praiſed be God for you mine own ſweet ſiſters, who hath made you play ſuch wiſe virgins' parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamp of your faith, ſo that the light thereof ſhall never be extinct. You ſhall enter with your bridegroom into everlaſting joy, whereunto you were choſen in him from the beginning.

LETTER VII.

From John Careless *to his dear and faithful* Brother, William Tyms, *Priſoner in* Newgate.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, with the continual joy, comfort, and ſtrength of his ſweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increaſed in your good heart (my moſt faithful and dear brother Tyms), to the full quieting of your conſcience, and beating back all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may ſhortly receive the glorious crown of victory, and in the ſame triumph over all your enemies, for evermore, Amen.

I cannot expreſs the exceeding great joy and conſolation of my poor heart, conſidering the marvellous works of God moſt graciouſly wrought upon you, not only in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge croſſes both inwardly and outwardly, but alſo in giving you ſo great conſolation and conſtancy in the midſt of the ſame. Faithful is God, and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid, "That he will never ſuffer his choſen children to be tempted above their ſtrength, but in the midſt of their temptation will make an out-ſcape for them," by ſuch means as may make to his glory and their everlaſting conſolation. My dear heart, great cauſe have you to be of good comfort; I ſee in you as lively a token of God's everlaſting love and favour in Jeſus Chriſt, as ever I perceived in any man. In reſpect whereof, I do even in my heart love, honour, and reverence you, beſeeching God for his glorious name's ſake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to finiſh his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promiſes; yea, I am well aſſured thereof, foraſmuch as you have ſo effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart as a pledge, and a ſure ſeal of your eternal redemption, and a teſtimony of your adoption in Chriſt Jeſus. For which cauſe Satan ſo ſore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordnance againſt you, thinking thereby utterly to deſtroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded moſt firmly upon the immovable rock Chriſt, againſt which neither the devil, ſin, nor hell-gates ſhall ever prevail.

Therefore, mine own bowels in the Lord, be not diſcomforted for this your conflict, which doubtleſs ſhall greatly increaſe your crown of glory, triumph, and victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himſelf and his ſubtle members. It is the very divine ordinance of God, that all his regenerate people ſhall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we ſee by the example of our Saviour Chriſt; who, as ſoon as he was baptized, was ſtraitways led by the Holy Ghoſt into the wilderneſs, there to be tempted of the devil. But there got he ſuch a glorious victory over Satan, that he could never ſince finally prevail againſt any of his poor members, but in every aſſault that he maketh, either inwardly or outwardly getteth a foil, and taketh ſhame: ſo that now he rageth with all the rage poſſible, eſpecially becauſe he knoweth his time is but ſhort. St. James teſtifieth that he is but a very coward, that he will ſoon flee if he be faithfully reſiſted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifeſt unto us, ſo that he cannot deceive us though he aſſaults us; for as St. Paul ſaith, "his thoughts are not unknown to us," as it doth in you largely appear, praiſed be the Lord's name therefore.

You ſee, dear brother, that now to moleſt you and ſuch as you are, that be even paſſing from this vale of miſery, he hath but two ways or two pieces of ordnance to ſhoot at you, with which he cannot hurt you, becauſe you have two bulwarks to defend you. The firſt of theſe terrible guns that Satan hath ſhot at you, is the very ſame that he continually ſhooteth at me, that is to ſay, fear and infidelity; for the uglineſs of death and horror of my ſins, which be ſo many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is eaſily put away with the ſure ſhield of faith, in the moſt precious death and blood-ſhedding of our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be our's for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as St. Paul ſaith; ſo that though we be ever ſo great ſinners, yet Chriſt is made unto us holineſs, righteouſneſs, and juſtification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and moſt ſweet ſufferings, and hath taken unto him all our miſery, wretchedneſs, ſin, and infirmity. So that if any ſhould now be condemned for the ſame, it muſt needs be Jeſus Chriſt, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made ſatiſfaction for them to the uttermoſt jot; ſo that for his ſake they ſhall never be imputed to us, if they were a thouſand times as many as they are. This do you moſt effectually feel and know (dear brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, bleſſed be God therefore.

And now Satan, ſeeing that he cannot prevail with his boiſterous battery againſt this bulwark of faith, which doth ſo quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good ſervice to caſt you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his holy grace and power, and ſo you may render him all the glory by Jeſus Chriſt (which thing the enemy can in no wiſe abide), therefore he ſhooteth off his other piece moſt peſtilent, to provoke you to ſome part of your truſt and confidence in yourſelf, and in your own holineſs and righteouſneſs, that you might that way rob God of his glory, and Chriſt of the honour and dignity of his death.

But bleſſed be the Lord God, you have alſo a full ſtrong bulwark to beat back this peſtiferous pellet alſo, even the pure law of God, which proveth the beſt of us all damnable ſinners in the ſight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the ſeverity of the ſame, and that even our beſt works are polluted and defiled in ſuch ſort as the prophet deſcribeth them. With which manner of ſpeaking our free-will phariſees are much offended; for it felleth all men's righteouſneſs to the ground (I had like to have ſaid to the bottom of hell), and extolleth only the righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all thoſe that firmly believe, as bleſſed be God you do.

Ah, my good brother Tyms, Satan hath put his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you either to vain glory or miſtruſt; for you are an old beaten ſoldier, and have had good experience of theſe kinds of temptations, both by yourſelf and others, whom you know were well beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore, dear heart, be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath ſhot off all his laſt pieces, wherewith he had thought to have done moſt miſchief; but now he ſeeth he cannot prevail (the ſtrong tower of our faith being ſo invincible), he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to ſome other place to practiſe the ſame aſſaults, and then will the angels of God come and miniſter unto you the moſt ſweet and heavenly conſolations of the Holy Ghoſt. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we can deſire or think, I do moſt heartily commit you, with all the reſt of your godly fellow priſoners, who comfort, ſtrengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a moſt glorious victory over the ſubtle ſerpent, and all his wicked ſeed, may alſo receive the crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the hands of him whoſe promiſe is infallible, that the devil, ſin, death, or hell, ſhall never be able to deprive you of the ſame. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for evermore, Amen. Pray for me.

Your own for ever,

John Careless.

LETTER VIII.

From John Careless *to his dear and faithful* Brother, Augustine Bernher.

THE peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the help, comfort, and aſſiſtance of his Eternal Spirit be with you, my dear and faithful brother Auguſtine, and with all the reſt of my good brethren and ſiſters of the houſes of Baxterley and Manceter (which mourn for the miſery of God's people), to your everlaſting conſolation in him, Amen.

Right glad I am to hear (my dear and faithful brother Auguſtine) that God of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs hath yet ſo graciouſly delivered and preſerved you out of your enemies hands, beſeeching Almighty God alſo from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath moſt graciouſly been, that you may live and die both to God's glory, the advantage of his church, and to the increaſe of your own everlaſting joy and comfort in him.

Know you, dear brother, that I have received your letter, for which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it very ſhort, although it ſeemeth ſomething ſharply to rebuke in the beginning, for the breach of my promiſe in not writing to you this long time. Well, brother, I am content to bear it with patience, conſidering that you are troubled otherwiſe (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts); neither will I ſpend ink and paper for my purgation in this point. God knoweth whether I be ſo mindleſs of my promiſe as it appeareth in your ſight I am. Your requeſt I will truly perform to the uttermoſt of my power, as gladly as any poor wretch ſhall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no leſs of a long time. And as my poor prayer ſhall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way ſoever you ride or go; ſo I beſeech you that my ſimple counſel may take ſome place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you paſs in no ſmall peril. God keep and preſerve you for his name's ſake.

I do not diſallow, but much praiſe and commend hearty boldneſs in diſcharging your conſcience, when any one of God's people needeth your help in any point. But yet I would not have you thruſt yourſelf in danger, when you can do them no good, or leaſtwiſe when they may well enough ſpare that good you would do them: for if you ſhall then chance to be taken, you ſhall not only be no comfort unto them, but alſo a great diſcomfort, adding ſorrow unto their ſorrow.

I do not perſuade you to abſent yourſelf from any place where your preſence of neceſſity is required; for in all ſuch places I know, God will preſerve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praiſed therefore be his name: or if it ſhall pleaſe him to permit you in any ſuch place to be taken, I know he will moſt ſweetly comfort your conſcience with this conſideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you ſhould there and then be taken up for a witneſs of his truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented that you ſhould raſhly or negligently thruſt yourſelf into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea, and lay wait for you, when no neceſſity of yourſelf, nor of any other of God's people, doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counſel, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which I dare ſay will be ſufficient unto them. For (continual thanks and praiſes be given unto the everlaſting God) there is none of thoſe that are cruelly condemned for God's truth, that now are weaklings; for they have manfully paſſed through the pikes, and they have boldly ſtood in the brunt of the battle, and therefore I reckon the worſt is paſt with them already. So that now and then a godly letter from you to them ſhall do as much good as your company can do, and perchance more too; for writing ſticketh longer in the memory than words do, yea though your letters were as ſhort to them as your laſt was to me, ſo that the ſame were ſomething ſweeter, and not altogether ſo ſharp.

This, dear brother, is the ſimple counſel which I would gladly have you obſerve, partly for that I heartily pray for your preſervation for the advantage of Chriſt's church, and partly for that I unfeignedly wiſh the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own conſcience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuſe you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the word of God for your warrant. For as in a glaſs that is clear, a ſmall mote will ſoon appear: even ſo the good conſcience of God's choſen children, being more clear than chryſtal, will ſoon accuſe them at the leaſt fault they do commit; whereas the wicked worldlings have their conſcience ſo clogged and corrupted through the cuſtom of ſin, that they cannot once ſee or perceive their ſhameful deeds and wicked works, until God ſet the ſame before them for their utter deſtruction, and then they immediately deſpair. But ſeeing that God hath given you a clear conſcience, and a pure, ſharp, quick, and lively ſight in your ſoul, I would wiſh you to beware that you do nothing unadviſedly, but upon a good ground. For an accuſing conſcience is a ſore thing when death doth approach, and then Satan will not ſtick to tell you that you have too much tempted God when peradventure you have done nothing ſo at all. For this cauſe, I ſay, partly I have thought it good to admoniſh you (as I have done often) to be circumſpect according to the counſel of Chriſt, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better than I can declare it by writing.

I beſeech you, good Auguſtine, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I truſt I have but a ſmall time to tarry in this troubleſome world. Dr. Story told our marſhal, that we ſhould all be diſpatched ſo ſoon as he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloody butchers be gone to make ſlaughter of Chriſt's ſheep that lie there appointed to be ſlain. God, for Chriſt's ſake, put them and ſuch like beſide their cruel purpoſe, if it be his good will and pleaſure, Amen, good Lord. I pray you give my moſt hearty commendations to my dear ſiſter and faithful friend, good Mrs. Mary Glover. I beſeech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that ſhe doth ſo joyfully and ſo patiently bear this great croſs that God hath laid upon her. I pray God ſtrengthen her, and all his other ſaints to the end, Amen. Commend me unto my dear and faithful ſiſter Elizabeth B. I thank her moſt heartily for my napkin, and ſo I do your dear brother for my ſhirt. Truly, that day that we were appointed to come to our anſwer before the commiſſioners (who had ſent word the ſame morning, that they would come to the King's-Bench by eight of the clock, and the houſe and all things were trimmed and made ready for them), I got that ſhirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and methought they did help to harneſs me, and arm me well to go to fight againſt that bloody beaſt of Babylon. And truſt me, truly if they had come, I would have ſtruck three ſtrokes the more for your two ſakes, as well as God would have enabled me to ſet them on, as by God's grace I will not fail to do at the next ſkirmiſh that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be ſtrong and hardy to lay on a good load. Oh that I might ſo ſtrike him down, that he ſhould never be able to riſe again. But that ſtroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to ſtrike at his coming, which I truſt will be ſhortly. O haſten it, good Lord, and ſhorten theſe ſorrowful and ſinful days, for thy great mercy's ſake.

Farewel, my dear and faithful loving brother. The Lord defend, keep, and preſerve you from the power of your enemies, viſible and inviſible, and ſend us a moſt joyful and merry meeting here or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe his goodneſs to appoint us.

In the mean time I ſhall moſt earneſtly deſire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life, and doubtleſs you ſhall never want my poor prayer, if it ſhall pleaſe God to accept the prayer of ſo ſinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my ſins to me, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake; unto whoſe moſt merciful defence I do moſt heartily commit you. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen. I pray you give my moſt hearty commendations unto Mr. John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I truſt he doth remember me.

Your poor brother, always mindful of you
in my prayer, John Careleſs, priſoner,
abiding God's pleaſure.

LETTER IX.

From Mr. John Careless *to* Henry Adlington,
Priſoner *in* Lollard's Tower.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, joy, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of his mercies be moſt effectually wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly fellow-priſoners, to the full finiſhing of that good work, which the Lord hath moſt graciouſly begun in you; that the ſame may be to the advancing and ſetting forth of his glory, the advantage of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.

My moſt dear and faithful loving brother in the Lord, I with all the reſt of my loving brethren here with me, do moſt humbly and heartily recommend us unto you with all faithful remembrance of you in daily prayers, giving God earneſt thanks on your moſt happy behalf, for that he hath given you ſuch hearty boldneſs and chriſtian conſtancy in the faithful confeſſion of his everlaſting verity. Bleſſed be God for thee, my dearly beloved brother, who hath vouchſafed thee worthy of ſo great dignity, as to ſuffer for his ſake, and ſetting forth of his glory. Oh, glad in heart mayſt thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Chriſt moſt lively, but alſo to ſuffer for his ſake, as one of his ſilly ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter. Be of good comfort therefore, my good brother, for your calling unto the croſs of Chriſt was after a marvellous manner. Surely it was only the Lord's appointment, and therefore he will perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whoſe hearts are mightily refreſhed, to hear how heartily you have behaved yourſelf hitherto.

This preſent day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to ſee your conſcience ſo quieted in Chriſt, and your continuance ſo ſtedfaſt in him; which things be the ſpecial gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his darling elect and choſen in Chriſt, and ſuch as you be. And whereas you do require to know my ſimple mind concerning your anſwer unto Dr. Story and the chancellor; truly I ſay you did anſwer them very well: for there are but two ſacraments indeed, that is to ſay, the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, as you have full well anſwered them, praiſed be God for his good gifts, who chuſeth the weak to confound the ſtrong, and the fooliſh to confound the worldly wiſe. If, when you come before them again, they do aſk you what a ſacrament is; ſay you, that a ſacrament, being adminiſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, is a viſible grace, and hath the promiſe of God's mercy annexed unto it, available to all ſuch as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worſhip it, as they would have us to do, contrary to God's commandment. And theſe properties belonging to Chriſt's true ſacraments, cannot be applied unto any one of thoſe five ſacraments which they have invented of their own brain, ſince Antichriſt began to reign, to blind the people withal.

I perceive, dear heart, that upon Friday they do intend to condemn you, and give you your judgment. Therefore I think they will have no great reaſoning with you, but bid you anſwer them directly, either yea or nay, to all ſuch things as they have to charge you withal, which they have gathered of you ſince you came into their cruel hands. But if they will needs make words with you, becauſe you are but a ſimple man, and therefore perchance they will be the buſier with you to trouble you with many queſtions, to encumber your knowledge, and then ſeem to triumph over you and that truth that you do hold; if (I ſay) they do this, as perchance for ſome evil purpoſe they will, then be you ſo plain and as ſhort as you can, ſaying roundly unto them theſe or ſuch like words as nigh as you can:

Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe as it becometh a true chriſtian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of the good king Edward, of ſuch godly preachers and prophets ſent of God, as have ſealed their doctrine with their blood, from whom I will diſſent in no point: for I am a poor man without learning, but I am commanded of God to follow the counſel of his conſtant preachers, and ſo intend to do, God giving me grace and aſſiſtance thereto.

As for you, I know you to be none of Chriſt's ſhepherds, but ravening wolves, which come to kill and ſcatter the flock of Chriſt, as the Lord ſaid you ſhould; and doth will us to beware of you and your poiſoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may ſee and know what ye are, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good ſhepherds have given their lives for the defence of Chriſt's flock; and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confeſs with them one truth, even to the fire, if God ſhall ſee it good; and this as a true chriſtian, I have hitherto done, and henceforth by God's grace intend to do.

And if the ſame God ſhall ſuffer you to take away my life, as you have done their's, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be you ſure, the Lord will ſhortly call you to account for all the innocent blood that is ſhed within this realm; which you have brought into a moſt woeful caſe, and made many a heavy heart in the ſame, and more I perceive you will make ſo long as the Lord for our ſins will ſuffer you to proſper, until the time that your iniquities ſhall be full ripe. But then be you ſure the Lord will ſit in judgment upon you, as well as you do now upon his ſaints, and will reward you according to your deſervings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cauſe, and he will make anſwer for me, when the full time of my refreſhing cometh. In the mean ſpace, I will keep ſilence with this that I have ſaid, truſting that I have ſufficiently diſcharged my conſcience in confeſſing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the catholic church of Jeſus Chriſt, which was well known to be here in England in our late good king Edward's days, by two ſpecial tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet ſuffer me to be deceived; that is to ſay, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due adminiſtration of his holy ſacraments, which is not to be ſeen in your Romiſh church, and therefore it cannot juſtly be called the church and ſpouſe of Chriſt. I believe in the Holy Trinity, and all the other articles of the chriſtian faith contained in the three creeds; and finally all the canonical ſcripture to be true in every ſentence. And I deteſt all ſects both of the Arians and Anabaptiſts, or any other that divide themſelves from the true church of Chriſt, which is his myſtical body, the ground and pillar of truth, and the very houſe of the living God. And if for theſe things you take away my life, and make yourſelves guilty of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands as the ſheep brought to the ſhambles, abiding the grace of the butcher. And be you ſure judgment ſleepeth not, but when you cry peace, peace, and all is ſafe, then ſhall your plagues begin like the ſorrow of a woman travailing with child, according to Chriſt's infallible promiſe.

This kind of anſwer, my dear heart, it will be beſt for you to make; and by God's grace I do intend to take the ſame order myſelf in time to come, when the Lord ſhall vouchſafe me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they ſhall laugh you to ſcorn, as I know they will, ſaying, Thou art a fool, and an unlearned aſs-head, and art able to make anſwer to nothing, &c. care you not for it, but ſtill commit your cauſe unto God, who will make anſwer for you, and tell them that they have been anſwered again and again of divers godly and learned men; but all will not help: for you have one ſolution of all manner of queſtions, even a fair fire and faggots, this will be the end of your diſputations. Therefore I pray you trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God ſhall permit the time. I am no better than Chriſt, his apoſtles, and others of my good brethren that are gone before me.

This kind of anſwer will have moſt effect againſt them, and edify the people that ſtand by, ſo that the ſame be done coolly, with ſobriety, meekneſs, and patience; as I heard ſay our ſweet brethren Thomas Harland and John Oſwald did at Lewes, in Suſſex, to the great rejoicing of the children of God that were in thoſe parts: and I hear ſay, that they were diſſolved from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes on Saturday laſt, and were condemned but the Wedneſday before; ſo that we may perceive the papiſts have quick work in hand, that they make ſuch haſte to ſend us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make ourſelves ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leaving theſe mantles and old cloaks behind us for a time, which God ſhall reſtore us again in a more glorious wiſe.

My good brother Henry, you ſhall underſtand that bragging John T—— hath beguiled his keepers (who truſted him too well), and is run away from them, and hath brought the poor men into great danger by the ſame. The one of them is caſt by the council into the Gatehouſe at Weſtminſter, the other is fled out of the country for fear.

Thus you may ſee the fruits of our free-will men, that made ſo much boaſt of their own ſtrength. But that houſe which is not built ſurely upon the unmoveable rock, will not long ſtand againſt the boiſterous winds and ſtorms, that blow ſo ſtrongly in theſe days of trouble.

But, my dearly beloved brother, bleſſed be God for you, and ſuch as you, who have played the parts of wiſe builders. You have digged down paſt the ſand of your own natural ſtrength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wiſdom, and are now come to the hard ſtone and unmoveable rock Chriſt, who is yonr only keeper; and upon him alone have you built your faith moſt firmly, without doubting, miſtruſt, or wavering. Therefore neither the ſtorms nor tempeſts, winds, nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring againſt you, with the very gates of hell to help them, ſhall ever be able once to move your houſe, much leſs to overthrow it; for the Lord God himſelf, and not man, is the builder thereof, and hath promiſed to preſerve and keep the ſame for ever. Unto his moſt merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, deſiring him for his ſweet Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to confirm and ſtrengthen you all, that you may be conſtant unto the very end; and that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the never-fading crown of glory of God's free gift, through his great mercy in Jeſus Chriſt our only Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and evermore, Amen. The bleſſing of God be with you all.

John Careless.

LETTER X.

From Mr. John Careless, *returning* Thanks *to a faithful* Friend *of his, by whom he had received much* Comfort *in his inward* Trouble.

BLESSED be God the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and chriſtian conſolation which he hath ſo mercifully miniſtered unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my moſt dear and faithful brother. Truly methinketh your words, our rather God's words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoice therefore, my dear brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the ſtrengthening of them that ſtand in his truth, and alſo to the raiſing of ſuch as are fallen from the ſame. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf; for verily great is the goodneſs of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; God's name therefore be praiſed for ever, and he perform all his merciful promiſes unto you, as I doubt not but he will, for his ſake in whom you truſt.

I thank my God moſt heartily, and alſo you my good brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembering my juſt deſerved ſorrows, as though they were your own, and labouring ſo much to ſolace the ſame. Ah, my gracious God, what am I, for whom thou and thy dear children ſhould be ſo careful? O ſweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and ſin, and grant that I may never abuſe thy great benefits. O let the love of thine elect, who love me for thy ſake, be a ſure ſign and token, yea, a moſt firm teſtimony and ſeal to my ſinful conſcience of thine everlaſting love and mercy towards me in Chriſt; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not hinder it. O circumciſe therefore the foreſkin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect, that I may always be thankful for the ſame, and love thee and them again moſt heartily and unfeignedly.

Ah, my dear heart, how ſweetly and how truly, yea how godly and how comfortably have you rehearſed the ſweet ſaying of Solomon concerning proſperity with true and godly friends? I will join with it the ſentence that goeth a little before, for doubtleſs it may be well verified on you. "A ſure friend (ſaith the wiſe man, in Eccluſ. vi.) will be unto thee even as thine own ſoul, and deal faithfully with thy houſhold-folk. If thou ſuffer trouble and adverſity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a ſtrong defence: whoſo findeth ſuch an one, findeth a treaſure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodneſs of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord ſhall find him," &c. Lo, may dear heart in the Lord, here is a lively image or deſcription of you; for verily ſuch an one have I always found you unto me, not only ſorrowing for my great ſorrow, but alſo oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with ſuch joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the world brag of it's feigned friendſhip; but I will boaſt of this true friendſhip in God, and eſteem it a greater treaſure than all tranſitory things. And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you inſtead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I truſt henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loſs, and to praiſe God for gaining unto himſelf ſo great glory by his choſen children. God make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine own ſin and wickedneſs, and alſo to ſee his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable meſſage that your beautiful feet ſhall bring me. God bleſs thee, my dear heart, and faithful loving brother, and increaſe his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath moſt happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of God's grace wherein you ſtand, and firmly teſtify the ſame to the converſion or confuſion of all gainſayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all God's dear children, Amen. Farewel, mine own ſweet brother, farewel as mine own heart.

Your own in Chriſt,

John Careless.

In the letters of William Tyms, ye heard much mention made of Agnes Glaſcock. This Agnes Glaſcock, through infirmity, and her huſband's perſuaſions, was allured to go to maſs. For which cauſe ſhe falling into great ſorrow and repentance, was raiſed up again by the comfortable letters of William Tyms and John Careleſs, as before you may read; and after that was conſtant in the more ſincere profeſſion of the verity, and in danger of perſecution for the ſame; unto whom John Careleſs wrote this following letter.

LETTER XI.

From John Careless *to* Agnes Glascock.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, and comforts of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful ſiſter Glaſcock, to the good performance of that good work which God hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, to his glory, the profit of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal comfort in him, Amen.

In our Lord I have my moſt humble and hearty commendations unto you, my dear ſiſter and moſt faithful mother Glaſcock, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God moſt hearty laud, praiſe, and thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto ſo mightily ſtrengthened you, conſtantly cleave unto your captain Chriſt, notwithſtanding the great aſſaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtleſs, dear heart, it cannot be expreſſed what joy and comfort it is unto my very ſoul, to ſee how mighty the Lord hath magnified himſelf in you, whom he will ſhortly glorify with himſelf, as he hath done others of his ſweet ſaints that are gone before you. Rejoice therefore and be glad; for verily you have good cauſe, if you diligently conſider the great dignity that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witneſſes unto the world: and I think you ſhall with me and other your brethren in bonds, ſeal the Lord's verity with the teſtimony of your blood. Surely, ſweet ſiſter, this is the greateſt promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this life; and an honour that the higheſt angel in heaven is not permitted to have.

Therefore happy are you, O faithful daughter of Abraham, that the Lord will now prefer you before many others, yea, or any others of your age that I do know in England. O faithful and virtuous matron, which wilt not be moved from the ſure rock Chriſt, upon whom you have ſo firmly built your houſe, that neither ſtorms nor tempeſts, neither yet hell-gates, or any other temptations, ſhall ever be able to prevail againſt it. Full well doth it appear by your conſtant continuance, that you have played the part of a wiſe builder, in counting the coſt beforehand, belonging to the finiſhing up of your tower. And I doubt not but through God's gift, you have ſufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part ſhall have no juſt cauſe to triumph againſt you, or to mock you, ſaying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful, as St. Paul ſaith, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above your ſtrength, but he will either give you grace and ſtrength, to ſtand unto the death (which is the gate and entrance into life,) or elſe he will make ſuch an out-ſcape for you, as ſhall be to the ſetting forth of his glory; which above all other things, we that are his choſen children ought to ſeek, yea even with the loſs of our own lives, being yet well aſſured that the ſame ſhall not be ſhortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

Caſt therefore, dear ſiſter, all your care upon the Lord, who, as St. Peter ſaith, careth for you. Great is his providence for you, and mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his Holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath ſurely ſealed you unto the day of redemption; he hath alſo given you the ſame in earneſt for the recovery of the purchaſed poſſeſſion, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be ſtrong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear ſay you be. God for ever be bleſſed for you, who hath ſo grafted his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to ſeparate you from the ſame, but will rather chuſe to ſuffer adverſity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſure of ſin for a little ſeaſon. O happy woman, that canſt find in thy heart to eſteem the rebukes of Chriſt to be greater riches than all the treaſures of the world, as good Moſes did. Doubtleſs, great is your reward in heaven; which you ſhall ſhortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deſerving.

Thus, dear mother Glaſcock, I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and ſimple letters, deſiring you to take them in good part, being done in great haſte, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can teſtify; which I truſt ſhall ſupply that part of my duty towards you, that my pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindneſs you have hitherto ſhewed unto my poor brother Tyms, and his wife and children, with all others of God's people, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompenſe the ſame ſevenfold into your boſom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his infallible promiſes. I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your huſband. I beſeech the Lord ſtrengthen him in the confeſſion of his truth (as my truſt is that he will), that we may all joyfully reſt with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God; unto which may he bring us, that with his moſt precious blood hath bought us. The bleſſing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

JOHN CARELESS.

LETTER XII.

From JOHN CARELESS, *containing a brief* Admonition *to* MRS. AGNES GLASCOCK, *found in a* Book *of her's, when ſhe came to the* Priſon *to viſit him.*

THERE is nothing that the holy ſcripture throughout doth ſo much commend unto us, as true faith and ſtedfaſt truth in the promiſes of God's eternal mercies towards us in Jeſus Chriſt. For from the ſame, as forth of the chief fountain and well-ſpring of life, do flow all kinds of virtues and godly fruits, eſpecially true love towards God, in which we ought purely to ſerve him all the days of our life; and alſo chriſtian charity towards our neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as alſo not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earneſtly for the increaſe of faith and lively feeling of God's mercy; for all things are poſſible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which aſſureth us of God's mercy, and whereby we vanquiſh all the fiery darts of the devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the fleſh: and finally, that which ſetteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our conſciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the croſs, with many more things than I can now expreſs. Pray therefore for faith, in faith. And for the Lord's ſake beware of popery and popiſh idolatry, the idol of the wicked maſs, and other idolatrous ſervice. Make not your body, which is a member of Chriſt, a member of Antichriſt. Remember that we ſhall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorify God in your body, which is dearly bought. Betray not the truth, leſt the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot ſerve two maſters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

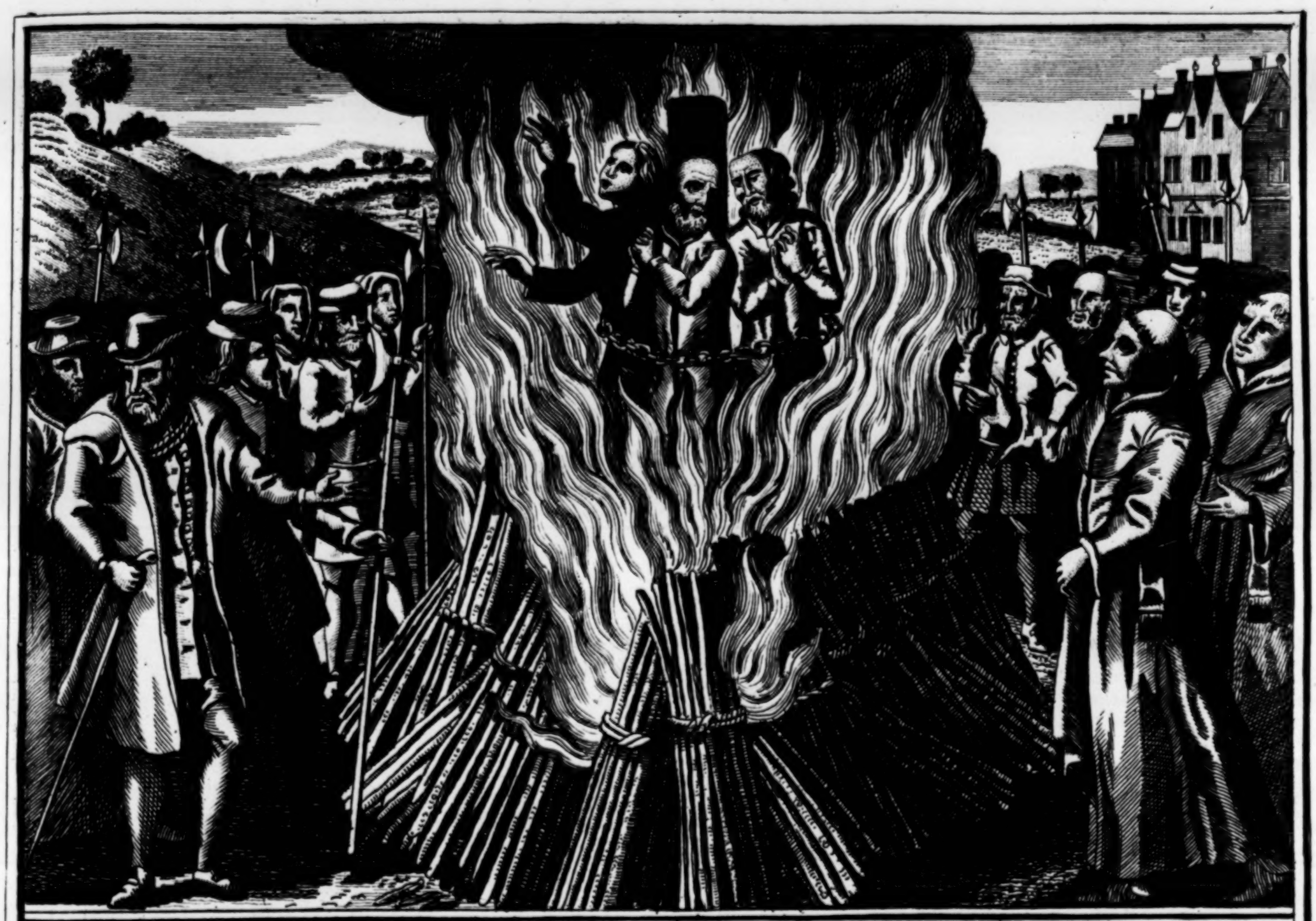
My ſiſter dear, God give you grace,
  With ſtedfaſt faith in Chriſt his name,
His goſpel ſtill for to embrace,
  And live according to the ſame.
To die therefore think it no ſhame,
  But hope in God with faithful truſt;
And he will give you praiſe with fame,
  When you ſhall riſe out of the duſt.
For which moſt ſweet and joyful day,
  To God with faith your prayer make:
And think on me, I do you pray,
  Who now hath wrote this for your ſake.
And thus to God I you betake,
  Who is your caſtle and ſtrong rock;
He keep you ſleeping and awake,
  Farewel, dear miſtreſs A. Glaſcock.

LETTER XIII.

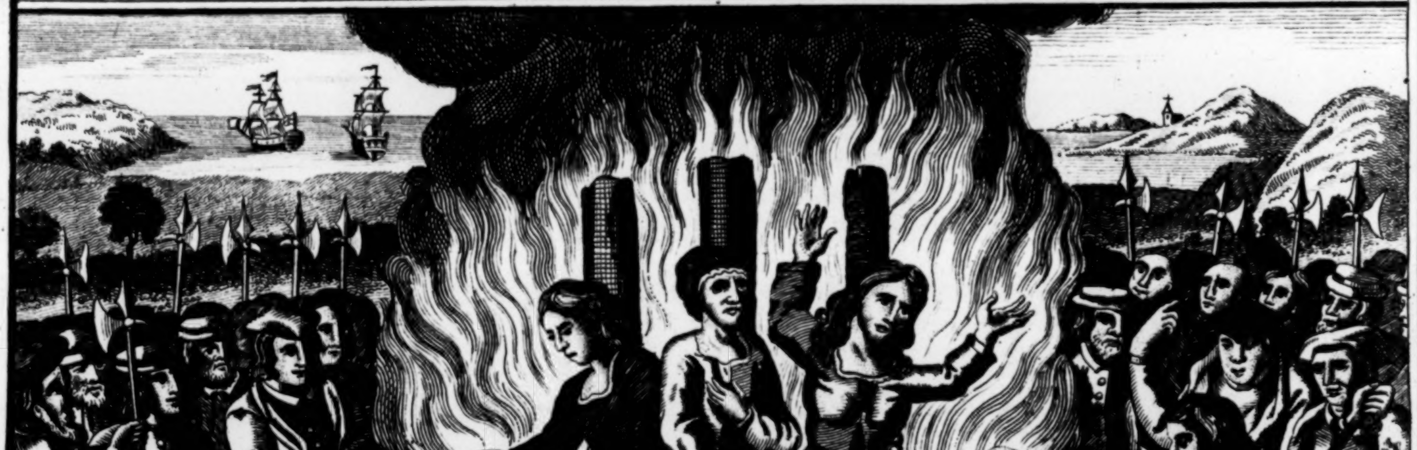
From JOHN CARELESS *to* MRS. AGNES GLASCOCK, *comforting her in her* Repentance, *after ſhe had been at* Maſs, *proper to be read by all thoſe who have fallen, and are willing to riſe again*

THE peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal comforts of his ſweet Spirit be with you, and ſtrengthen and comfort you, my dear and faithful ſiſter, Amen.

Although the perilous days be come, whereof Chriſt propheſied, that if it were poſſible the very elect ſhould be deceived; yet let the true faithful chriſtians rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himſelf is their keeper, who will not ſuffer one hair of their heads to periſh without his almighty good will and pleaſure, neither will he ſuffer them to be further tempted than he will give them ſtrength to bear; but will in the midſt of their temptation make a way for them to eſcape out; ſo good and gracious a God is he to all his choſen children



The Burning *of* Mr. Julius Palmer (*Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford*) Mr. John Givin. *and* Mr. Thos. Askiw *at the* Sandpits, *near* Newbery, *in* Berkshire.



The Tragical & barbarous Martyrdom *of* Mrs. Catherine Cawches, *& her* two Daughters, (Mrs. Guilhelmina Gilbert & Mrs. Perotine Massey) *with the* Infant Son *of* Mrs. Massey *at* St. Peter's Port *in the* Isle *of* Guernsey

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children. And though ſometimes he do let his elect ſtumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raiſe them up again to the further increaſe of their comfort, and to the ſetting forth of his glory and praiſe. Which thing (my dear and faithful loving ſiſter, I truſt ſhall be well verified on you. For I do hear ſay, that by the manifold allurements, inticements, procurements, yea, and inforcements that you, dear heart, have had, your foot hath chanced to ſlip out of the way, to the great diſcomfort of your ſoul, and the heavineſs of your heart. But, my good ſiſter, be of good chear, for the Lord will not ſo leave you, but he will raiſe you up again, and make you ſtronger than ever you were: ſo that your fall ſhall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own ſtrength, or rather your own weakneſs, you would have ſtood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in yourſelf and have deſpiſed and condemned other weak perſons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may ſee what the beſt of us all can do, if God leaves us to ourſelves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earneſtly upon God for the grace and ſtrength of his Holy Spirit, (without which we are not able to ſtand one hour) and to be moſt thankful for the ſame when you have it, and then to be more circumſpect in time to come.

Therefore (dear ſiſter) ſeeing that you have done otherwiſe than the word of God and your own conſcience would allow; yet, dear heart, do not think that God will caſt you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in ſtore for them that truly repent and believe in him, although the ſins of them were as many in number as the ſands in the ſea, and as great as the ſins of the whole world. Therefore, good ſiſter, beware in any wiſe, that you do not once miſtruſt the promiſe of God's mercy towards you; but know for a very ſurety, that all your ſins be utterly forgiven you for Chriſt's ſake, be they ever ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great.

But now, dear heart, take heed, and beware that you do not cloak that ſin, and increaſe the ſame daily, in communicating with the wicked in their idolatry, and deviliſh doings at their den of thieves. Do not, I ſay, dear ſiſter, be at any of their Antichriſtian ſervice, leſt by little and little you utterly loſe a good conſcience, and at length eſteem it for no offence; as alas, a great number do at this day, to the great peril of their ſouls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time, and turn to the Lord, and then they ſhall be ſure to find mercy at the Lord's hand, as doubtleſs you have done, praiſed therefore be his name.

Ah, my dear ſiſter, you may now ſee the words of Chriſt verified upon yourſelf, that a man's greateſt foes ſhall be they of his own houſhould; for your huſband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtleſs he may be ſorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or elſe, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not by his will hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my brother Tyms will write him a letter ſhortly that will touch his conſcience, if he has any conſcience at all.

But now again to you, dear ſiſter. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the firſt that hath offended, neither are you ſo good and ſo holy, as hath at any time ſlipt out of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be ſo much diſcomforted as I hear ſay you be, as though God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his dear ſaints that offended him in times paſt; or as though God were not as merciful now, as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, there is with the Lord (as the prophet ſaith) mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far ſurmounteth all his works: and he never faileth any that put their whole truſt and confidence in him, how great an offender, or how wicked a treſpaſſer ſoever he be: no, he maketh their falls and backſlidings many times to turn to their greater profit and advantage, and to the ſetting forth of his glory; as doubtleſs, dear ſiſter, your's ſhall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and truſt only in his infinite and eternal ſweet mercies.

O what a ſubtle, crafty, lying ſerpent is that Satan our old enemy? that when he ſeeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedneſs to do him ſervice, would then bring us into a doubting and miſtruſting of the mercy of God, which is the greateſt offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other ſins. Therefore (my ſweet ſiſter) give no place to that cruel adverſary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning, but ſtedfaſtly believe the Lord, who hath ſent you word by me his moſt unworthy ſervant, that all your ſins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean releaſed for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake our only Lord and Saviour. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, praiſe, thanks, power, rule, and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. Farewel, my dear ſiſter, be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord, and you ſhall live for ever. The Lord increaſe your faith, Amen, Amen.

Your poor brother,
and priſoner from the Lord,
JOHN CARELESS.

LETTER XIV.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS *to a faithful* MINISTER *of the* LORD, *containing certain fruitful* PRECEPTS *on* MATRIMONY.

I Beſeech the ſame everlaſting Lord (my dear and faithful brother,) that bleſſed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear, preſerve and bleſs you both, and your ſeed after you, that they may increaſe the number of the faithful by thouſands and thouſands. And as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly providence hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accompliſhed his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate: ſo ſee that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increaſe of love and godlineſs, yea of chriſtian joy and gladneſs in theſe ſorrowful days, but yet ſo, that you mourn with the true mourners of Sion, and be ſorry, (yet in meaſure) for the hurt of the ſame. Pray alſo in faith for her proſperity, that the Lord may build up the walls of Jeruſalem again.

Oh that the Lord would turn Sion's captivity as the rivers into the ſouth! Then ſhould our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the heathen hypocrites ſay, The Lord hath done much for them. O, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoice, and praiſe his name therefore. For though we now ſow in tears, yet we ſhall be ſure to reap with gladneſs: and as we now go forth weeping, bearing forth good ſeed, ſo ſhall we come again with joy, and bring our ſheaves full of corn. Yea, the death of the martyrs (which is moſt precious in his ſight) ſhall be the life of the goſpel, in ſpite of the papiſts' hearts.

Pray for me (dear heart) that I may be counted worthy to ſow ſome ſeed amongſt the ſweet ſaints of the Lord, that I may reap the ſame again, without ceaſing, at the harveſt. It is now ſowing time of the year, men ſay in the country, and I think I ſhall make an end of ſowing before all March be paſt; for I hear ſay I ſhall prove how my plough will enter into the ſtony ground of the hard-hearted papiſts, within theſe four days. I hope to hold faſt, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of ſowing, and then will I ſet me down and reſt me, and aſk them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increaſe thereof with joy and gladneſs.

My dear brother, the time approacheth near (for which I praiſe God) that I muſt put off this ſinful tabernacle, and go home to my heavenly Father, where divers of my brethren are already looking and wiſhing for me. I beſeech you therefore that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers, as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and advantage thereof.

That you have obſerved my ſimple counſel I am right glad, and I truſt in the Lord God, you ſhall find comfort in the ſame. And that you may ſo indeed, I have been ſo bold to write theſe few words unto you, becauſe I ſhall ſee you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. Firſt, and above all things, you muſt be very circumſpect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never ſpring up the root of bitterneſs between you. If at any time there happens to ariſe any cauſe of unkindneſs between you, as it is impoſſible always to be free from it, ſee that you weed up the ſame with all lenity, gentleneſs, and patience, and never ſuffer yourſelf nor your wife to ſleep in diſpleaſure.

If you have cauſe to ſpeak ſharply, and ſometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the ſame in the preſence of others, but keep your words until a more convenient time, (which is the point of a wiſe man, ſaith Solomon) and then utter them in the ſpirit of meekneſs, and the groaning ſpirit of perfect love; which you muſt alſo let ſometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatſoever loſs and miſchance ſhall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the ſame ſhould come partly through your wife's negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, than a cauſe of ſorrow for that which is paſt, and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life ſubject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to diſpleaſure, and ready to think unkindneſs for every little trifle, and eſpecially with our beſt friends, yea ſooneſt with our loving wives, who be moſt loth to diſpleaſe us.

But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and conſider that we ought moſt of all in love to bear with them according to Chriſt's example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himſelf, to cleanſe it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am intermitted, and otherwiſe hindered. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better than I can deſcribe it unto you; and as you know it, ſo will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your wife very ſhortly, and to take my laſt farewel of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haſte I am now conſtrained to make an end. The bleſſing of God be always with you. Pray, pray, pray with faith,

Your own for ever,
JOHN CARELESS.

LETTER XV.

From Mr. JOHN CARELESS *to* ELIZABETH, WIFE *of the aforeſaid* MINISTER, *containing certain godly* PRECEPTS *of* MATRIMONY *pertaining to her* DUTY.

THE everlaſting peace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, the continual aid, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt holy and mighty Spirit, with increaſe of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of God's eternal mercy, be with you, my dear and faithful loving ſiſter, and with your godly and loving huſband and my dear and faithful brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath ſo graciouſly begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and bleſſed in him, and your ſeed after you, now and ever, Amen.

As I have been long deſirous to write unto you, (my dear heart in the Lord) not only being thereto bound of duty, but alſo often provoked by him to whom I owe myſelf and all that I am able to do (I mean even that bleſſed of the Lord's own mouth, whom God hath joined with you in that holy and chriſtian ſtate of matrimony); even ſo at the laſt I have obtained time and occaſion in ſome part to perform that which I have long purpoſed. And foraſmuch as the Lord of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear child, hath now graciouſly accompliſhed that good work amongſt many others, which I (as a friend of the bridegroom) have full heartily wiſhed, and often prayed for; I think it good, yea, and my bounden duty, to treat of ſuch things as may be profitable to preſerve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminiſh, if he cannot altogether deſtroy the ſame, leſt by many joyful occaſions you ſhould be provoked continually to praiſe God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means ſought to hinder you from.

As for all other things, I know you are ſufficiently inſtructed, and have alſo a moſt learned companion, who is well able further to teach you if need do require: but in this particular I know my experience is more than his. Therefore (my good ſiſter) firſt and before all things ſee that you diligently conſider, that as every good and perfect gift pertaining to ſoul and body, is given from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights; even ſo to whomſoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the ſame, for elſe he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the ſame to their great diſadvantage, and in the end to the increaſe of their damnation: ſo deteſtable in his ſight is the ſin of ingratitude. But to ſuch as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever add new, but alſo maketh the goodneſs of his former gifts ever more and more to increaſe, until by them they are fully perſuaded and thoroughly certified of his everlaſting love in Chriſt Jeſus, which is eternal life itſelf: ſo much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

Therefore I do yet once again earneſtly requeſt you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits not only for your election, creation, redemption, and preſervation; but alſo for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath indued you; amongſt which the chief and moſt excellent is (as teſtifieth the Holy Ghoſt) gour good, faithful, and loving huſband. For as the wiſe man ſaith, goods and poſſeſſions may come to a man by the death of his friend, but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to ſuch as fear him.

And the like is of a good huſband, as the Lord hath now given you, praiſed be his holy name. He hath not given you an ignorant, froward, churliſh, brawling, waſteful, rioting, drunken huſband, wherewith he hath plagued many others (as he might alſo have done you); but he hath given you a moſt godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and ſober huſband, who will nouriſh, cheriſh, keep, and defend you, inſtruct you and teach you, yea care and provide for you and your children (which he will alſo by him give you) ſuch things as be neceſſary for you. He hath not dealt ſo with every body; and yet he hath done this much more for you, my dear ſiſter, and will thereto increaſe love and joy between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of man and wife together; ſo it is he only that maketh them and all the whole houſhold to be only of one mind. Unto which his gracious work he requireth your diligence, and will uſe you as his inſtrument and mean, the more effectually to accompliſh the ſame. And therefore I now require you to obſerve this my ſimple counſel, which I have here written as a teſtimonial of my good will towards you, becauſe I think in this life I ſhall never more ſee you.

Now as I have ſhewed you how you ſhould be thankful unto God for his good gifts, ſo I exhort you, and as much as in me lieth, charge you to be evermore thankful unto your dear and loving huſband, who hath given himſelf unto you, who is a more precious jewel in the church of God, than perchance you are yet aware of. Think yourſelf unworthy to be matched with ſuch an inſtrument of God; and alſo reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and ſeek with true obedience and love to ſerve him, in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loth in any wiſe to offend him, yea rather be careful and diligent to pleaſe him, that his ſoul may bleſs you. If at any time you ſhall chance to anger him, or to do or ſpeak any thing that ſhall grieve him, ſee that you never reſt until you have pacified him and made him merry again.

If at any time he ſhall chance to blame you without a cauſe, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing happeneth ſometimes to the beſt man living), ſee that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but always look upon him with a loving and chearful countenance, and rather take the fault upon you than ſeem to be diſpleaſed.

Be always merry and chearful in his company, but not with too much lightneſs. Beware in any wiſe of ſwelling, pouting, or louring, for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart; except it be in reſpect of ſin, or in the time of ſickneſs.

Be not ſorrowful for any adverſity that God ſendeth; but beware that nothing be ſpilt or go to waſte through your negligence. In any wiſe ſee that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the ſame according to his diet in due ſeaſon. Go cleanly and well-favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wiſe.

Finally, in word and deed ſhew yourſelf wiſe, humble, merry, and loving towards him, and alſo towards ſuch as he doth love, and then you ſhall lead a bleſſed life. I could ſpeak of many things, which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better than I can teach you, becauſe you have that anointing that teacheth you all things, who hath alſo given you an heart to obey and ſerve him. Yet I truſt you will not be offended for this which I have written, but rather accept my good will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my daughter Judith.

Thus as mine own ſoul I commend you both to God, deſiring him to bleſs you with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly things, and alſo with the dew of heaven, and fatneſs of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and only Saviour. The Lord increaſe and bleſs the fruit of your bodies, that your children may ſtand round about your table, thick, freſh, and luſty, like the olive branches. God give you both a long life, that you may ſee and bleſs your children's children, unto the third and fourth generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for which they ſhall be accepted in his ſight.

God let you ſee the proſperity of Sion, for whoſe lying in the duſt let your hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increaſe the ſame, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both moſt heartily farewel; and I think I ſhall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beſeech you both to aid me with your continual prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine) that I may have a joyful victory through Jeſus Chriſt: to whoſe moſt merciful protection I do moſt heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblameable until his coming. Which I beſeech him to haſten for his mercy's ſake.

Your own unfeigned, JOHN CARELESS,
priſoner of the Lord.

The HISTORY *and* MARTYRDOM *of* JULIUS PALMER, *a learned and virtuous young* MAN, *ſome time* FELLOW *of* MAGDALEN COLLEGE, *in* OXFORD; *with two other* MARTYRS, *named* JOHN GWIN, *and* THOMAS ASKIN, *burnt together at a Place called the* SAND-PITS, *in* NEWBURY, *about the 16th of July.*

The HISTORY *of* JULIUS PALMER.

AS all the works of God are wonderful in calling all ſorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witneſs to his aſſured and infallible word, which the adverſaries have depraved and corrupted with their falſe gloſſes, to eſtabliſh the fleſhly kingdom of Antichriſt, and to purchaſe ſecurity in the world, which poſſeſſion they ſeek, and by all poſſible means endeavour to keep; rather curſing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, ſcourging, and perſecuting by ſecret practice, and open violence, the ſimple ſheep of our Saviour Chriſt, that their falſe forged packing ſhould be detected, their eſtimation impaired, their kitchen cooled, and their rents, revenues, goods, lands, and poſſeſſions abated: I ſay, as God's works are admirable in chuſing ſome of all ſorts to confeſs his goſpel; ſo there is no one example, in the whole godly fellowſhip of martyrs, more remarkable and amazing than this, that a perſon, who in all the days of king Edward, was a papiſt in the univerſity of Oxford, ſo rigid and obſtinate, that he utterly abhorred all godly prayer, and ſincere preaching; and he himſelf as little reſpected, and, as it were, pointed at, by almoſt all thoſe with whom he lived: that ſuch a perſon, I ſay, ſhould ſuffer perſecution and death by the papiſts for the truth of the goſpel in the reign of queen Mary (as he readily and zealouſly did), is very admirable and ſurpriſing.

He was born in Coventry, where alſo his parents dwelt. His father had ſometime been mayor of the city, and occupied merchandize, although he was an upholſterer by buſineſs. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his firſt entering, we know not, but as we have learned, he was ſometime ſcholar to Mr. Harley of Magdalen-college in Oxford; by whoſe diligence, and the goodneſs of his own capacity, he became a toward young ſcholar in proſe and verſe. For he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit ſharp and pregnant. He ſpake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; inſomuch that divers times he ſupplied the room of the Greek reader in his houſe. He was a ſubtle diſputer, both in the public ſchools, and alſo at home. He uſed to ſay, that he was never ſo pleaſantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound queſtions in philoſophy; ſo that he hath oftentimes watched and ſpent the whole night in the diſcuſſing and ſearching out the truth of deep and difficult queſtions. And this he uſed to do ſundry times with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exerciſe of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modeſty, and without all oſtentation. For he greatly abhorred all cavilling, all frivolous talk, and unſavoury babbling. He was not captious, but would reaſon ſo ſoberly, and with ſuch probability, that even his adverſaries would no leſs marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his comely and decent behaviour in proſecuting the ſame.

And although he applied to divinity very late, it appeareth that he recompenſed the ſmall time of his ſtudy with the greatneſs of his diligence beſtowed in the ſame, and his late coming to the truth with his earneſt and zealous proceeding therein. For by the ſecret inſpiration of God's Holy Spirit inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent ſignification in his young years, that if God had ſpared his life longer, he would have grown to ſuch maturity and ripeneſs of judgment, as thereby he would have been an ornament to Chriſt's church, and an honour to his country.

And ſomewhat to ſpeak of his civil behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curioſity, of countenance chearful, without high looks, of ſpeech pleaſant, without affectation, he was affable and lowly as any child, and yet quick-ſpirited, and vehement in reaſoning. He practiſed no deceit toward any man, for he was of ſuch ſimplicity, that he was apter to be deceived than to deceive, and he was ſo great a contemner of all reproaches, that he would ſay, None were to be counted valiant, but ſuch as could deſpiſe injury.

In private ſtudy he was ſo indefatigable, that he aroſe ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went to bed before ten at night. Inſomuch that as he grew in years and underſtanding, ſo he came to be a bachelor of arts, and at length for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowſhip in Magdalen-college, where alſo he was admitted to the office of a reader in logic, Anno 1550. Now if he had at the firſt favoured ſincere religion, ſo much as he followed his book, then had we the leſs matter to note in him. But indeed he was ſo much (as is before ſaid) addicted to the Romiſh faith, that his company and converſation in the ſame houſe was altogether with ſuch as were utter enemies to the goſpel of Chriſt. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulſion, for otherwiſe he came not. Sermons would he hear none himſelf, nor yet ſuffer his ſcholars to reſort unto them by his good will: for he was fully perſuaded, that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themſelves he did both diſdain and deſpiſe, and all ſuch as were ſetters-forth of ſound doctrine beſide. For which contumacy and ſtubbornneſs, he was ſo often called before the officers of the college, and puniſhed ſometimes by the purſe, ſometimes by the lack of his commons, and otherwiſe by certain taſks, and exerciſes of learning enjoined unto him, that divers ſuppoſed him to have endeavoured, of ſet purpoſe, continually to ſeek occaſion, whereby he might be accounted a ſufferer for the fanatical religion of the Romiſh church.

In the end, not long before the death of king Edward, certain ſlanderous libels and railing verſes were privily fixed to the walls and doors in ſundry places of the college againſt the preſident, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was adminiſtered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he and ſome of his companions had a very little time before ſpoken contumelious words againſt the preſident, it could not be now avoided, but that thereby aroſe a vehement ſurmiſe and ſuſpicion, that he conſpiring with others, had contrived, made, and ſcattered abroad the ſaid ſlanderous writings. Great inquiſition was made in the college, to ſearch out the author of ſo malicious and deſpiteful a deed, but nothing could be found and proved againſt Palmer or any of his companions. Now Palmer being hereupon examined by the officers, did not only with ſtout courage deny the fact to have been his, but alſo ſpake further many reproachful words touching the ſaid officers, and ſent the ſame to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that ſociety. And ſo for this and other popiſh pranks (continuing obſtinate ſtill) he was expelled the houſe.

After he was thus expelled, he was obliged for his maintenance to apply himſelf to be a teacher of children in the houſe of ſir Francis Knolles, in which trade he continued until the coming in of queen Mary. And when her viſitors were ſent to Magdalen-college, under a title of reformation (whereas all things were better before), that is, diſplace ſeveral of the fellows that were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be reſtored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be reſtored by them, whoſe faith and religion (as he ſaid) he did to the uttermoſt of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the ſame. Then after he was reſtored again to his houſe in queen Mary's reign, God dealt ſo mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obſtinate papiſt, an earneſt and zealous proteſtant.

Concerning whoſe converſion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the ſame, we have here inſerted a letter written by one Mr. Bullingham, fellow, in ſome part of king Edward's time, with the ſaid Palmer, then alſo of the ſame religion with him, and toward the latter end of the ſaid king's reign a voluntary exile in France for popery; in queen Mary's days likewiſe a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; and after the coming in of queen Elizabeth, ſuch an one as for his own obſtinacy was diſcharged from all his livings by her majeſty's commiſſioners: and yet now (God be praiſed for it) a moſt conſtant profeſſor and earneſt teacher of the word of God. This man, at the requeſt of a certain friend of his in London, being deſirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius Palmer. The copy of which letter we thought good here to inſert, becauſe the parties being alive can teſtify the ſame to be true, if any man ſhall doubt thereof.

A LETTER

From Mr. BULLINGHAM *to his* FRIEND.

MASTER BULLINGHAM, I wiſh you and all your's continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that conſtant witneſs of God's truth, for that his doings and ſayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemiſh, than to adorn and beautify him. After his converſion to the moſt holy goſpel, I never ſaw his face. Wherefore the leſs have I to certify you of. But ſo much as ſeemeth to me to ſerve moſt unto the purpoſe, here I commend unto you; and in witneſs that my ſayings are true, I ſubſcribe my name, willing and beſeeching you to publiſh the ſame to the whole world, &c. At the time I Bullingham intended to forſake England, and fly into France for the wicked pope's ſake, (which came to paſs indeed, for I was in Roan for a time) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me onwards in my journey till we came to London: where on a day, Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's, the queen's palace; and as we leaned at the great gate of that palace, Palmer ſpake thus unto me:

" Bullingham, you know in what miſery and calamities we are fallen for the pope and his religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now preſently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us conſider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a ſtrange country, both friendleſs and moneyleſs, where I fear you ſhall taſte of ſourer ſauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wit's end. The face of hell itſelf is as amiable unto me, as the ſight of Magdalen-college; for there I am hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth. And as touching our religion, even our conſciences bear witneſs that we taſte not ſuch an inward ſweetneſs in the profeſſion thereof, as we underſtand the goſpellers taſte in their religion: yea, to ſay the truth, we maintain we know not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my bread."—So Palmer bequeathed himſelf to the wide world, and I paſſed over into Normandy. At my return into England, my chance was to meet Palmer in St. Paul's, where a rood was ſet up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and our miſerable departure not long before the end of king Edward's days.) Then after our greeting, thus ſaid Palmer: Bullingham, is this our God, for whom we have ſmarted? No, Palmer (quoth I) it is an image of him. An image! (quoth he) I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin, whoſe inſtitutions I have peruſed ſince our departure, telleth me plainly by God's word, that it is an idol, and that the pope is Antichriſt, and his clergy the filthy ſink-hole of hell, and now I believe it; for I feel it ſenſibly. O that God had revealed theſe matters unto me in times paſt. I would have bequeathed this Romiſh religion, or rather irreligion, to the devil of hell, from whence it came. Believe them not Bullingham. I will rather have theſe knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder block of wood (meaning the rood). God help me, I am born to trouble and adverſity in this world. Well, Palmer, (ſaid I) is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little eaſe, at the end. I will never have to do with you again. So I left Palmer walking in St. Paul's, who through the element of fire is exalted above clouds, where eternal reſt is prepared for perſecuted martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known, that I Bullingham affirm it to be true. More I have not to ſay. In theſe words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him.

From Bridgewater, April 26, 1562,
By me, JOHN BULLINGHAM.

When he was by the viſitors reſtored to his college, although he began ſomething to ſavour and taſte of

God's

Parſon. Do you not read likewiſe, Whoſoever invocateth the name of the Lord ſhall be ſaved? Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you muſt mark how St. Paul anſwereth you. He ſaith, That the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation.

As Palmer was bent to anſwer him at the full, the parſon interrupted him, crying ſtill, What ſayeſt thou to St. Paul?

Palmer. I ſay that St. Paul hath ſaid no ſuch words.

Parſon. See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain text: He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment.

Palmer. I beſeech you lend me your book.

Parſon. Not ſo.

The Sheriff. I pray you lend him your book.

So the book was given over to him.

Palmer. Your own book hath, *Qui manducat hunc panem*, &c. He that eateth this bread.

Parſon. But St. Jerome's tranſlation hath *Corpus*, Body.

Palmer. Not ſo, Mr. Parſon, and God be praiſed that I have in the mean ſeaſon ſhut up your lips with your own book.

Jeffrey. It is no matter whether you write Bread or Body, for we are able to prove that he meant the Body. And whereas you ſay, they eat it ſpiritually, that is but a blind ſhift of deſcant.

Palmer. What ſhould I ſay elſe?

Jeffrey. As the holy church ſaith, really, carnally, ſubſtantially.

Palmer. And with as good ſcripture, I may ſay groſsly or monſtrouſly.

Jeffrey. Thou ſpeakeſt wickedly. But tell me, Is Chriſt preſent in the ſacrament, or no?

Palmer. He is preſent.

Jeffrey. How is he preſent?

Palmer. The doctors ſay, *Modo ineffabili*, In a manner not to be expreſſed. Therefore why do you aſk me? Would to God you had a mind ready to believe it, or I tongue able to expreſs it unto you.

More of his examination in that time and place is not come to our hands; wherefore we muſt leave it. In the mean ſeaſon we are credibly informed of this, that ſir Richard Abridges, the ſame day after dinner, ſent for him to his lodging, and there, in the preſence of divers perſons yet alive in Newbury and elſewhere, friendly exhorting him to revoke his opinion, to ſpare his young years, wit and learning. If thou wilt be conformable, and ſhew thyſelf corrigible and repentant, in good faith, ſaid he, I promiſe thee before this company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pounds yearly, ſo long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt ſet thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to furniſh and fit thy farm for thee. How ſayeſt thou?

Palmer thanked him very courteouſly, and made him further anſwer concerning his religion ſomewhat at large, but very modeſtly and reverently; concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Chriſt's ſake, ſo he would with God's grace be ready to ſurrender and yield up his life alſo for the ſame, when God ſhould think proper.

Then ſaid Mr. Winchcomb, Take pity on thy golden years, and pleaſant flowers of luſty youth, before it be too late.

Palmer. Sir, I long for thoſe ſpringing flowers, that ſhall never fade away.

Winchcomb. If thou be at point, I have done with thee.

Then was Palmer commanded again to the Blindhouſe, but the other two men were led again the ſame afternoon to the conſiſtory, and there was condemned, and delivered to the ſecular power of the ſheriff there preſent, ſir Richard Abridges.

It is reported alſo, that Dr. Jeffrey offered Palmer a good living, if he would outwardly ſhew himſelf conformable, keeping his conſcience ſecret to himſelf, or at leaſt to declare that he doubted which was the trueſt doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a ſurety.

The next morning, the 16th of July, Palmer was required to ſubſcribe to certain articles, which they had drawn out, touching the cauſe of his condemnation: in the front whereof were heaped together many heinous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, deviliſh, and execrable doctrine. To theſe words Palmer refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that the doctrine which he profeſſed was not ſuch, but good and ſound doctrine.

Jeffrey. You may ſee, good people, what ſhifts theſe heretics ſeek, to eſcape burning, when they ſee juſtice adminiſtered unto them. But I tell thee, this ſtile is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it.

Palmer. Then I cannot ſubſcribe to it.

Jeffrey. Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou likeſt not juſtice, and revoke thy hereſy?

Palmer. I forſake the pope and his popelings, with all popiſh hereſy.

Jeffrey. Then ſubſcribe to the articles.

Palmer. Alter the epithets, and I will ſubſcribe.

Jeffrey. Subſcribe and qualify the matter with thine own pen. So he ſubſcribed. Whereupon Dr Jeffrey proceeded to read the popiſh ſentence of his cruel condemnation, and ſo was he delivered to the charge of the ſecular power, and was burnt the ſame day in the afternoon, about five o'clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer in the preſence of many people, comforted his companions with theſe words. Brethren, ſaid he, be of good chear in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Chriſt, where he ſaith, "Happy are you when men revile you and perſecute you for righteouſneſs' ſake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the ſoul. God is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted further than we ſhall be able to bear." We ſhall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for coals, we ſhall receive pearls. For God's Holy Spirit certifieth our Spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a ſweet ſupper in heaven for his ſake who ſuffered for us.

With theſe and ſuch like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his weak brethren that were with him appointed as ſheep to be ſlain, but alſo wreſted out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were ſinging a pſalm, came ſir Richard Abridges, the ſheriff, and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of armed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place appointed for their ſuffering, they all three fell to the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice pronounced the 31ſt pſalm, but the other two made their prayers ſecretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to ariſe, there came behind him two popiſh prieſts, exhorting him to recant and ſave his ſoul. Palmer anſwered and ſaid, Away, away, tempt me no longer. Away, I ſay, from me all you that work iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears. And ſo forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the ſtake and kiſſed it. And when they were bound to the poſt, Palmer ſaid, Good people, pray for us, that we may perſevere to the end. And for Chriſt's ſake beware of popiſh teachers, for they deceive you.

As he ſpake this, a ſervant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, ſo that the blood guſhed out in divers places. At which the ſheriff was very angry, and called him a cruel tormentor, and with his walking-ſtaff broke his head, that the blood likewiſe ran down about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and chearfully, as though they had felt no ſmart, they cried, Lord Jeſus ſtrengthen us, Lord Jeſus aſſiſt us, Lord Jeſus receive our ſouls. And ſo they continued without any ſtruggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jeſus until they had ended their mortal lives.

An Account *of the* Trouble *of* Peter Moon *and his* Wife, *and of other godly* Proteſtants, *at* Biſhop Hopton's Viſitation *in* Ipſwich.

In the year 1556, a viſitation was held by Dr. Hopton, then biſhop of Norwich, and Miles Dunnings, his chancellor, at Ipſwich, in Suffolk, where divers godly proteſtants, through the accuſation of evil men, were much troubled; among whom were Peter Moon, a taylor, and his wife: they were accuſed of diſobedience to the law, in not coming to church, and refuſing to partake of ſuch Romiſh obſervances as at that time were uſed.

And firſt the ſaid Peter Moon was commanded to come before the biſhop, where he was examined of three ſeveral articles, viz. 1. Whether the pope were ſupreme head. 2. Whether king William and queen Mary were right heirs to the crown. 3. And whether in the ſacrament of the altar was the very body of Chriſt ſubſtantially and really there preſent.

Unto which the ſaid Peter Moon being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man that the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in a manner granted unto their demands.

Thus as this ſpiritual father was commending his carnal child, and rather preferring him to hell-fire, than unto the ſincere word and commandments of God, one of the portmen of the ſame town, named Smart, an earneſt member of their Romiſh law, perceiving the biſhop thus, as it were, at an end with the ſaid Moon, and ſo he like to be diſcharged, ſaid unto the biſhop, My lord, I have a good opinion of the man, and that he will be conformable; but, my lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For ſhe never came to church yet ſince the queen's reign, except it were at even-ſong, or when ſhe was churched, and not till maſs were done. Wherefore your good lordſhip might do a good deed to cauſe her to come before you, and to ſee if you could do any good. And therefore I beſeech your good lordſhip to command him to pray her to come before your lordſhip.

At which words Moon was ſomewhat moved, in that he ſaid, Command him to pray her to come before your lordſhip. And he ſaid unto him, under my lord's correction I ſpeak, I am as able to command the worſt boy in your houſe. Yea, my lord, ſaid the other, I cry your lordſhip mercy: I have informed your lordſhip with an untruth, if this be ſo. But if he be ſo able as he faith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if it had pleaſed him. Well, ſaid the biſhop, look you come before me at afternoon, and bring your wife with you; I will talk with her.

As my lord's dinner at that time was ſerving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having ſuch an hard breakfaſt given him before to digeſt. At afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, thinking when he might moſt conveniently come, eſpecially when his accuſer and his wife ſhould not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his wife, which was not ſo ſecretly done, but his accuſer had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in ſuch poſt-ſpeed, that he was in a manner breathleſs when he entered the biſhop's chamber.

The biſhop hearing that Moon and his wife were come, called for them, and ſaid to Moon, Is this your wife, Moon? Yea, my lord, ſaid he. O good lord, ſaid the biſhop, how a man may be deceived in a woman! I promiſe you a man would take her for as honeſt a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my lord, ſaid Moon's wife, I truſt there is none than can charge me with any diſhoneſty, as concerning my body; I defy all the world in that reſpect.

Nay, quoth the biſhop, I mean not as concerning the diſhoneſty of thy body; but thou hadſt done better to have given the uſe of thy body unto twenty ſundry men, than to do as thou haſt done. For thou haſt done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the king and the queen's majeſties out of their royal ſeats through thy diſobedience, in ſhewing thyſelf an open enemy unto God's laws, and their proceedings.

Then the biſhop began to examine the ſaid Moon again with the aforeſaid articles, and his wife alſo. And ſhe hearing her huſband relent, did alſo affirm the ſame, which turned to their great trouble of mind afterward. Dunning, the biſhop's chancellor, then came up in great haſte, and brought news to the biſhop, that there was ſuch a number of heretics come from Boxford, Lanham, and the cloth country, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: and there are among them both heretics and anabaptiſts, ſaid he. And thus Dr. Dunning with his bluſtering words interrupting Moon's examination, went down again as the devil had driven him, to take order what ſhould be done with them.

The biſhop beginning to bewail the ſtate of the country, in that it was ſo infected with ſuch a number of heretics, and rehearſing partly their opinions to thoſe that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child which ſhe nurſed herſelf, and the child being brought into the yard under the biſhop's chamber, cried ſo that ſhe heard it; and then ſaid, My lord, I truſt you have done with me. My child crieth beneath, I muſt go give my child ſuck, with ſuch like words. And the biſhop being (as it were) out of mind to talk with them any more, ſaid, Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look you, be here again in the morning: with this they both departed.

And beneath in the ſtone-hall of the ſame houſe, the chancellor Dunning being very buſy about his bloody buſineſs, eſpied Moon and his wife coming, and ſaid, Nay, needs paſs by the place where he ſtood, and muſt ſoſt, I muſt talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to-day. To whom Moon's wife anſwered, My lord hath had us in examination, and therefore you ſhall have nought to do with us. Nay, quoth he, ye ſhall not ſo eſcape, I muſt talk with you alſo. Unto whom Moon anſwered, My lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his lordſhip hath appointed, and muſt repair again before him to-morrow.

So Moon departed and his wife without hurt of body: but afterwards when they, with Peter the apoſtle, beheld the face of Chriſt, they were ſore wounded in their conſciences, aſhamed of their doings, and alſo at the door of deſperation. Inſomuch that when he came home to his houſe, and entering into a parlour alone by himſelf, conſidering his eſtate, and ſeeing where a ſword of his did hang againſt a wall, he was earneſtly allured by the enemy Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have ſlain himſelf: but God, which caſteth not away the penitent ſinner, repenting his fall with a ſincere heart, defended his unworthy ſervant from that temptation, and hath (I truſt) left him to the amendment of life by the aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that ſhall be ſaved.

The morrow they both remained and kept houſe with no ſmall grief of conſcience, waiting and looking with fear when to be ſent to the biſhop, rather than offering their diligence to keep the biſhop's appointment: but God ſo wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared the biſhop's call, the bells rung for his departure out of town. For which they were not only glad, but alſo many a good heart in Ipſwich rejoiced and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant, that our ſins may never deſerve to provoke God's anger, left the like days ſhould come again. And if they ſo do, God make us, with all other weaklings, ſtrong and worthy ſoldiers

God's truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in the time of his expulſion, eſpecially at the houſe of ſir Francis Knolles; yet he was not thoroughly perſuaded, but in moſt points continued for a while either blind, or elſe doubtful. Neither could he chuſe, but utter himſelf in private reaſoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully reſolved, and alſo of what points he doubted. For ſuch was always his nature, both in popery and in the goſpel, utterly to deteſt all diſſimulation; inſomuch, that by the means of his plainneſs, and for that he could not flatter, he ſuffered much trouble, both in king Edward's and alſo in queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the firſt have lived in great quietneſs, if he could have diſſembled, and both done and ſpoken againſt his conſcience, as many ſtirring papiſts then did. And likewiſe he might have eſcaped the flames in queen Mary's time, if he would either have ſpoken, or kept ſilence againſt his conſcience, as many weak goſpellers did. But Palmer could in no wiſe diſſemble.

Now, within a ſhort time, God ſo wrought in his heart, that he became very inquiſitive, to hear and underſtand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were uſed, and after what manner they took their death. Inſomuch that he ſpared not, at his own charges to ſend over one of his ſcholars, in company with a bachelor of that houſe, to Glouceſter, to ſee and underſtand the whole order of biſhop Hooper's death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing ſome think he rather did becauſe he was wont in king Edward's time to ſay, that none of them all would ſtand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme, and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Whereof he himſelf alſo did ſee more experience afterwards, at the examination and death of thoſe holy confeſſors which were burnt at Oxford before his eyes: inſomuch that the firſt hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of biſhop Ridley and biſhop Latimer. At which time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he broke out into theſe or ſuch like words, O raging cruelty! O tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!

From that day forward he ſtudiouſly endeavoured to underſtand the truth, and therefore with all ſpeed he borrowed Peter Martyr's commentaries on the firſt to the Corinthians, of one of Magdalen's yet alive, and other good books of other men. And ſo through hearty prayer, and diligent ſearch and conference of the ſcriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and ſo profited in the ſame, that daily more and more, he declared it both in word and deed: inſomuch that ever afterwards he loved the truth as much as he before hated it, when it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he ſhould come to church in thoſe days of popery, there to be occupied among the reſt, in ſinging of reſponds, reading of legends, and ſuch like ſtuff allotted to him, he had as much pleaſure, he ſaid, to be at them, as a bear to be baited and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid diſpleaſure and danger, than for any good will, and ready affection.

At length, through God's grace, he grew up to ſuch maturity and ripeneſs in the truth, that he ſpared not to declare certain ſparks thereof in his outward behaviour. For when he ſhould keep his bowing meaſures at the Confiteor (as the cuſtom there was) in turning himſelf to and fro, ſometimes eaſtward, ſometimes weſtward, and afterwards knock his breaſt at the time of elevation, againſt theſe idolatrous adorations his heart did ſo vehemently riſe, that ſometimes he would abſent himſelf from them, and ſometimes being there, he would even at the ſacring (as they termed it) get him out of the church to avoid thoſe ungodly geſtures, and idolatrous adoration. To be ſhort, perceiving after a while, that he was greatly ſuſpected as well as diſreſpected by Mr. Cole, the preſident then being, and divers others who before had been his friends, and finding great torment of conſcience daily growing upon him, in his converſation with idolaters; and alſo ſeeing that his new life and old way of living could not well quietly ſtand together, he prepared himſelf to depart the houſe. For he thought it not beſt to abide the danger of expulſion, as he did at firſt, ſeeing the heat of the times increaſing apace. And being demanded at that time by a particular friend (who would gladly have perſuaded him to ſtay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made his anſwer, *Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo ejus*, that is, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof. Let the Lord work, I will commit myſelf to God and the wide world.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful ſurges that he ſuffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulfs and deep ſea of this wretched wide world, firſt, to rehearſe one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at ſuch times as he had recourſe to the college, after his laſt departure, whereby the reader may yet better underſtand his ſimplicity and plainneſs, and how far wide he was from all cloaked diſſimulation in God's cauſe, which certain godleſs perſons have fought maliciouſly to charge him withal. Being at Oxford at a certain time, in Magdalen-college, and having knowledge that the Spaniſh friar John (who ſucceeded Dr. Peter Martyr in the office of divinity lecturer) would preach there that preſent Sunday, he would not at the firſt conſent to be preſent at it. At length a friend of his, a fellow of that houſe, perſuaded him ſo much, that he was content to accompany his ſaid friend to the church. But ſuddenly, as the friar vehemently inveighed againſt God's truth, in defending certain popiſh hereſies, Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongſt the midſt of the auditory, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly. Afterwards, being aſked why he ſlipped away on ſuch a ſudden, O, ſaid he, if I had not openly departed, I ſhould have openly ſtopped mine ears; for the friar's blaſphemous talk, in diſproving, or rather depraving the verity, made mine ears not to glow, but my heart worſe to ſmart than if mine ears had been cut from my head.

It chanced another time, that the ſame friend of his, named Mr. Shipper, being then butler of the houſe, aſked him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer not knowing what gueſts were alſo thither invited and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the aforeſaid friar, with whom were preſent Dr. Smith, Dr. Treſham, and divers other papiſts, whoſe company Palmer could not well bear: and therefore whiſpering to his friend in the ear, he ſaid he would be gone, for that was no place for him: I will go, ſaid he, to the butler's table in the great hall. The butler underſtanding his mind, deſired him of all friendſhip not ſo to depart, alledging that it was the next way to betray himſelf, and as it were on purpoſe to caſt himſelf into the briars, with many other perſuaſions, as the ſhortneſs of time would permit. In the end he condeſcended to his requeſt, and tarried. Now as he came to the fire-ſide, the friar ſaluted him chearfully in Latin, for he could not ſpeak Engliſh. Palmer with all amiable countenance gently returned it; but when the friar offered him his hand, he caſting his eye aſide, as though he had not ſeen it, found matter to talk to another ſtanding by, and ſo avoiding it; which thing was well marked by ſome, not without great grudge of ſtomach.

After they were ſet and had well eaten, the friar with a pleaſant look offering him the cup, ſaid, *Propino tibi, juvenis erudite*, that is, I drink to you, learned young man. Palmer at that word, bluſhing as red as ſcarlet, anſwered, *Non agnoſco nomen, domine*, that is, I acknowledge no ſuch name, O ſir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he ſet it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon, but in the end it was alſo well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being ſharply rebuked by the ſaid butler his friend, for his ſo unwiſe, uncivil, and unſeemly behaviour (as he termed it), he made anſwer for himſelf, and ſaid, *Oleum verum non demulcet, ſed frangit caput meum,*

meum, that is, The oil of theſe men doth not ſupple, but breaketh my head.

Another time, which was alſo the laſt time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick an old acquaintance of his, being ſometime clerk of Magdalen's and then fellow of Trinity-college, a rank papiſt, began to reaſon with him in his friend's chamber aforeſaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earneſt in the defence of the verity, he ſaid unto him, in the hearing of Mr. Thomas Parry, and others there preſent: Well, well, now thou art ſtout, and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the ſtake, I believe thou wouldſt tell me another tale. I adviſe thee beware of the fire, it is a ſhrewd matter to burn. Truly, ſaid Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto, I thank God, I have eſcaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the laſt, welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and ſoul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to ſeparate and divide the ſoul from the body, for him it is no more maſtery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainneſs, without diſſimulation, and how he feared not openly to ſhew himſelf more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blaſphemed, than to ſuffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our ſtory, and faithfully declare both the occaſion and manner of his death.

Within a ſhort time after he had yielded up his fellowſhip in Oxford, he was through God's providence (who never faileth them that firſt ſeek his glory) placed ſchoolmaſter by patent in the grammar-ſchool of Reading, where he was well accepted by all thoſe that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, and alſo for his earneſt zeal and profeſſion of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings, and proſperous ſucceſs in the ſame, would not ſuffer him long there to be quiet. Wherefore he ſtirred up againſt him certain double-faced hypocrites, who by diſſimulation and crafty inſinuation had crept in, to underſtand his ſecrets under pretence of a zeal to the goſpel. Which men he (ſuſpecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himſelf was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, ſo he had an incredible deſire by all means poſſible to allure and encourage others to the profeſſion of the ſame.

Theſe faithful and truſty brethren, ſo ſoon as they had found good opportunity, ſpared not in his abſence to rifle his ſtudy of certain godly books and writings; amongſt which was his Replication to Morewine's verſes, touching Wincheſter's epitaph, and other arguments both in Latin and Engliſh, written by him againſt the popiſh proceedings, and eſpecially againſt their unnatural and brutiſh tyranny, executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not aſhamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the ſame to the council, unleſs he would without delay depart out of their coaſts, and give over the ſchool to a friend of their's. The truth of this ſtory appeareth in part, by a letter written with his own hand, out of priſon, eight days before he was burnt; which, becauſe it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Thus then was this ſilly young man, for the ſafeguard of his life, forced to depart on a ſudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his goods, and one quarter's ſtipend, and ſo he took his journey towards Enſham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's laſt will, which he ſhould have received certain years before; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requeſted certain of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother underſtanding his ſtate and errand by Mr. Shipper and his brother (whom he had ſent before to intreat for him), as ſoon as ſhe beheld him on his knees, aſking her bleſſing, as he had been accuſtomed to do: Thou ſhalt, ſaid ſhe, have Chriſt's curſe and mine wherefoever thou goeſt. He pauſing a little, as one amazed at ſo heavy a greeting, at length ſaid, O mother, your own curſe you may give me, which God knoweth I never deſerved, but God's curſe you cannot give me, for he hath already bleſſed me. Nay, ſaid ſhe, thou didſt go from God's bleſſing into the warm ſun, when thou wert baniſhed for an heretic out of that worſhipful houſe in Oxford, and now for the like knavery, art driven out of Reading too. Alas, mother, ſaid he, you have been miſinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely reſigned of mine own accord. And heretic I am none, for I ſtand not ſtubbornly againſt any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be ſure, they uſe not to expel nor baniſh, but to burn heretics (as they term them.) Well, quoth ſhe, I am ſure thou doſt not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done: but as we were taught by the new law in king Edward the Sixth's time, which is damnable hereſy.

Indeed I confeſs, ſaid he, that I believe that doctrine which was taught in king Edward's days, which is not hereſy but truth, neither is it new, but as old as Chriſt and his apoſtles. If thou art at that point, ſaid ſhe, I require thee to depart from my houſe, and out of my ſight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have none of thine, thy father bequeathed nought for heretics. Faggots I have to burn thee, more thou getteſt not at my hands. Mother, ſaid he, whereas you have curſed me, I again pray God to bleſs you, and proſper you all your life long; and with like ſoft talk, ſweet words, and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he ſo mollified her hard heart, that ſhe hurled an old angel after him, and ſaid, Take that to keep thee a true man.

Thus poor Palmer, being deſtitute of worldly friendſhip, and cruelly repelled by her whom he took to have been his fureſt friend, knew not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had bethought himſelf, it came to his mind to return ſecretly to Magdalen-college, upon the aſſured truſt and affiance, that he had a ſecret friend or two in that houſe. At which time, by the ſuit of one Alane Cope, then fellow of the houſe, he obtained letters commendatory from Mr. Cole, preſident there, for his preferment to a ſchool in Glouceſterſhire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to God's divine protection, of whom ſome accompanied him as far as Enſam Ferry, and ſome to Burford.

Afterward as he went alone muſing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an epiſtle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return privately to Reading, truſting there by the help of friends to receive his quarter's ſtipend, and convey his goods to the cuſtody of ſome truſty body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodgings at the Cardinal's Hat, deſiring his hoſteſs inſtantly to aſſign him a cloſe chamber, where he might be alone from all reſort of company. He came not ſo cloſely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof. Wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and conſulted what way they might moſt ſafely proceed againſt him, to bring their old cankered malice to paſs. And ſoon it was concluded, that one Mr. Hampton (who then bare two faces under one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a diſſembling hypocrite) ſhould reſort to him under the pretence of friendſhip, to feel and fiſh out the cauſe of his repair to Reading.

Palmer, as he was a ſimple man, and without all wrinkles of cloaked deceit, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earneſtly perſuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might enſue if this were attempted. Againſt his counſel Palmer replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk, Hampton flung away in a fury, and ſaid, As he had fiſhed, ſo ſhould he fowl for him. Palmer not yet ſuſpecting ſuch deviſed miſchief, as by this crooked and peſtiferous generation was now in brewing againſt him, called for his ſupper, and went quietly to bed. But quiet he could not long reſt there; for within a ſhort ſpace after, the officers and their retinue came ruſhing in with lanthorns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make himſelf ready, and quietly to depart with them; and led him away as a lamb to the ſlaughter, and committed him to ward, whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, ſtinking, and dark dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of ſtocks, ſo high, that well near no part of his body touched the ground. In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor of Reading, and there, by the procurement of certain falſe brethren, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treaſon, ſedition, ſurmiſed murder, and adultery.

To whom Palmer anſwered, that if ſuch horrible and heinous crimes might be proved againſt him, he would patiently ſubmit himſelf to all kinds of torments that could be deviſed. But O ye cruel blood-ſuckers, (ſaith he) ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperous and wolfiſh generation of phariſees and papiſts: but be ye well aſſured, that God already ſeeth your ſubtle devices and crafty packing, and will not ſuffer the outrageous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to eſcape unpuniſhed.

All this while no mention was made of hereſy or heretical writings.

Their greateſt Proofs againſt him were theſe:

FIRST, That Palmer ſaid, the queen's ſword was not put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true ſervants of God.

Item, That her ſword was too blunt toward the papiſts, but toward the true chriſtians it was too ſharp.

Item, That certain ſervants of ſir Francis Knolles and others, reſorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themſelves, and were like to have committed murder, and therefore he was a ſower of ſedition, and a procurer of unlawful aſſemblies.

Item, That his hoſteſs had written a letter unto him, (which they had intercepted) wherein ſhe required him to return to Reading, and ſent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they gathered that ſhe had conſpired with him to murder her huſband.

Item, That they found him alone with his hoſteſs by the fire-ſide in the hall, the door being ſhut to them forſooth.

When the evidence was given up, the mayor diſmiſſed them and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the cage, to make him an open ſpectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world; it being given out, that he was ſo puniſhed for his evil life and wickedneſs already proved againſt him.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his anſwer, and did ſo mightily and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocency, proving alſo that the ſaid letters were forged by themſelves, that the mayor himſelf was much aſhamed that he had given ſuch credit to them, and ſo much borne with them, ſo that he ſought means how they might convey him out of the country privily.

But here among other things this is not to be paſſed over in ſilence, that one John Galant, a zealous profeſſor of the goſpel, a little after this came to the priſon, and found him ſomewhat better treated than before. When he beheld him, O Palmer, ſaith he, thou haſt deceived divers men's expectation: for we hear that you ſuffer not for righteouſneſs' ſake, but for your own demerits.

O brother Galant, ſaith he, theſe are the old practices of that Satanical brood. But be you well aſſured, and God be praiſed for it, I have ſo purged myſelf and detected their fálſhood, that from henceforth I ſhall be no more moleſted therewith. And there, having pen and ink, he wrote ſomewhat whereby part of his ſtory here rehearſed, is well confirmed. But now to theſe bloody adverſaries.

After this, when they ſaw the matter frame ſo ill-favouredly, fearing that if he ſhould eſcape ſecretly, their doing would tend no leſs to their ſhame and danger, than to the mayor's diſhoneſty, they deviſed a new policy to bring to paſs their long hidden and feſtered malice againſt him, which was by this extreme refuge. For whereas before they were partly aſhamed to accuſe him of hereſy, ſeeing they had been counted earneſt brethren themſelves; and partly afraid, becauſe they had broken up his ſtudy, and committed theft; yet now, leſt their iniquity ſhould have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and ſhame aſide, and began to rip up the old ſore, the ſcar whereof had been but ſuperficially cured, as you have heard; and ſo to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writing that they had ſtolen out of his ſtudy.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the priſon to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other juſtices, to render an account of his faith before them, and anſwer to ſuch articles and informations as were laid againſt him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth ſufficient matter to intrap him, they deviſed a certificate, or bill of inſtructions againſt him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffrey; who had determined to hold his viſitation the next Tueſday at Newbury, which was the 16th of July. And thus were the falſe witneſſes and bloody accuſers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer ſhould be ſent over to Newbury, the ſaid letters teſtimonial were conveyed over together with him; the contents whereof ſhall partly appear hereafter; in the mean time I think it good here to rehearſe one example among others, both of charitable affection towards him, and of his modeſty correſpondent to the ſame.

Mr. Rider, of Reading, a faithful witneſs of God's truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt withal in the priſon, and pined away for the lack of neceſſaries, and how evidently he had proved himſelf innocent before the officers, of ſuch crimes as were objected againſt him, he ſent to him his ſervant ſecretly the night before his departure to Newbury, with a crooked groat in token of his good heart towards him, requiring him to let him underſtand if he lacked neceſſaries, and he would provide for him. Palmer anſwered, The Lord reward your maſter for his benevolence towards me a miſerable object in this world, and tell him, that (God be praiſed) I lack nothing.

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Aſkin, alias Roberts, being fellow-priſoner with him in Chriſt's cauſe, ſitting at breakfaſt, and beholding Palmer very ſad, leaning to the window in a corner of the houſe, aſked why he came not to breakfaſt. Becauſe I lack money, ſaid Palmer, to diſcharge the ſhot. Come on man, quoth he, God be praiſed for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing when Mr. Rider heard of, it cannot be expreſſed how much it grieved him that Palmer had deceived him with ſo modeſt an anſwer.

Thus to Newbury they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hoſtry of the blind houſe, where they found John Gwin, their faithful brother in the Lord. Now when they came before the conſiſtory of Dr. Jeffrey, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which, although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth it was ſpoken, nor perchance altogether in ſuch form of words, yet as exactly as we are able to compact and diſpoſe it, being gathered out of ſeveral notes of Richard

Shipper, John Hunt, John Kirry, of Newbury, Richard White, of Marlborough, who were eye-witneſſes, and preſent at the hearing thereof.

The SECOND EXAMINATION *of* JULIUS PALMER, *at* NEWBURY, *in the* HEARING *of more than three hundred* PERSONS.

ON the 16th of July, in the year 1556, four or five ſeats were prepared in the choir of the pariſh church of Newbury, for the viſitors, whoſe names here enſue. Dr. Jeffrey, for the biſhop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridges, knight, and then high ſheriff of the county, ſir William Ramsford, knight, John Winchcomb, eſquire, and the parſon of Inglefield. After the priſoners were preſented, the commiſſion read, and other things done in order accordingly, Dr. Jeffrey called to Palmer, and ſaid, Art thou that jolly writer of three-half-penny books that we hear of?

Palmer. I know not what you mean.

Jeffrey. Have you taught Latin ſo long, that now you underſtand not Engliſh?

To this he anſwered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffrey ſtanding up, ſaid, We have received certain writings and articles againſt you, from the right worſhipful the mayor of Reading, and other juſtices, whereby we underſtand, that being convented before them, you were convicted of certain hereſies.

Firſt, That you deny the ſupremacy of the pope's holineſs.

Secondly, That there are but two ſacraments.

Thirdly, That the prieſt ſheweth up an idol at maſs; and therefore you went to no maſs, ſince your firſt coming to Reading.

Fourthly, That there is no purgatory.

Laſt of all, That you are a ſower of ſedition, and have ſought to divide the unity of the queen's ſubjects.

Sheriff. You were beſt ſee firſt what he will ſay to his own handy-work.

Jeffrey. You ſay truth. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it.

Palmer. I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the ſcripture.

Jeffrey. Is this doggiſh rhyme your's alſo? Look.

Palmer. I wrote this, I deny it not.

Jeffrey. And what ſay you to theſe Latin verſes, entitled, Epicedion, &c. Are they your's too!

Palmer. Yea, ſir.

Jeffrey. Art thou not aſhamed to affirm it? It came of no good ſpirit, that thou didſt both rail at the dead, and ſlander a learned and catholic man yet alive.

Palmer. If it be a ſlander, he hath ſlandered himſelf: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh againſt Annas and Caiaphas being dead.

Jeffrey. Sayeſt thou ſo? I will make thee recant it, and wring *peccavi* out of thy lying lips, before I have done with thee.

Palmer. But I know, that although of myſelf I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and ſpiritual, ſhould do your worſt, you ſhall not be able to bring that to paſs, neither ſhall you prevail againſt God's mighty Spirit, by whom we underſtand the truth, and ſpeak it ſo boldly.

Jeffrey. Ah, are you full of the Sprit? Are you inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt?

Palmer. Sir, no man can believe, but by the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore, if I were not a ſpiritual man, and inſpired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true chriſtian: *Qui Spiritum Chriſti non habet, hic non eſt ejus;* that is, He that hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, is none of his.

Jeffrey. I perceive you lack no words.

Palmer. Chriſt hath promiſed not only to give us ſtore of words neceſſary, but with them ſuch force of matter, as the gates of hell ſhall not be able to confound or prevail againſt.

Jeffrey. Chriſt made ſuch a promiſe to his apoſtles; I hope you will not compare yourſelf with them.

Palmer. With the holy apoſtles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but ſmall: yet this promiſe I am certain pertaineth to all ſuch as are appointed to defend God's truth againſt his enemies, in the time of their perſecution for the ſame.

Jeffrey. Then it pertaineth not to thee.

Palmer. Yes, I am right well aſſured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this preſent to me, as it ſhall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to diſpute with you before this audience, in defence of all that I have there written.

Jeffrey. Thou art but a beardleſs boy, yeſterday an upſtart out of the ſchools, and dareſt thou preſume to offer diſputation, or to encounter with a doctor?

Palmer. Remember, Mr. Doctor, "The Spirit breatheth where it pleaſeth him," &c. And again, "Out of the mouth of babes haſt thou ordained ſtrength." And in another place, "Thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes." God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor perſon. And although your wit and learning is greater than mine, yet your belief in the truth, and zeal to defend the ſame, is no greater than mine.

Regiſter. Sir, if you ſuffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done.

Jeffrey. Well, you ſhall underſtand, that I have it not in commiſſion at this preſent to diſpute with you, neither were it meet that we ſhould call again into queſtion ſuch articles as are already diſcuſſed, and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed telleth us. But the cauſe why you be now called hither, is, that you might be examined upon ſuch articles as are adminiſtered againſt you, and ſuch matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be ſeen whether you will ſtand to it, or no. How ſay you to this?

Palmer. By your holy church you mean the ſynagogue of Rome, which is not univerſal, but a particular church of ſhavelings. The catholic church I believe, yet not for her own ſake, but becauſe ſhe is holy, that is to ſay, a church that grounded her belief upon the word of her ſpouſe Chriſt.

Jeffrey. Leave railing, and anſwer me directly to my queſtion. Will you ſtand to your writing, or will you not?

Palmer. If you prove any ſentence therein comprized not to ſtand with God's word, I will preſently recant it.

Jeffrey. Thou impudent fellow, have I not told thee that I came not to diſpute with thee, but to examine thee?

Here the parſon of Inglefield pointing to the Pyx, ſaid, What ſeeſt thou yonder?

Palmer. A canopy of ſilk broidered with gold.

Parſon. Yea, but what is within it?

Palmer. A piece of bread in a clout, I ſuppoſe.

Parſon. Thou art as froward an heretic as ever I talked with.

Here much was ſpoken of Confiteor, and other parts of the maſs.

Parſon. Do you not believe that they which receive the holy ſacrament of the altar, do truly eat Chriſt's natural body?

Palmer. If the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper be adminiſtered as Chriſt did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed ſpiritually and truly eat and drink in it Chriſt's very natural body and blood.

Parſon. The faithful receivers? You cannot blear our eyes with ſuch ſophiſtry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?

Palmer. No, ſir.

Parſon. How prove you that?

Palmer. By this place, He that eateth me, ſhall live for me.

ſoldiers to encounter with the ſpiritual enemies, the world, the fleſh, and the devil; and boldly to ſtand to the confeſſion of Chriſt and his goſpel, ſaying with the apoſtles, "Whether it be right in the ſight of God, that we ſhould obey you more than God, judge ye."

* * *

A tragical and moſt lamentable History, *or an Account of the cruel* Murder *of three Women and an Infant,* viz. *the* Mother, *her two* Daughters, *and the* Child, *in the* Iſle of Guernſey, *July 18th*, 1556.

OF all the ſingular and tragical hiſtories in this book, nothing can be more barbarous, if any thing can come up to the inhumanity of this execution upon three women and one infant, whoſe names be theſe following; Catherine Cawches, the mother; Gulliemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Maſſey, the other daughter; and an infant, the ſon of Perotine.

Before I come to the ſtory itſelf, it will be neceſſary, for the better explaining of it, to relate the circumſtances, from whence this cruelty did originally ſpring, which was as followeth.

The 17th day of May, in the year 1556, in the iſle of Guernſey (which is a member of England), in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Goſſet, who being evil diſpoſed, went (the day aforeſaid) to the houſe of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the town of the ſaid St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking a key of the houſe (lying under the door) entered into a chamber toward the ſtreet, where ſhe eſpying a ſilver cup within a cupboard, took it away, and ſo conveyed herſelf out of the houſe again. Who immediately after this fact was done, (whether by counſel, or by what occaſion elſe I know not) brought the cup to the aboveſaid Perotine Maſſey, an honeſt woman, dwelling in the ſaid town, deſiring her to lend her ſixpence upon the ſame.

Perotine ſeeing the cup, and ſuſpecting (as the truth was) the ſame to be ſtolen, anſwered, that ſhe would not take it: yet nevertheleſs, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to reſtore it again to whom it did belong; and to the end ſhe ſhould not carry it to another, gave her ſixpence immediately. Where moreover is to be noted, that Thomas Effart ſaith and teſtifieth, that knowledge was given by the ſaid Perotine to Conronney touching the ſtealing of this cup, who ſoon upon the miſliking thereof charged the ſaid Vincent Goſſet of the treſpaſs; who being apprehended and examined upon the ſame, immediately confeſſed the fact, deſiring to have one ſent with her (which was Collas de Loutre) with ſixpence to fetch the cup again, which he accordingly did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premiſes by one Nicholas Cary, of the ſaid town, conſtable, aſſembled the juſtices there to inquire and examine further, as well upon the fact of Vincent Goſſet, as upon other griefs and things there amiſs. So that after declaration made by the officers and conſtable before the juſtice, for that the ſaid conſtable did report to have found a certain veſſel of pewter in the houſe of the aforeſaid Perotine Maſſey (who then dwelt with her mother Catherine Cawches, and her ſiſter Guillemine Gilbert,) which veſſel did bear no mark, and eſpecially for that there was a pewter diſh, whereof the name was ſcraped out, their bodies upon the ſame were attached and put in priſon, and their moveable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after theſe things thus done and paſt, theſe three poor women, abiding thus in durance in the caſtle, made their ſupplication to the juſtices to have juſtice miniſtered unto them, viz. If they had offended the law, then to let them have law: if not, beſeeching to grant them the benefit of ſubjects, &c. which ſupplication put up, they were thereupon appointed to come to their anſwer the fifth day of June in the year aforeſaid. Upon which day, after ſtrict examination of the matter, and the honeſt anſwering of the cauſe by the ſaid good women, at laſt they ſubmitted themſelves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil diſpoſed perſons, but lived truly and honeſtly, as became chriſtian women to do, notwithſtanding the falſe report of their accuſers.

So the cauſe being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the ſaid neighbours not guilty of what they were charged with, but had always lived as honeſt women amongſt them; ſaving only that to the commandments of the holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was, in fine, adjudged, firſt, that the ſaid Vincent Goſſet, being attainted of felony, and condemned for the ſame, ſhould be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the pillory, ſhould ſo be baniſhed out of the iſle without further puniſhment. As touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to church, they were returned priſoners again into the caſtle the firſt of July. And thus far concerning the true diſcourſe of this matter, with all the circumſtances and appurtenances of the ſame, in every point, as the caſe ſtood, according to the faithful tenor and teſtimony of the Guernſey men, written with their own hands both in the French and Engliſh tongue. Wherein you ſee what falſe ſurmiſed matter was pretended againſt theſe women, and nothing proved, and how by the atteſtation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and ſhould by the temporal court have been diſmiſſed, had not the ſpiritual clergymen picked matter of religion againſt them, exerciſed ſuch extremity in perſecuting theſe miſerable priſoners, that in no caſe they ſhould eſcape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you ſhall hear) to their end. For, after the time of this declaration abovementioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to church, the bailiff's lieutenant and the juſtices thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate under their ſignets to the dean, whoſe name was James Amy, and curates of the ſaid iſle: the contents whereof here follow.

LETTER

Sent from the Bailiffs, Lieutenant, *and* Jurates *of* St. Peter's-Port, *to the* Dean *and* Curates *of the* Iſle of Guernſey.

MASTER Dean and juſtices in your court and juriſdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleaſeth you to know that we are informed by the depoſition of certain honeſt men, paſſed before us in manner of an inquiry; in which inquiry Catherine Cawches and her two daughters have ſubmitted themſelves in a certain matter criminal: wherein we are informed that they have been diſobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the ſame, againſt the will and commandment of our ſovereign lord the king and queen. Whereof we ſend you the ſaid matter, foraſmuch as the matter is ſpiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good diſcretions, and as briefly as you can poſſible, and alſo that it pertaineth to your office, recommending you to God, who give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and juſtice. Written the firſt day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After theſe letters and information thus addreſſed to Jaques Amy, dean, and the other clergy, the ſaid women were again convented before the juſtice aforeſaid, with his aſſiſtants. In the preſence of whom they, being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Romiſh church, made their anſwer that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithſtanding what they had ſaid and done the contrary in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in ſhewing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which anſwer taken, they were returned again to priſon, until the others had an anſwer of their letter from the dean and his accomplices. During which time, the dean and curate gave their information touching the ſaid women, and delivered the ſame to the bailiff and jurates, condemning and reputing them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, neither being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon, when the ſaid bailiff and jurates underſtood that the ſaid dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not ſit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come firſt before the dean and curates to be examined of their faith. And ſo the officers, at the commandment of the juſtices, did fetch and preſent them before the ſaid dean and curates; which being done, they were examined apart, and then returned to priſon again.

The fourteenth day of the ſaid month of July, in the year aforeſaid, after the examination above-mentioned before Elier Goſſelin, bailiff, in the preſence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Liſle, John Laverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonamy, Nicholas Martine, John de la March, jurates; ſir James Amy, dean, and the curates, did deliver before the juſtice, under the ſeal of the dean, and under the ſigns of the curates, a certain act and ſentence, the ſum whereof was, that Catherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and ſuch they reputed them, and have delivered them to juſtice, to do execution according to the ſentence; the tenor of which here followeth:

"In the year of our Lord 1556, July 13, at the church of St. Peter's Port, in the iſle of Guernſey, inquiry being made by us the dean and curates, concerning the catholic faith and the ſacraments of the church, viz. of baptiſm, confirmation, penance, orders, marriage, euchariſt, and extreme unction, as alſo about eccleſiaſtical ceremonies, and the honour and worſhip of the virgin Mary and the ſaints, alſo of the maſs, and it's efficacy; where Catherine Cawches, and her two daughters, Perotine and Guillemine, being called together, and ſeparately, according to law; and although often deſired and exhorted to confeſs their faults and aſk pardon, yet they obſtinately denied whatever they had formerly ſaid vilely and diſhoneſtly againſt the catholic faith, the ſacraments of the church, and other eccleſiaſtical ceremonies; wherefore their denial, atteſtation, and depoſition, being heard, and we ſeeing, conſidering, and well weighing the evidence againſt them; as alſo the opinions of the curates and vicars there aſſiſting, have found and do declare the ſaid Catherine and Perotine, as alſo Guillemine, to be guilty of hereſy; wherefore we command them back from whence they came."

Thomas le Coll, Peter Tardiſe,
John Alles, John Manatiel.
William Panquet,

When this was done, the king's officers were commanded to go to the caſtle to fetch the ſaid women, to hear the ſentence againſt them in the preſence aforeſaid. And they appearing before them, ſaid in the ears of all the auditory, that they would ſee their accuſers, and know them that have depoſed againſt them, becauſe they might make anſwers to their ſayings and perſonages, and to have their libel accordingly; for they knew that they had not offended the majeſties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but intirely would obey, ſerve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true ſubjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king's and queen's laws that they had done, they required juſtice. Notwithſtanding all which their reaſons and allegations, the ſaid poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt until they were conſumed to aſhes, according to a ſentence given by Elier Goſſelin, bailiff: of which ſentence the ſubſtance here followeth:

"Catherine Cawches, Perotine Maſſey, and Guillemine Gilbert, are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be conſumed to aſhes in the place accuſtomed, with the confiſcation of all their goods, moveables and heritages, to be in the hands of the king and queen's majeſties, according and after the effect of a ſentence delivered in juſtice by the dean and the curates, the 17th day of July, 1556, in which they have been approved heretics." In the preſence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas Deviſe, John le Merchant, &c. jurates.

After which ſentence pronounced, the ſaid women appealed to the king and queen, and their honourable council, ſaying, That againſt reaſon and right they were condemned, and for that cauſe they made their appeal; notwithſtanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the ſaid bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to ſee the execution done on them according to the ſaid ſentence.

The time then being come when theſe innocents ſhould ſuffer, in the place where they ſhould conſummate their martyrdom were three ſtakes ſet up. At the middle poſt was the mother, the eldeſt daughter on the right hand, the youngeſt on the other. They were firſt ſtrangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and ſo the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her ſide, where happened a rueful ſight, not only to the eyes of all that ſtood there, but alſo to the ears of all true-hearted chriſtians that ſhall read this hiſtory. For as the belly of the woman burſt aſunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and being immediately taken out by one W. Houſe, was laid upon the graſs.

Then was the child carried to the provoſt, and from him to the bailiff, who gave order, that it ſhould be carried back again and caſt into the fire. And ſo the infant baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent ſaints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never ſaw, a ſpectacle wherein the whole world may ſee the Herodian cruelty of this graceleſs generation of popiſh tormentors, to their perpetual ſhame and infamy.

Now forſomuch as this ſtory, perhaps for the horrible ſtrangeneſs of the fact, will be hardly believed by ſome, but rather thought to be forged, or elſe more amplified by me than truth will bear me out, therefore to diſcharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this ſtory by the faithful relation both of the French and Engliſh, of them which were there preſent witneſſes and lookers on, but alſo have hitherto annexed the true ſupplication of the ſaid inhabitants of Guernſey, and of the brother of the ſaid two ſiſters, complaining to the queen and her commiſſioners, concerning the horribleneſs of the act; which ſupplication for the more evidence, hereunder followeth.

To the Right Honourable *the* Queen's *moſt gracious* Commiſſioners, *for the bearing and determining of* Matters *of* Religion, *and* Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

MOST lamentably and wofully complaining, ſheweth unto your gracious and honourable lordſhips, your poor and humble orator Matthew Cawches, of the iſle of Guernſey, that where James Amy, clerk, dean of the iſle aforeſaid, aſſiſted by the curates there, againſt all order, law, and reaſon, by colour of a ſentence of hereſy, pronounced againſt Catherine Cawches, the ſiſter of your honours ſaid ſupplicant, and Perotine and Guillemine her two daughters, did cauſe the ſaid Catherine, being a poor widow, and her ſaid two daughters, moſt cruelly to be burned, although the ſaid perſons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly againſt the eccleſiaſtical laws then in place, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things ſubmitted themſelves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the ſaid dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating ſuch murder as aforeſaid, raged ſo far, that whereas, whilſt the ſaid perſons did conſume with violent fire, the womb of the ſaid Perotine being burnt, there did iſſue from her a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and after in a moſt deſpiteful manner thrown into the fire, and there alſo with the innocent mother cruelly burnt: in tender conſideration whereof, and foraſmuch as this bloody murder was not in due form of any law, or in any manner according to juſtice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceeding in this matter, by the ſaid dean and his accomplices, here ready to be ſhewed to your honours, will make very plain and manifeſt: may it therefore pleaſe your good and gracious lordſhips, of the zeal that you bear to juſtice, and for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to have due conſideration in juſtice of ſuch horrible murder, ſo crully committed as aforeſaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may pleaſe your honourable lordſhips to order and decree alſo, that all the goods of the ſaid parties, by pretence aforeſaid wrongfully taken as confiſcate, may be delivered to your ſaid poor beſeecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your honours' ſaid ſuppliant will daily pray to God for your long preſervation, to his glory, and your everlaſting health.

This ſupplication being preſented in manner aforeſaid to the queen's honourable commiſſioners, in the year 1562, ſuch order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the ſaid country, further to be examined, the dean was committed to priſon, and diſpoſſeſſed of all his livings. So that in concluſion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conſcience, or for fear of the law, were driven to acknowledge their treſpaſs, and to ſubmit themſelves to the queen's mercy. The tenor of whoſe ſeveral ſubmiſſions, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought proper here to publiſh to the world, for a memorial of the truth of this ſtory.

The ſeveral Submiſſions *of certain* Guernſey Men, *confeſſing their* Treſpaſs *in the wrongful* Condemnation *of the three* Women *above ſpecified.*

ELIER GOSSELINE, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, in Guernſey, merchant, Nicholas Cary, the elder, John Merchant, Peter Bonany, of the pariſh of St. Martin, and Nicholas Martin, ſon of John, having humbly ſubmitted themſelves to the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, acknowledging their erroneous judgments, as well againſt Catherine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine her two daughters, and the infant of the ſaid Perotine, executed by fire for ſuppoſed hereſy, as alſo for the acquitting of Nicholas Norman, a wilful murderer, and other matters contained in their ſeveral ſubmiſſions; pray the pardon of the queen's majeſty for the ſaid crimes and others committed in their ſeveral ſubmiſſions.

John Blundel, the elder, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, within the iſle of Guernſey, upon like ſubmiſſion, and acknowledging of his offence, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent given to the execution of the ſaid three women.

Richard Devicke, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon for his conſent and judgment given for the acquitting of the ſaid Norman, according to his ſupplication and ſubmiſſion late preſented by Peter Bonamy, the ſame Devicke, and Peter Pelley, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, merchant.

The ſaid Peter Pelley prayeth the benefit of the ſaid pardon to be extended unto him, according to his ſubmiſſion in the ſaid ſupplication.

James Amy, clerk, prayeth the benefit of the ſaid pardon for his ſentence with the clergy againſt the ſaid women, according to his ſubmiſſion.

Thomas Effart, of the pariſh of St. Peter le Port, humbly prayeth, as procurator lawfully conſtituted by the chapter, bailiff, and jurates, that the ſame pardon may extend to acquit all the inhabitants of the ſaid iſle of their arrears, &c.

The Copy *of the* Queen's Pardon *to them of* Guernſey.

THE Queen, to all unto whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Be it known unto you, that We of Our ſpecial favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven; and for Us, Our heirs, and ſucceſſors, by theſe preſents do pardon, remit, and forgive, Elier Goſſeline, of the pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within the ſaid iſland of Guernſey, merchant; John Blundel, the elder, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, in the aforeſaid iſland of Guernſey, merchant; Nicholas Cary, the elder, of the aforeſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within the ſaid iſle of Guernſey, merchant: John Merchant, of the ſaid pariſh and iſland, gentleman; Nicholas Martin, ſon of John, of the ſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within the aforeſaid iſland of Guernſey, merchant; Richard Devicke, of the ſaid Pariſh of St. Peter's Port, within the aforeſaid iſland of Guernſey, merchant; Peter Pelley, of the ſaid pariſh of St. Peter's Port, in the aforeſaid iſland of Guernſey, merchant; and James Amy, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, within the ſaid iſland of Guernſey, clerk; and to all of them jointly and ſeparately, whether by any other name or names, ſirnames or additional name or ſirname of trades, arts, or places, the ſame Elier, Nicholas Cary, John, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Peter and James, are known, called, or named, or by any other name, ſirname, or additional name, or ſirname of degree, trade, art, or place, any of the ſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard, Peter and James are known, called, or named, or lately were known, called, or named, all and all manner of murder, man-ſlaughter, felony, and felonious killings of Catherine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine, daughters of the ſaid Catherine, of every one of theſe, and the acceſſaries of them, and all and ſingular felonies, inſultings, ſtrikings, woundings, burnings, tranſgreſſions, offences, riots, routs, unlawful meetings, aſſemblings, gatherings together, plottings, conſpiracies, acceſſary helps, combinings, procurings, abettings, ſtrengthenings and ſupportings, concealments, forfeits, contempts, aſſaultings, neglects, and whatever other evil deeds done appertaining to the murder, man-ſlaughter, and felonious killing of the aforeſaid Catherine, Guillemine, and Perotine, or any of them, in any part or concern by the aforeſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them, by reaſon, or occaſion of the murder, man-ſlaughter, or felonious killing of the aforeſaid, done or practiſed, and that ſo fully and intirely, and in ſo ample a manner and form as if every one of the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, had ſeparately Our letters patent of pardon.

Alſo we have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven, and by theſe preſents do pardon, remit, and forgive, for Us, Our heirs and ſucceſſors, the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, James Amy, and every one of their heirs, executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, their neglects, all and all manner of incroachments, breakings and enterings, by all or ſome of them, or by the proxies, agents or miniſters of all or any of them, in all and ſingular our manors, lands, tenements, poſſeſſions, and hereditaments whatſoever, and whereſoever lying within the aforeſaid iſland of Guernſey, lately chauntries, guilds, cloiſters or colleges of Our's, or any one or more of Our predeceſſors, before the 17th of November, in the firſt year of Our reign, done, performed or committed; and all and ſingular debts, returns, accompts, arrears, collections, receivings, detainings, and duties of grain, and other returns, outgoings, or profits whatſoever, to Us or any one of Our predeceſſors for the ſaid chauntries, guilds, cloiſters or colleges, one or all of them, in whatever manner before the aforeſaid 17th day of November, in the firſt year of Our reign, owing, belonging, or appertaining.

We have pardoned, remitted and forgiven, and of Our ſpecial favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion to the aforeſaid, for Us, Our heirs and ſucceſſors, by theſe preſents do pardon, remit and forgive the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, and Richard Devicke, and each of them, the freedom, flight, eſcape, and reſtoring to his liberty Nicholas Norman, lately of the pariſh of St. Saviour within the aforeſaid iſland, yeoman, of man-ſlaughter or murder lately judged, attainted and convicted, being for the killing or murdering of John Breghault, of the ſaid pariſh of St. Saviour, within the iſland aforeſaid, huſbandman, but all and all manner of felonies, crimes, offences, puniſhments, deaths, penalties, forfeits, contempts, neglects, ignorance, and other faults and offences whatſoever, touching or in any manner concerning the aforeſaid eſcape, flight, and ſetting at liberty of the aforeſaid Nicholas Norman, by the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, and Richard Devicke, or any one or more of them, before this preſent day, after what manner ſoever practiſed, done, committed or happened.

Alſo, We have pardoned, remitted, and forgiven, and by theſe preſents, of Our certain knowledge and mere motion, for Us, Our heirs and ſucceſſors, do pardon, remit, and forgive the aforeſaid Elier Goſſeline, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, all and all manner of riots, routs, unlawful meeting, and gatherings together to the diſturbance of Our peace, by the aforeſaid Elier, Nicholas Cary, John Merchant, Nicholas Martin, John Blundel, Richard Devicke, Peter Pelley, and James Amy, or any one or more of them before this in whatſoever manner within the aforeſaid iſland, practiſed, committed, done, or perpetrated, &c.

A Defence of the foregoing Hiſtory of Guernſey, *againſt* Mr. Harding.

THUS have you the true narration of this hiſtory, diſcourſed without corrupting or falſifying any part or ſentence thereof, no leſs faithfully on my part reported, than I received of them, who dwelling in the ſame iſle, and being preſent the ſame time, were beſt acquainted with the matter, and have given ſufficient evidence not only to me, but alſo to the queen's highneſs's commiſſioners, concerning the ſame, as both by the letter of the bailiff, by the ſentence of the dean, by the ſupplication of the plaintiff, and ſubmiſſion of the parties, and likewiſe by the queen's pardon granted unto them, may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumſtances thus debated, it remaineth manifeſt for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong was wrought againſt theſe poor women above ſpecified, and no leſs matter offered, in a caſe ſo unjuſt, juſtly to expoſtulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of theſe men, but eſpecially of the Romiſh clergy of Guernſey, who profeſſing the goſpel of peace and charity, ſhould after the example of Chriſt, walk in the ſteps of meekneſs and mercy, and yet contrary, not only to all chriſtian charity and good nature, but alſo againſt all order of equity or humanity, were ſo extreme and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretended colour of hereſy. Who if they had been heretics indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the error, and ſaved life: equity would have conſidered man's frailty and weakneſs, at leaſt true juſtice would have heard both the parties adviſedly, and alſo ſubſtantially have ſurveyed the cauſe, and not have thundered out the ſentence of death ſo haſtily as they did: yea, and though they had been heretics indeed, yet true chriſtian charity would have ſtretched farther, and at leaſt have given them leiſure and reſpite of time to reclaim themſelves. But now, what is here to be ſaid? they being no heretics at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can be proved. For if king Edward's religion (which was objected to them) were hereſy, yet were they then no heretics, when they revoked the ſame; and if queen Mary's religion were hereſy, then were they much more heretics themſelves, who condemned them for hereſy.

But moſt of all we have herein to wonder at Mr. Harding, who in his late Rejoinder, written againſt the biſhop of Saliſbury, notwithſtanding all theſe evidences and demonſtrations ſo certain and manifeſtly appearing, yet goeth about firſt to deny the ſtory, terming it to be a fable; and afterwards being forced to fly from denying it, to admit the ſtory, he ſtrives to turn it another way; and ſeeking by all means to clear the clergy from the ſpot of cruelty, transferreth the whole blame only upon the women that ſuffered, but principally upon poor Perotine, whom he ſpecially chargeth with two capital crimes, viz. whoredom and murder.

And firſt, touching his accuſation of whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter: "Becauſe (ſaith he) by ſtory it is granted, that ſhe was with child: and yet the hiſtoriographer doth not declare (neither durſt for ſhame) who was her huſband or father to the child," &c. As though the hiſtoriographer, being occupied in ſetting forth the perſecution of God's people, ſuffering death for the religion and doctrine of Chriſt, were bound, or had nothing elſe to do but to play the ſumner, and to bring forth who were huſbands to their wives, and fathers to their children; which new-found law of hiſtory was never required before, nor obſerved by any writers. If Mr. Harding now ſhall exact of me, firſt let him begin with himſelf, and ſhew us (as wiſe as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary but his mother was an honeſt woman. And no leſs alſo do I think of this Perotine aforeſaid; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling objection of Mr. Harding, who beareth the reader in hand, as though "for ſhame I durſt not, or of purpoſe would not expreſs it," &c. My anſwer whereunto is this: Firſt, To expreſs every minute of matter in every ſtory occurrent, what ſtory-writer in the world is able to perform it? Secondly, Although it might be done, what reaſonable reader will require it? Thirdly, Albeit ſome curious readers would ſo require it, yet I ſuppoſe it neither requiſite nor convenient to be obſerved. And, fourthly, What if it were not remembered by the author? what if it were to him unknown? what if it were of purpoſe omitted, as a matter not material to the purpoſe? Many other cauſes beſides might incur, which the reader knoweth not of. And ſhall it then by and by be imputed to ſhame, whatſoever in every narration is not expreſſed? or doth Mr. Harding himſelf, in all his ſermons, never omit any thing that might conveniently be inferred? Who was the huſband of this Perotine, the hiſtoriographer hath not expreſſed, I grant: and what thereof? Ergo, thereupon concludeth he, That for ſhame I durſt not. Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durſt not for ſhame utter ſuch untidy arguments, or ſo aſſeverantly pronounce of another man's mind and purpoſe, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown what was her huſband's name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the ſtory to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, who burned both the mother and infant together, though the infant's father had been expreſſed? And how then did I for ſhame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to expreſs, nor in my ſuſpicion to miſdeem?

Nevertheleſs, if he be ſo greatly deſirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me who was this infant's father, I will not ſtick with Mr. Harding, although I cannot ſwear for the matter, yet to take ſo much pain for his pleaſure to go as near as I may. For preciſely and determinately to point out the right father, either of this or any child, I ſuppoſe, neither will Mr. Harding require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himſelf, being aſked, to demonſtrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to ſatiſfy his dainty deſire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman concerning this demand, Who ſhould be the infant's father? Who, ſay I, but his own mother's huſband: the name of which huſband was David Jores, a miniſter, and married to the ſaid Perotine, in king Edward's time, in the church of our Lady's Caſtle pariſh, at Guernſey; the party which married them being named Mr. Noel Regner, a Frenchman, and yet alive, witneſs hereunto, and now dwelling in London, in St. Martins-le-grand.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have ſhewed forth, for Mr. Harding's pleaſure, the right huſband of this Perotine, and what was his name, who was alſo alive, his wife being great with child, and partaker of the perſecution of the ſame time, and a ſchoolmaſter afterwards in Normandy, &c. Now if Mr. Harding can take any ſuch advantage hereof to diſprove what I have ſaid, or be ſo privy to the begetting of this child, that he can prove the ſaid David Jores, who was the right huſband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him ſhew herein his cunning by what mighty demonſtrations he can induce us to think the contrary; and as I ſhall ſee his reaſon, I ſhall ſhape him an anſwer in ſuch ſort (I truſt) that he will perceive, that whoredom, whereſoever I may know it, ſhall find no ſupport by me; I wiſh it might find as little amongſt the chaſte catholics of Mr. Harding's church.

From this I proceed to the ſecond part of his infamous accuſation, wherein he chargeth her of murder. A ſtrange caſe, that ſhe which was murdered herſelf with her child, and died before him, ſhould yet be accuſed to murder the child. Murder, doubtleſs, is an horrible iniquity in any perſon; but the mother to be the murderer of her own infant, is a double abomination, and more than a monſter, ſo far diſagreeing from all nature, that it is not lightly to be ſurmiſed of any one, without vehement cauſes of manifeſt probation.

Wherefore to try out this matter more thoroughly, touching this murdering mother, let us ſee, Firſt, What hand did ſhe lay upon the child? None. What weapon had ſhe? None. Did ſhe then drown it, or caſt it into ſome pond, as we read of the ſtrumpets at Rome, whoſe children's heads were taken up in pope Gregory's mote by hundreds, when prieſts began firſt to be reſtrained of lawful wedlock? Or elſe did ſhe throw it by the walls into ſome private corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the eighth year of queen Elizabeth, certain ſcalps and other young infants' bones were found and taken out with a ſtick in the hole of a ſtone wall, in Lenton Abbey, by certain gentlemen within the county of Nottingham, James Baruſſe, Richard Loveit, and W. Lovelace, walking in the prior chamber; witneſs the ſaid W. Lovelace, with others who ſaw the bones aforeſaid? Or otherwiſe, did ſhe take any hurtful drink to poiſon the child within her, as commonly it is reported few nunneries to have been in England, wherein ſuch a tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practiſing of ſuch a purpoſe? Neither ſo, nor ſo. What then? did ſhe purpoſely and wittingly thruſt herſelf into jeopardy, to the deſtruction of her child, when ſhe needed not, as Pope Joan, when ſhe might have kept her bed, would needs adventure forth in proceſſion, where both ſhe and her infant periſhed in the open ſtreet?

Well, then, thus much by this hitherto alledged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accuſed of murdering her own child, who neither laid hand upon it, nor uſed weapon againſt it; neither uſed any other practice in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poiſoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to deſtroy it. And how then? By what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forſooth (ſaith Mr. Harding) when ſhe was accuſed and condemned to be burnt, ſhe did not claim the benefit of her belly, whereby the life both of herſelf for the time might have been delayed, and the child preſerved.

Whether ſhe did or no, I have not perfectly to ſay; no more, I ſuppoſe, hath Mr. Harding. However, this is certain, and by witneſs known, that ſhe uttered no leſs to her ſpiritual father in confeſſion. And what if ſhe had opened the ſame to the judges? They would (ſaid he) have ſpared her life for the time, and ſo the innocent had been preſerved. And how is Mr. Harding ſure of this, more than was the life ſpared of the young lady, and ſometime the miſtreſs, of Mr. Harding, who ſuffered notwithſtanding ſhe was reported of ſome to be with child; becauſe the law (ſaith he) is beneficial to women in her caſe, claiming the benefit thereof.

The law ſo giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatſoever the law giveth or preſcribeth, the ſame to be put in execution.

But many times the law goeth as it pleaſeth them which have the handling of the law. As for example; the law willeth none to be condemned by ſentence of death for hereſy, which the firſt time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law, they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like law, none to be executed for hereſy, before the writ be ſent down *De Comburendo*, and yet contrary to this law, without any ſuch writ, as far as I yet underſtand, they burnt her moſt cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of theſe men, who in their doings herein ſeemed neither to obſerve law, nor to regard honeſty, nor much to care for charity? And although ſhe had claimed ever ſo much the privilege of the law, what had that availed with thoſe men, whoſe hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) ſeemed to be for the houſehold goods of theſe unfortunate women, which after their death they immediately incroached into their own hands.

But be it admitted, that ſhe neither demanded this benefit of the law, nor that the judges would ever have denied her if ſhe had ſo done; yet it had been the part of a grave accuſer, before he had deſcended into ſuch a railing action of murder againſt a poor woman now dead and gone, firſt to have adviſed wiſely with himſelf whether it might be, that ſhe had no ſuch intelligence what benefit the law would have given, in caſe it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought, rather yea than no, that the ſimple woman, brought up all her life-time in her mother's houſe, in an obſcure iſland, and in ſuch an out-corner of the realm, far off from the court, and practice of Engliſh laws, never heard before of any ſuch benefit of the law; and therefore, upon mere ſimplicity, and for want of ſkill, required it not, becauſe ſhe knew not what to require. Peradventure alſo her ſenſes might be ſo aſtoniſhed with the greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. Certainly it had been the duty of the judges, who knew the law, and could not be ignorant of her caſe, to have queſtioned her thereof, and to have helped her ſimplicity in that behalf. Or, at leaſt, if they had diſdained, yet it had been the prieſt's part, as her ſpiritual father, and privy thereunto, either to have inſtructed her, or to have ſtaid the execution of her death, in order to preſerve the child.

But Mr. Harding denieth all this; and, to aggravate the matter, inferreth, that ſhe not of any ſimple unſkilfulneſs of the law, "but only of mere wilfulneſs, for avoiding of worldly ſhame, concealed her turpitude, and ſo became a murderer of her babe," &c. Theſe are the words of Mr. Harding, written by him not of any ſure ground, but only upon his catholic conjecture; for other demonſtration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore, to anſwer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again: That in caſe ſhe had been aſked the queſtion by the judges and inquiſitors, whether ſhe had been with child, and then denied the ſame; or if ſhe, by any other colourable means, had cloaked her being pregnant, whereby it ſhould not appear, this accuſer might have ſpoken probable advantage againſt her. Now, as ſhe was never demanded of their parts any ſuch queſtion, nor did ever deny any ſuch matter; ſo to anſwer this man with as good probability, I hold, that in caſe they had required that matter of her, ſhe would never have denied it. And therefore whereas ſhe is accuſed for her not uttering of her being with child; why may ſhe not, by as good reaſon, again be defended for not denying the ſame?

But ſhe ſhould have uttered it, ſaith he. It had been well done, ſaid I; and I would ſhe had: but yet that is not the queſtion between him and me, what ſhe ſhould have done, but why ſhe did it not. Mr. Harding, wandering in his blind ſurmiſes, fancieth the cauſe only to be, "for hiding her diſhoneſty, and for that ſhe would not ſhame the goſpel." To this effect tendeth all his accuſation.

Perotine being big with child, at her condemnation did not ſhew it to the judges:

Therefore, ſhe did it to conceal her turpitude, and becauſe ſhe would not ſhame the goſpel.

But here this accuſer muſt underſtand, if he has not forgot his logic, that ſuch arguments which do truly hold *a ſignis*, do always preſuppoſe, that the ſigns which go before the things ſignified, muſt be neceſſary, perpetual, and firm, as is between cauſes natural and their effects. Otherwiſe, if the ſigns be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm conſequent can proceed therefrom.

Now, if the ſaid accuſer ſhould be put to his proof, how to juſtify his ſequel to be true by evident demonſtration, that ſhe did it only for covering her diſhoneſty, I ſuppoſe verily he ſhould be found to ſay more than he is able to make good, and in concluſion ſhould be brought into the like caſe as were the phariſees, who coming to accuſe the adultereſs before Chriſt, went away mute, with as much ſhame out of the temple, as the woman came in, having not one word to anſwer. For a man to pronounce aſſuredly upon the ſecret thought and intent, either of man or woman, farther than by utterance of ſpeech is to him ſignified, paſſeth his capacity, and is to be left only to him, who is a God ſearching the heart and the reins.

But foraſmuch as Mr. Harding worketh, as I ſaid, by ſurmiſes, confirming every thing to the worſt, let us ſee what may be ſurmiſed as much to the contrary, concerning the quality of this ſurmiſed murder; wherein divers things are to be conſidered, as hereunder followeth.

The firſt conjecture is this, That ſuch manner of women, who for worldly ſhame are diſpoſed to murder their children, have other ways to compaſs that wickedneſs, than by keeping ſilence. Now, concerning Perotine's going to be burnt, neither could this ſilence ſave her, if ſhe would, from worldly ſhame; nor is it to be thought any ſuch intent ever to be in her, as to murder her child; as appeared in her mother's houſe, where if ſhe had continued her time out, ſhe intended no leſs but honeſtly to be brought to bed, and to nurſe her child, not caring for the ſhame of the world, nor fearing any ſlander to the goſpel. Whereby may be urged that no intent of murder was ever in her thought.

For how is it likely that ſhe, who had gone ſo long with child, almoſt to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that time, ſhould now, going to her death, mind more hurt to her child, than ſhe did before, hoping herſelf to live?

Secondly, How knoweth Mr. Harding to the contrary, but that ſhe was known in the town to be with child, and went boldly abroad without note of any ſhame, before the time ſhe came in trouble? Which being true, ſhame then could be no cauſe why ſhe ſhould conceal her child more after condemnation than ſhe did before ſhe was condemned.

Thirdly, Admit the caſe it was not known before, what advantage thereby ſhould ariſe to her, being appointed to die, by concealing her being pregnant? She ſhould have avoided (ſaith Mr. Harding) the public ſhame and ſlander of the world, in that none ſhould have known her to be with child. Firſt, what ſhame was it for a married wife to be noted to be with child? Again, what profit had that been to her, to avoid the ſhame and fame of the world, being now condemned to die?

Fourthly, How is it like, that for ſhame ſhe meant to conceal that from the world, which both knew ſhe ſhould not live in the world, and alſo ſhould ſuffer that kind of death whereby her child could not be hidden from the ſight of the world, though ſhe had gone about ever ſo much to conceal it?

Fifthly, How is it to be thought that any woman going to ſuch a ſharp puniſhment of fire to be conſumed, would let for any worldly ſhame to reſcue her own life from ſo bitter a torment, at leaſt ſo long as ſhe might, beſide the ſafeguard alſo of her child, if by any means ſhe had known a remedy?

Sixthly, Foraſmuch as Mr. Harding doth ſo heinouſly charge her with the wilful murdering of her own natural child, let all indifferent conſciences conſider this, what was the cauſe that moved her ſo willingly to recant as ſhe did, but partly to ſave her own life, and eſpecially the poor innocent. Whereby it is manifeſt to be underſtood, what a motherly affection ſhe had to ſave her infant, if the father of the ſpirituality had not been ſo cruel, againſt all order of law, to caſt both her and her child away, notwithſtanding her ſaid recantation.

Seventhly and laſtly, When Mr. Harding hath inveighed all he can againſt this poor woman, yet it is all the ſame but a bye-matter from this principal purpoſe pretended, ſuppoſing thereby, through his depraving of her, to juſtify and excuſe the pope's holy clergy, who wrought her death. Which will not be: for whatſoever her life was beſides, yet foraſmuch as the cauſe of her death and condemnation was neither for theſt, whoredom, nor murder, but only and merely for religion, which deſerved no death; I therefore having in my ſtory no further to deal, as I ſaid before, ſo do I ſay again, that the cauſe of her condemnation was wrongful, her death was cruel, the ſight of the babe rueful, and the proceeding of the judges unlawful: the whole ſtory is pitiful; and the prieſts and clergy were the principal authors. All which being conſidered and well expended, I truſt Mr. Harding may ſtand well contented: or, if he thinks murder to be a thing which ought not to be lightly paſſed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly, without affection of partiality, where the true murder lieth, whether in the poor woman, who, with her child, was murdered, or in them, who, without all law and conſcience, brought them both to death.

Briefly and finally to conclude with this man, whatſoever the woman was, ſhe is now gone. To bite ſo bitterly againſt the dead, is little honeſty. And tho' the accuſation had in it ſome truth, yet this accuſation here needed not. The ſame being falſe, is too unmerciful: at leaſt, being doubtful, and unknown to him, charity would have judged the beſt; humanity would have ſpared the dead, and if he could not afford her his good word, yet he might have left her cauſe unto the Lord, who ſhall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead he findeth in his maſs, but to backbite the dead, he neither findeth in his maſs, mattins, nor even-ſong: and no doubt but in his Dirige and commendations he commendeth many a one, leſs deſerving to be commended than this woman, let catholic affection be ſet aſide. And though the merits of her cauſe deſerved not his commendations, yet ſhe never deſerved at Mr. Harding's hand ſuch unmerciful treatment after her departure. Cruelty ſhe ſuffered enough alive, without Mr. Harding adding to her former afflictions: notwithſtanding he hurteth not her, but himſelf; nor ſtaineth her honeſty ſo much as he blemiſheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned men, in time paſt, ever to be more ready with their defending oration, than to accuſe. If they did at any time accuſe, it was when forced: neither did they accuſe any but ſuch as were alive, and then only in ſuch matters where either the common-wealth or themſelves were vehemently affected.

Now if this grieve him ſo greatly, becauſe in my ſtory I have termed her to be a martyr, let him conſider the cauſe wherefore ſhe ſuffered, being neither for felony, murder, nor whoredom, but only for the religion in king Edward's time received; and when he hath confuted that religion, I ſhall croſs her out of the book and fellowſhip of martyrs. In the mean time, my exhortation to Mr. Harding ſhall be this:

Firſt, That if he muſt needs become a writer in theſe furious and outrageous days of ours, he will ſeaſon his vein of writings with more mildneſs and charity, and not give ſuch example of railing to others.

Secondly, That he will moderate his judging and condemning of others with more equity and indifferency, and not be ſo raſh and partial. For if ſhe be accounted a murderer, who ſo carefully went about, by recantation, to ſave both herſelf and child from the fire; what is to be ſaid of them who ſo cruelly condemned her, and cauſed both her and her infant to be burned, although ſhe had (as I ſaid) recanted. Yet ſo partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out ſo intemperately againſt the woman and child that were burned, he ſpake never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Thirdly, Forſomuch as Mr. Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and caſting away young children's lives, I would wiſh, that as he hath ſifted the doings of this woman to the uttermoſt, who was murdered, inſtead of being a murderer; he would look with an indifferent eye on the other ſide, upon them of his own clergy, and ſee what he could find amongſt thoſe wilful contemners of immaculate marriage. I do not accuſe any of incontinency whoſe lives I know not; but there is one above that well knoweth and ſeeth all things, be they ever ſo ſecret to man, and moſt certainly at length will pay home with fire and brimſtone, when he ſeeth his time.

I ſay no more, and not ſo much as I might, following herein the painters, who when their colours will not ſerve to expreſs a thing that they mean, ſhadow it with a veil. But howſoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be ſuſpected touching this crime aforeſaid of infanticide; moſt ſure and manifeſt it is that they are more than worthily to be accuſed of homicide in murdering the children and ſervants of God, both men and women, wives and maids, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, diſcreet and ſimple innocents, learned and unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high archbiſhop to the clerk and ſexton of the church, and that moſt wrongfully and wilfully, with ſuch effuſion of innocent chriſtian blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Mr. Harding, in my mind, ſhould do well to ſpare a little time from his invectives, wherewith he impeacheth the poor proteſtants of murder, whom they have murdered themſelves, and exerciſe his pen with more fruitful matter, to exhort theſe ſpiritual fathers firſt to ceaſe from murdering their own children, to ſpare the blood of innocents, and not to perſecute Chriſt ſo cruelly in his members as they do: and furthermore, to exhort in like manner theſe Agamiſts, and wilful rejecters of matrimony, to take themſelves to lawful wives, and not to reſiſt God's holy ordinance, nor encounter his inſtitution with another contrary inſtitution of their own deviſing, leſt perhaps they being prevented by fragility, may fall into danger of ſuch inconveniences above hinted; which if they be not in them I ſhall be glad; but if they be, it is not their railing againſt the poor proteſtants, nor yet their ſecret auricular confeſſion, that ſhall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he ſhall come to reveal the hidden things of darkneſs, and judge the world by fire.

And thus, for lack of further leiſure, I end with Mr. Harding; having no more at this time to ſay unto him, but wiſh him to fear God, to embrace his truth, to remember himſelf, and to ceaſe from this uncharitable railing, eſpecially againſt the dead, which cannot anſwer him; or if he will needs continue ſtill to be ſuch a vehement accuſer of others, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuſer: Firſt, That his accuſation be true; Secondly, That no blind affection of partiality be mixed with it; Thirdly, Whoſoever taketh upon him to carp at, and impeach the crimes of others, ought themſelves to be ſincere and upright, and to ſee what may be written in their own foreheads.

Whoredom and murder are grievous offences, and worthy to be accuſed: but to accuſe of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other perſons untouched that were the true murderers, is the part of an accuſer, who deſerveth himſelf to be accuſed of partiality.

As verily I think by this woman, that if ſhe had been a catholic papiſt, and a devout follower of their church, as ſhe was a proteſtant, ſhe had neither been condemned by them alive, nor accuſed by Mr. Harding when dead. But God forgive him, and make him a good man, if it be his will.

An Account of three Martyrs, *burnt at* Greenstead, *in* Sussex.

NEAR about the ſame time that theſe three women, and the infant, were burnt at Guernſey, ſuffered three likewiſe at Greenſtead, in Suſſex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, who for righteouſneſs' ſake gave themſelves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could ſay or work againſt them, ending their lives at the ſaid town of Greenſtead, on the 18th of July, and in the year aforeſaid.

An Account of the Martyrdom *of* THOMAS MOOR, *in the* Town *of* Leiceſter, June 26, 1556.

AS the bloody rage of this perſecution ſpared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, lame nor blind, and as there was no difference either of age or ſex conſidered, ſo neither was there any condition or quality reſpected of any perſon; but whoſoever he were that held not as they did on the pope and the ſacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wiſe, ſimple, or innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this ſimple poor creature and innocent poor ſoul, named Thomas Moor, retained as a ſervant in the town of Leiceſter, about 24 years of age, and after the manner of a huſbandman; who, for ſpeaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pyx, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends. Who coming before his ordinary, was firſt aſked, Whether he did not believe his Maker to be there, pointing to the high altar. Which he denied.

How then, ſaid the biſhop, doſt thou believe?

The young man anſwered, As my creed doth teach me.

Then ſaid the biſhop, And what is yonder that thou ſeeſt above the altar?

He anſwered, Forſooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to ſee. I ſee there fine clothes, with golden taſſels, and other gay matters hanging about the pyx: what is within I cannot ſee.

Why, doſt thou not believe, ſaid the biſhop, Chriſt to be there, fleſh, blood, and bone?

No, that I do not, ſaid he.

Whereupon the ordinary making ſhort with him, read the ſentence, and ſo condemned the faithful ſervant of Chriſt to death in St. Margaret's church in Leiceſter; who was burnt, and ſuffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom for the teſtimony of righteouſneſs, in the ſame town, about the 26th day of June, 1556.

To this Thomas Moor, we have alſo annexed the examination and anſwers of one John Jackſon, before Dr. Cook, one of the commiſſioners, for it belongeth near unto the ſame time.

The

The Examination *of* JOHN JACKSON, *before* Dr. COOK, March 11, 1556.

FIRST, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic.

I anſwered and ſaid, I am no heretic.

Cook. Yes, thou art. For Mr. Read told me, that thou wert the rankeſt heretic of all of them in the King's Bench.

Jackſon. I know him not.

Cook. No? Yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench.

Jackſon. He examined five others, but not me.

Cook. Then anſwer me: what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Tell me.

Jackſon. It is a vague queſtion, to aſk me at the firſt ſetting off.

Cook. What an heretic is this!

Jackſon. It is eaſier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one.

Cook. What church art thou of?

Jackſon. What church? I am of the ſame church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head cornerſtone.

Cook. Thou art an heretic.

Jackſon. How can that be, ſeeing that I am of that church? I am ſure that you will not ſay that the prophets and apoſtles were heretics.

Cook. No. But what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar again? Tell me.

Jackſon. I find it not written.

Cook. No? Keeper, away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I ſaid, Sir, I am content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.

Dr. Cook anſwered and ſaid to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not.

Jackſon. Yea, that I do.

Cook. Whereby?

Jackſon. Hereby, ſaid I. Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, "Search the ſcriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that teſtify of me."

Cook. This is a wiſe proof.

Jackſon. Is it ſo? What ſay you then to theſe words that the prophet David ſaid? "Whatſoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will ſhew him the way that he hath choſen: his ſoul ſhall dwell at eaſe, and his ſeed ſhall poſſeſs the land. The ſecrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he ſheweth them his covenant."

Cook. Well, you ſhall be rid ſhortly one way or other.

Jackſon. My life lieth not in men's hands, therefore no man ſhall do more unto me than God will ſuffer him.

Cook. No? Thou art a ſtubborn and naughty fellow.

Jackſon. You cannot ſo judge of me, except you did ſee ſome evil by me.

Cook. No? Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papiſts?

Jackſon. Why, that is no judgment: but Chriſt ſaith, "If you refuſe me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have ſpoken unto you now, ſhall judge you in the laſt day."

Cook. I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?

Jackſon. Chriſt is the head.

Cook. But who is head on earth?

Jackſon. Chriſt hath members here on earth.

Cook. Who are they?

Jackſon. They that are ruled by the word of God.

Cook. You are a good fellow.

Jackſon. I am that I am.

Then Dr. Cook ſaid to my keeper, Have him to priſon again.

I am contented with that, ſaid I, and ſo we departed.

I anſwer no further in this matter, becauſe I thought he ſhould not have my blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time ſhall come, before the congregation I ſhall ſhake their building after another manner of faſhion. For they build but upon the ſand, and their walls are daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot ſtand long.

Therefore, good brothers and ſiſters, be of good cheer: for I truſt in my God, I and my other fellow-priſoners ſhall go joyfully before you, praiſing God moſt heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witneſſes of his truth. I pray you accept my ſimple anſwer at this time, committing you unto God.

Of this John Jackſon, beſides theſe his aforeſaid anſwers and examination before Dr. Cook, one of the commiſſioners, no more came to our hands.

An Account of the Martyrdom *of* JOAN WASTE, *a blind* Woman, *in the* Town *of* Derby.

THE firſt day of Auguſt, ſuffered likewiſe at the town of Derby, a poor honeſt woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of 22, named Joan Waſte, of the pariſh of Alhallows. Of them that ſat upon this poor woman's blood, the chief was Ralph Blaine, biſhop of the dioceſe, Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, ſir John Port, knight, Henry Vernon, eſquire, Peter Finch, official of Derby, with the aſſiſtance alſo of divers others, Richard Ward and William Bembridge the ſame time being bailiffs of the town of Derby, &c.

Firſt, After the above-named biſhop and Dr. Draicot had cauſed the ſaid Joan Waſte to be apprehended in the town of Derby, ſuſpecting her to be guilty of certain hereſies, ſhe was divers times privily examined, as well in priſon as out, by Peter Finch, the official; and after brought to public examination before the biſhop: at laſt, ſhe was burnt in Derby, as above ſaid. Concerning whoſe life, bringing up, and converſation, ſomewhat more amply we mind to diſcourſe, as by faithful relation hath come to my hands.

Firſt, This Joan Waſte was the daughter of William Waſte, an honeſt poor man, a barber, who ſometimes alſo uſed to make ropes. His wife had the ſame Joan and one other at one birth, and ſhe was born blind.

When about twelve or fourteen years old, ſhe learned to knit hoſe and ſleeves, and other things, which in time ſhe could do very well. Furthermore, as time ſerved, ſhe helped her father to turn ropes, and do ſuch other things as ſhe was able, being never idle. Thus ſhe continued with her father and mother during their lives. After whoſe deceaſe ſhe lived with her brother Roger Waſte, and in the time of king Edward the Sixth, of bleſſed memory, gave herſelf daily to hear divine ſervice read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing homilies and ſermons, ſhe became marvellouſly well affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having ſaved ſo much money as would buy her a New Teſtament, ſhe cauſed one to be provided for her. And although ſhe was of herſelf unlearned, and, by reaſon of her blindneſs, unable to read, yet, for the great deſire ſhe had to underſtand, and have imprinted in her memory the ſayings of the holy ſcriptures contained in the New Teſtament, ſhe acquainted herſelf chiefly with John Hurt, then priſoner in the common hall of Derby for debt.

The ſame John Hurt being a grave ſober man, of the age of threeſcore and ten years, by her earneſt intreaty, and being a priſoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exerciſe daily read unto her ſome one chapter of the New Teſtament. If at any time he were otherwiſe occupied or hindered through ſickneſs, ſhe would repair unto John Pemerton, clerk of the pariſh church of All Saints, in the ſame town of Derby, or ſome other perſon which could read, and ſometimes ſhe would give a penny or two (as ſhe might ſpare) to ſuch perſons as would freely read unto her, appointing unto them beforehand how many chapters of the New Teſtament they ſhould read, or how often they ſhould repeat one chapter for ſuch a price.

Moreover in the ſaid Joan Waſte this was notorious, that ſhe being utterly blind, could notwithſtanding, without a guide, go to any church within the ſaid town of Derby, or to any other place or perſon, with whom ſhe had any ſuch exerciſe. By which exerciſe ſhe ſo profited, that ſhe was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Teſtament, but alſo could aptly diſprove, by divers places of ſcriptures, as well ſin, as ſuch abuſes in religion, as then were too much in uſe in divers and ſundry perſons.

As this godly woman thus daily increaſed in the knowledge of God's holy word, and no leſs in her life expreſſed the virtuous fruits and exerciſe of the ſame: not long after, through the fatal death of bleſſed king Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion in the reign of queen Mary his ſiſter. In which alteration, notwithſtanding the general backſliding of the greateſt part and multitude of the whole realm into popery again, yet this poor blind woman, continuing in a conſtant conſcience, proceeded ſtill in her former exerciſe, being both zealous in that ſhe had learned, and alſo refuſing to communicate in religion with thoſe, which taught contrary to that ſhe had before learned in king Edward's time.

For which ſhe was called and convented before the aforeſaid biſhop and Dr. Draicot, with divers others called in to bear witneſs.

The articles miniſtered unto her, and wherewith ſhe was charged, were theſe: Frſt, that ſhe did hold the ſacrament of the altar to be only a memory or repreſentation of Chriſt's body, and material bread and wine, but not his natural body, unleſs it were received. And that it ought not to be reſerved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received, &c.

Item, That ſhe did hold, in receiving of the ſacrament of the alar, ſhe did not receive the ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs for our redemption, &c.

Item, She did hold, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper did not bleſs the bread that he had then in his hands, but was bleſſed himſelf, and by the virtue of the words of conſecration, the ſubſtance of the bread and wine is not converted and turned into the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt.

Item, That ſhe did grant that ſhe was of the pariſh of Allhallows, in Derby, &c.

Item, That all and ſingular the premiſes are true and notorious by public report and fame, &c.

Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe believed therein ſo much as the holy ſcripture taught her, and according to that ſhe had heard preached unto her by divers learned men. Whereof ſome ſuffered impriſonment, and others ſuffered death for the ſame doctrine: among whom ſhe named, beſides others, Dr. Taylor, who, ſhe ſaid, took it of his conſcience, that the doctrine which he taught was true, and aſked them if they would do ſo in like caſe for their doctrine: which if they would not, ſhe deſired them for God's ſake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, ſaying, that by God's aſſiſtance, ſhe was ready to yield up her life in that faith, in ſuch ſort as they ſhould appoint.

And yet notwithſtanding being preſſed by the ſaid biſhop and Dr. Draicot, with many arguments of Chriſt's omnipotence, as, Why was not Chriſt able as well to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, or raiſe Lazarus from the dead? and ſuch other like arguments; and many times being threatened with grievous impriſonments, torments, and death. The poor woman thus being as it were half aſtoniſhed through their terrors and threats, and probably deſirous to prolong her life, offered to the biſhop then preſent, that if he would before that company, take it upon his conſcience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the ſacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of judgment anſwer for her therein (as the ſaid Dr. Taylor in divers of his ſermons did offer), ſhe would then further anſwer them.

Whereunto the biſhop anſwered he would. But Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, hearing that, ſaid, My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no caſe anſwer for a heretic. And he immediately aſked the poor woman whether ſhe would recant or no; ſhe ſaid ſhe ſhould anſwer for herſelf. Unto whoſe ſayings the biſhop alſo conformed himſelf.

The poor woman perceiving this, anſwered again, that if they refuſed to take of their conſcience that it was true they would have her to believe, ſhe would anſwer no farther, but deſired them to do their pleaſure; and ſo after certain circumſtances, they pronounced ſentence againſt her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of the ſaid town of Derby aforenamed; who after they had kept her about a month or five weeks, there came unto them a writ *De Heretico Comburendo;* by virtue whereof they were appointed by the ſaid biſhop to bring her to the pariſh church of All-Saints at a day appointed, where Dr. Draicot was to make a ſermon.

When the time was come that this innocent martyr ſhould ſuffer, firſt came to the church Dr. Draicot, accompanied with divers gentleman, as Mr. Thomas Powthread, Mr. Henry Vernon, Mr. Dethick, of Newal, and divers others. This done, and all things now in readineſs, at laſt the poor blind creature and ſervant of God was brought and ſet before the pulpit, where the ſaid doctor being entered into his ſermon, and there inveighing againſt many matters, which he called hereſies, declared unto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church; and ſaid, that ſhe was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but alſo blind in the eyes of her ſoul. And he ſaid, As her body ſhould be preſently conſumed with material fire, ſo her ſoul ſhould be burned in hell with everlaſting fire, as ſoon as it ſhall be ſeparated from the body, and there remain world without end; and ſaid it was not lawful for the people to pray for her: and ſo with many terrible threats he made an end of his ſermon, and commanded the bailiffs and thoſe gentleman to ſee her executed. Then this bleſſed ſervant of God was carried away from the church to a place called the Windmill Pit, near to the ſaid town; and holding Roger Waſte, her brother, by the hand, ſhe prepared herſelf, and deſired the people to pray with her, and ſaid ſuch prayers as ſhe before had learned, and cried upon Chriſt to have mercy upon her, as long as life ſerved. In this mean ſeaſon the ſaid Dr. Draicot went to his inn, for great ſorrow of her death, and there laid him down and ſlept, during all the time of her execution. And thus much of Joan Waſte.

Now, foraſmuch as I am not ignorant (faithful reader) that this and other ſtories ſet forth of the martyrs, will not want carpers and markers enough, ready to ſeek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of God's good ſaints, and to condemn theſe hiſtories as lies and untruths, eſpecially hiſtories wherein they ſee their ſhameful acts and unchriſtian cruelty detected and brought to light; therefore for the better confirmation of this hiſtory above written, and to ſtop the mouths of ſuch perſons, this ſhall be to admoniſh all and ſingular readers hereof, that the diſcourſe of this poor blind woman's life and death, in ſuch ſort as is above prefixed, hath been confeſſed to be very true, by divers perſons of worthy credit, and yet living; and alſo hath been carefully peruſed and examined by W. Bambridge, then bailiff of Derby; who as well of his own knowledge, as by ſpecial inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified the ſame to us to be undoubted; beſide the teſtimony of John Cadman, curate of the ſaid town, and of others alſo, upon whoſe honeſty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from ſuch as were beſt acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this ſtory to poſterity, for all good men to conſider and judge upon.

An Account *of* Edward Sharp, John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, *a* Shoemaker, *a* Currier, *a* Carpenter, John Horn, *and a* Woman.

ON the 8th day of September (which was the next month following) a certain godly, aged, devout perſon, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltſhire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of forty years, or thereabouts, was condemned at Briſtol to the like martyrdom, where he conſtantly and manfully perſiſting in the juſt quarrel of Chriſt's goſpel, for miſliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romiſh church, was tried as pure gold, and made a lively ſacrifice in the fire: in whoſe death, as in the death of all his other ſaints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of conſtancy; to whom be praiſe for ever, Amen.

On the 24th of the ſame month, 1556, John Hart, Thomas Ravenſdale, a ſhoemaker, and a currier, ſuffered at Mayfield in Suſſex: who being at the place where they ſhould ſuffer, after they had made their prayers, and were at the ſtake ready to undergo the force of the fire, they conſtantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the teſtimony of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom be praiſe for ever and ever, Amen.

The day following, which was the 25th of the ſaid month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, (whoſe name we have not) was put to death for the like teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, at Briſtol, where he yielded himſelf to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with ſuch joyful conſtancy and triumph, as all the church of Chriſt have juſt cauſe to praiſe God for him.

On the 27th of the ſame month of September, John Horn and a woman ſuffered death by fire at Wootton-under-edge in Glouceſterſhire, and died very glorioully in a conſtant faith to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So glorioully did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conſcience was death.

The unmerciful Handling *of* William Dangerfield *and* Joan *his* Wife, *being in* Child-bed, *taken out of her* Houſe, *with her ſucking* Infant *of fourteen* Days *old, and laid in the common* Gaol *among* Thieves *and* Murderers.

WHEN I had written and finiſhed the ſtory of the three Guernſey women, with the young infant there burned with them, and alſo had paſſed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waſte at Derby, I well hoped I ſhould have found no more ſuch ſtories of unmerciful cruelty ſhewed upon innocent women with their children and young infants: but now coming to the perſecution in Glouceſterſhire about the parts of Briſtol, I find another ſtory of ſuch unmercifulneſs ſhewed againſt a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity and humanity, as any other ſtory that hath hitherto been rehearſed, as by the ſequel hereof may appear.

In the pariſh of Wotton-under-edge, not far from Briſtol, dwelt William Dangerfield, an honeſt poor man, who by his wife Joan had nine children, and ſhe now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his houſe a certain ſpace for fear of perſecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to viſit her, as natural duty required, and to ſee his children, ſhe being delivered four days before.

The return of this man was no ſooner known to ſome of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they incenſed with the ſpirit of popery, immediately beſet the houſe, and apprehended him, and carried him to priſon, and ſo at length he was brought to the biſhop, Dr. Brooks, in whoſe cruel handling he remained ſo long, till his legs almoſt were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehenſion of the huſband, the wife likewiſe was taken, with her young-born child, being but fourteen days old, out of her child-bed, and carried into the common gaol, and there confined among thieves and murderers; where ſhe and her innocent babe found ſo little charity, that ſhe could never come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that ſhould put about the child in her boſom.

In the mean ſeaſon, while the huſband and wife lay thus incloſed in different priſons, the biſhop began to practiſe not with the woman firſt, as the ſerpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his ſimplicity with fair gloſſing words, falſely perſuading him that his wife had recanted, and aſking him, wherefore he ſhould more ſtand in his own conceit, than ſhe, being as well learned as he; and ſo ſubtily drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the ſimple ſoul. Whereunto after that he had once granted that he would conſent, although he had not yet recanted, they ſuffered him to go to his wife, where ſhe lay in the common gaol.

Then they with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he ſaw his wife not releaſed, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falſely he was circumvented by the ſubtle flatterings of the biſhop, telling him that ſhe had certainly recanted: And thus deceiving me, (ſaid he) brought this unto me, and ſo plucked out of his boſom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promiſe. At the ſight whereof the wife hearing what her huſband had done, her heart clave aſunder, ſaying, "Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan ſo prevailed, to cauſe you to break your firſt vow made to Chriſt in baptiſm?" And ſo parted the ſaid William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he greatly to bewail his promiſe made to the biſhop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, deſiring him that he might not live ſo long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkneſs, or darkneſs light; and ſo he departed toward his houſe: where by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and ſhortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had been in priſon twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued ſtill in priſon with her tender infant, till at laſt ſhe was brought before that biſhop to be examined. Whereunto what her anſwers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit moſt like it is, whatſoever they were, they pleaſed not the biſhop, as appeared by his anger increaſed againſt the poor woman, and her long continuance in the priſon, together with her tender babe, which alſo remained with her in the gaol, partaker of her martyrdom, ſo long as her milk would ſerve to give it ſuck, till at length the child, being ſtarved for cold and famine, was ſent away when it was paſt all remedy, and ſo ſhortly after died: and not long after the mother followed. Beſides, the old woman, which was mother of the huſband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who being left in the houſe after their apprehenſion, for lack of comfort there periſhed alſo.

And thus have ye in one ſtory the death of four together; firſt of the old woman, then of the huſband, after that of the innocent child, and laſtly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly ſure, but that I partly underſtand they all were undone by the ſame.

This ſtory is reported and teſtified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges dwelling in the ſame town, and partaker then of the like afflictions, who hardly eſcaped with her life.

In the month of October following, was burnt at the town of Northampton a ſhoemaker, a true witneſs and diſciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving faſt to the ſound doctrine and preaching of God's word, renounced the untrue and falſe coloured religion of the Romiſh ſee, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

After him, not long after, in the ſame month of October, died alſo in the caſtle of Chicheſter, three godly confeſſors, being there in bonds for the like cauſe of Chriſt's goſpel, who alſo ſhould have ſuffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be ſuſpected) the cruel handling of the papiſts, made them away before, and afterwards buried them in the fields.

I read moreover, that in this preſent year, to wit, 1556, one named Hooke, a true witneſs of the Lord's truth, was burnt at Cheſter.

An Account *of five* Perſons *famiſhed in* Canterbury Caſtle, *by the unmerciful* Tyranny *of the* Papiſts, *about the* Beginning *of* November.

As among all the biſhops, Bonner, biſhop of London, principally excelled in perſecuting the poor members and ſaints of Chriſt; ſo of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpſfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, (as may evidently appear) was the foreſt, and leaſt of compaſſion, (only Dunning of Norwich excepted) by whoſe unmerciful and ſurly diſpoſition very many were put to death in that dioceſe of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of queen Mary, but ſome alſo in the beginning of the reign of our moſt renowned and moſt gracious queen Elizabeth, as by the grace of Chriſt hereafter ſhall appear.

Of thoſe that ſuffered in the dioceſe of Canterbury in the time of queen Mary, ſome are recited already, with the order and form of ſuch articles as then were moſt commonly adminiſtered to the examinates by Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and the ſaid Nicholas Harpſfield, and others, as before mentioned.

Now to proceed in order and courſe of time where we left, next followeth the month of November.

In the beginning whereof, fifteen godly and innocent martyrs were together in the caſtle of Canterbury, of which number not one eſcaped with life, but either were burnt, or elſe famiſhed in priſon: of which two ſorts, which is the eaſier death, God knoweth, is hard to judge. Notwithſtanding, the truth is, that of theſe fifteen, ten ſuffered in the fire, of whom in the next book, more, God willing, ſhall be ſaid: the other five pined, and were moſt cruelly famiſhed in the cloſe priſon, of whom we ſhall treat. Their names were as follow; John Clarke, Dunſton Chittenden, William Foſter, of Stone, Alice Potkins, John Archer, of Crambroke, weaver.

Of theſe five priſoners, the two firſt were uncondemned, the other three were condemned, and ſhould have been burned, but ſuffered no leſs torments than if they had abode the fire, for they pined to death by famine. What their articles and anſwers were I need not here recite, ſeeing all they in the time of queen Mary commonly ſuffered for one manner of cauſe, that is, for holding againſt the ſeven ſacraments, againſt the reality of Chriſt's being in his ſupper, for ſpeaking againſt the church of Rome, and determinations of the ſame, againſt images ſet up and worſhipped in the church, for not coming to church, &c.

Firſt, William Foſter anſwering to theſe and like articles, ſaid, That he believed well in all the articles of the creed; but to believe that there be more ſacraments than two, and to pray to ſaints either to profit us, or to pray for ſouls in purgatory to profit by them, that faith and works do juſtify, or to allow the popiſh ceremonies in the church, that he denied. Moreover he ſaid, to carry candles upon Candlemas-day, were as good for him as to carry a dung-fork; and that it is as neceſſary to carry the gallows about, if his father was hanged, as the croſs. Come to the church he could not, he ſaid, with a ſafe conſcience. Concerning fiſh-days and fleſh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where neceſſity required the contrary.

This William Foſter was a labouring man, of the age of forty years. He was apprehended and impriſoned by ſir Thomas Moyle, knight.

Alice Potkins, for the like confeſſion, was condemned to be burnt, for that ſhe was not, neither would be confeſſed to the prieſt, for that ſhe received not the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe ſhe would not pray to ſaints, nor creep to the croſs, &c. Being demanded of her age, ſhe ſaid that ſhe was forty-nine years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, ſince ſhe learned Chriſt, ſhe was of one year's age, and was committed to priſon by Mr. Roberts.

The anſwer and confeſſion of John Archer of Crambroke was much in like ſort. And although ſome of theſe upon ignorant ſimplicity ſwerved a little in the number of ſacraments, ſome granting one ſacrament, that is, the body of Chriſt hanging upon the croſs, ſome more, ſome leſs, &c. yet in the principal matter concerning the doctrine of ſalvation for faith to ſtay upon, and in diſagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the popiſh church, they moſt agreed. Concerning the not praying to ſaints, and for the dead in purgatory, for not creeping to the croſs, for faith only to juſtify, for taking of an oath, and other ſuch like, he granted as the other had done. This father Archer, by his occupation a weaver, of the town of Crambroke, of the age of fifty years, was impriſoned by ſir John Gilford, knight.

And thus have ye the cauſe and impriſonment of theſe five priſoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye ſhall not ſurmiſe the ſuſpicion or relation thereof to proceed of myſelf, you ſhall hear their own teſtimony by their own letter, thrown out of the priſon, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the popiſh tyrants in famiſhing them, as is afore ſaid. The copy of their letter is this.

The Copy *of a* Letter *written and caſt out of the* Caſtle *of* Canterbury *by the* Priſoners *there in* Bonds *for* God's Word, *declaring how the* Papiſts *went about to famiſh them to death; of which* Company *five were already moſt cruelly famiſhed among them.*

Be it known unto all men that ſhall read, or hear read theſe our letters, that we the poor priſoners of the caſtle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not ſuffer any meat to be brought us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheeſe, or any other food, the ſaid keeper will ſo charge them that ſo bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or elſe if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himſelf, and he and his ſervants do ſpend it, ſo that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: inſomuch that there are four of us priſoners there for God's truth, famiſhed already, and thus is it his mind to famiſh us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the biſhops and prieſts, and alſo of the juſtices, ſo to famiſh us, and not only us of the ſaid caſtle, but alſo all other priſoners in other priſons for the like cauſe to be alſo famiſhed: notwithſtanding we write not theſe our letters, with a view to ſignify our unwillingneſs to be famiſhed for the Lord Jeſus's ſake, but for this cauſe and intent, that they, having no law ſo to famiſh us in priſon, ſhould not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts ſhould be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father. Out of the caſtle of Canterbury.

The Perſecution *of divers good* People *in the* Dioceſe *of* Litchfield.

These aforeſaid months of September, November, and December, as they were trobleſome to many other places, and eſpecially to the dioceſe of Canterbury by reaſon of the archdeacon above named; ſo likewiſe they brought no little buſineſs in the country to Litchfield and Coventry, by a cruel biſhop there, named Ralph Baine, and a more cruel chancellor called Dr.

Draicot, through the fierce inquiſition of whom great ſtir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many cauſed to bear faggots. Who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet becauſe it may appear what a number there is in the countries of England abroad, who in their hearts have a miſliking of the pope's Romiſh laws and religion, if for fear they durſt utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearſal of their names, which in the aforeſaid dioceſe of Coventry and Litchfield were taken on ſuſpicion, and examined for their religion.

And firſt amongſt them that were detected and enjoined to the popiſh penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in proceſſion, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witneſs convicted, and bare a faggot the twelfth of September. Likewiſe Margery Kirry, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stiffe, William Kaime, Robert Katrenes, Thomas Smith, John Borſley, the younger. Item, John Waterhouſe, againſt whom came as witneſſes and accuſers Richard Caaerbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying againſt him for ſeldom coming to church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the ſacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kiſſing the pyx, &c. Robert Biſſel, Leonard Weſt, Richard Bailey, of the pariſh of Whitacre.

These were deprived.

Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Jurdain, prieſt; Edmund Crokel, prieſt; Thomas Whitehead, prieſt; William Taylor, prieſt; Anſelme Sele, prieſt; Richard Slavy, prieſt, married; Edward Hawkes, prieſt, married; Robert Aſton, prieſt, deprived; Henry Tecka, prieſt, deprived; Robert Moſſey, prieſt, married, and deprived.

There were divers others beſides theſe, who in like manner were detected, accuſed, and examined, although they bare no faggot, but were diſmiſſed; as Richard Kempe, John Franklin, William Marler, Julius Dudley, Euſtache Byſacre, William Shene, Anthony Afterwhittle, Thomas Steilbe, Henry Birdlim, William Moſeley, John Leach, John Richardſon, Anthony Jones, alias Pulton, Thomas Wilſon, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres, his ſon, Iſabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preſton, Thomas Salter, John Stamford, ſhoemaker, Richard Woodbourne, Thomas Arnal, ſhoemaker, John Robinſon, Hugh Moore, ſhoemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Foxal, Thomas Underdonne, Richard Weaver.

Theſe forenamed perſons, with many more following, in the next year after, although they did ſubſcribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cauſe I do here recite them, that by them it might appear what a number there were not only in the country of Litchfield, but alſo in other parts, if that fear rather than conſcience had not compelled them to the contrary.

Thus have you the whole perſecution of this year declared, with the names of all them which ſuffered martyrdom within the compaſs of the year 1556: the number of all which, ſlain and martyred in divers places of England at ſundry times this year, came to above 84 perſons, whereof many were women, wives, widows, and maidens; beſides thoſe who by ſecret practices were otherwiſe made away, or driven from their goods out of their houſes, or out of the realm, or elſe within the realm were put to penance and obliged by forcible violence to recant; ſave only that I have omitted the ſtory of ſir John Cheeke, knight, and ſometime ſchoolmaſter to king Edward. The worthineſs of which man deſerveth much to be ſaid of him; but his fall ſhould rather be covered in ſilence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the preſent ſtory moſt principally appertaining, it ſhall ſuffice.

Sir John Cheeke being in the country of Germany, out of all danger of perſecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in ſafety, but alſo with reputation accordingly eſteemed among the Germans, and alſo well placed in the city of Straſburg. Where if he had contented himſelf to have remained, rather giving place to time, than to preſume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better for him. But what fatal inſtigation wrought in his mind, I know not. In the end it ſo fell, that he would needs take a journey with ſir Peter Carew, from high Germany to Bruſſels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew the affair) not without the forecaſting of his adventured journey by the conſtellation of the ſtars, and diſpoſition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famouſly expert, and travelled in the knowledge of ſundry arts and ſciences, ſo was he a little too much addicted to the curious practiſing of this ſtar divinity, which we call aſtrology. But howſoever it was, or whatſoever it was that the ſtars did promiſe him, the truth was, that men here on earth kept little promiſe with him. For having, as it is ſaid, king Philip's ſafe conduct to paſs and repaſs, and by the means, as I find, of the lord Paget, and ſir John Maſ. pledging for his ſafeguard king Philip's fidelity, he came to Bruſſels to ſee the queen's ambaſſadors: and having brought the lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return between Bruſſels and Antwerp, he was taken with ſir Peter Carew by the provoſt Marſhal, ſpoiled of their horſes, and clapped into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and ſo ſhipped, blind-fold under the hatches, and brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being intrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of theſe two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life, other remedy with thoſe holy catholics there was none. Neither could his conſcience excuſe him, nor truth defend him, nor his learning help him.

However Mr. Fecknam, whether ſuborned by the queen, or upon his own devotion and friendſhip toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of ſir John Cheeke, ſpeaking in his behalf: yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he muſt needs recant, and ſo he did.

Then after this recantation, he was through the crafty handling of the papiſts, allured firſt to dine and accompany with them, at length unawares to ſit in the place, where the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other biſhops to be condemned; the remorſe whereof ſo mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whoſe fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his riſing again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praiſed.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

THE NEW AND COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS,
OR, AN
Univerſal Hiſtory of Martyrdom:
BEING
FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS,
Reviſed and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING

An Hiſtorical Account of the Lives, Acts, Monuments, Perſecutions, Sufferings, and Triumphant Deaths, of the

PROTESTANT MARTYRS;

Together with many other intereſting Particulars, relative to the Proteſtant Cauſe, during the cruel Reign of MARY I. commonly called BLOODY QUEEN MARY.

CHAP. I.

The ORDER *and* MANNER *of* CARDINAL POOLE'S *Viſitation in* CAMBRIDGE, *with the condemning, taking up, and burning the* BONES *and* BOOKS *of* MARTIN BUCER *and* PAULUS PHAGIUS, January 9, 1557.

AFTER Cardinal Poole's return to England, about three years, he thought of reforming the univerſity of Cambridge; for which purpoſe commiſſioners were appointed as follow, Cuthbert Scot, lately conſecrated biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, a favourite of pope Julius III. and the pope's datary, Thomas Watſon, the biſhop of Lincoln elect, Chriſtopherſon, biſhop of Chicheſter elect, and Henry Cole, provoſt of Eton. January 11, 1557, was the day appointed in citation to Dr. Andrew Pern, the vice-chancellor, between eight and ten o'clock, to aſſemble in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, requiring him to be there himſelf in perſon, and all thoſe who had the cuſtody of any ſtatutes, books, privileges, or monuments of the univerſity, or any of the colleges, to be then and there exhibited; that due meaſures might be taken, for the benefit of the ſame.

The citation was firſt examined and read on the 11th of December, in the convocation houſe of regents; and on the 24th it was determined, that the univerſity and colleges ſhould defray the viſitors' charges, and that no maſter, fellow, ſcholar, or miniſter, ſhould have leave of abſence, but to return before the viſitation. On the 8th of January, all the arrangements were formed, the high-conſtables ſworn, two perſons of every pariſh of ten or twelve hundreds alſo ſworn to enquire of hereſy, conſpiracy, ſedition, and the like. At this time the univerſity was ſuppoſed to be tinctured with the doctrines of Martin Bucer, and other favourers of the reformed religion. The inquiſitors arrived on the ninth of January, and, being met near the town by ſeveral of the maſters and preſidents of colleges, were introduced into the town, and then to their lodgings; but they all preferred Trinity college, of which the biſhop of Chicheſter elect was maſter.

An oration was made by a fellow of the ſame college, expreſſive of their gratitude for the partiality which was ſhewn them; and the biſhop elect of Lincoln, or as others of Cheſter, made an appropriate reply. But the two churches of St. Mary's, where Mr. Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Fagius lay buried, were laid under an interdict. The oration on the 11th was made in Latin in the name of all the reſt; in which he compliments Cardinal Poole, as the author of this viſitation, and for his gracious condeſcenſion in becoming their chancellor, though at that time acting by means of the viſitors; afterwards proceeding to ſtate their errors, and their reſtoration to the catholic church; and concluding with the promiſe of a perpetual love of the true religion, and an eternal remembrance of the favours to be received from them.

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the biſhop of Cheſter anſwered thereunto:

That they took in right good part, that the mother the univerſity had made ſo open a declaration of her good will toward them: for which he gave moſt hearty thanks, deſiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of herſelf in words and communication.

As concerning their good wills, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt. For their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with ſuch as fell to the amendment: but both the cardinal himſelf, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew favour, deviſing how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, deſiring nothing more earneſtly, than that they which have erred and gone aſtray, ſhould return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wiſhed to have been preſent, wiſhed the ſelf-ſame thing alſo, deſiring nothing ſo much as he with his own hands to ſuſtain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raiſe up already fallen to the ground, the univerſity of his ward: for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the time paſt had ſpread abroad ſuch grievous diſeaſes, that even the univerſity itſelf was touched with the contagious air thereof. For he would more gladly have come hither to viſit and ſalute it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now ſeeing he could not ſo do, he had appointed this commiſſion, in which he had aſſigned them to be his deputies, which (becauſe they knew him to ſet ſo much ſtore by the univerſity) ſhould extend the more favour to it, and (becauſe they themſelves had been there brought up) would the more earneſtly embrace it. The chief matter that they came for, tended to this end, that ſuch as had erred ſhould confeſs their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in great forwardneſs of healing, that acknowledged themſelves to have offended. And therefore it was wiſely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuſe the faults of the univerſity, nor of other men, but confeſs and acknowledge the crime, as there were many things that had need to be corrected and amended.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither, was to raiſe up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour ſuch as were ſorry and would amend, wherein if (contrary to their expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would, yet notwithſtanding, according to their duty, they would ſhew themſelves ſo diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulneſs, and took ſtoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved as reaſon was, ſo they coveted to remedy the miſchief. Againſt whom, if any thing ſhould ſeem hereafter to be ſtraightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deſerts, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought ſuch as are whole and ſound, to be moved at the chaſtiſement of others, foraſmuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now ſticked on the univerſity, but alſo to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts, they more inclined unto mercy than rigour. Howbeit, conſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of neceſſity to uſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted, (for they wiſhed that all ſhould amend and be led by wholeſome counſel) and would yet at length wax weary of their errors, and inſtead of them frequent again the ancient cuſtoms of themſelves, and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleneſs at their hands, in all this their buſineſs of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requeſting no more of the univerſity but to do as became them: which being performed, he promiſed that their benevolence, neither in any public nor in any private perſon's caſe, ſhould in any wiſe be behind hand.

Theſe things being finiſhed, they were brought in proceſſion to the King's-college, by all the graduates of the univerſity. In this place it was marked, that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly ſirnamed Datary, (who, although he was inferior in eſtate unto Cheſter, being a biſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in authority) while the maſs was celebrating, ſometimes ſtanding, anon ſitting, and afterwards kneeling on his knees, obſerved certain ceremonies, which afterward were required to be obſerved of all others.

From thence they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In which place, foraſmuch as it was ſuſpended, although no maſs might be ſung, yet there was a ſermon made in open audience by Mr. Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching againſt hereſies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they immediately proceeded to the viſitation: where firſt Dr. Harvy, did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the commiſſion to the biſhop of Cheſter, with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Maſter Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his ſeal of office with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the univerſity and colleges, with the officers and all maſters of houſes. Among whom was alſo Robert Braſſey, maſter of King's-college, a worthy old man, both for his wiſdom and his hoary hairs: who hearing his name recited after the vice-chancellor's, ſaid, He was there preſent as all the others were: nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as the reformation of his houſe was wholly reſerved to the diſcretion of the biſhop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but alſo by grant of confirmation from the biſhop of Rome himſelf, under a penalty if he ſhould ſuffer any ſtrangers to intermeddle, he openly proteſted, in diſcharge of his duty, that unleſs their commiſſion gave them authority and juriſdiction upon the college, either by expreſs words, or manifeſt ſenſe, he utterly exempted himſelf from being preſent.

This his exception they all took in great diſpleaſure; alledging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whoſe juriſdiction no place nor perſon was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into queſtion their authority, ſo well known to all men.

After the formal ſolemnity of theſe things thus accompliſhed, the commiſſion being read, and the citation exhibited, all the maſters of houſes being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own houſe, with command to be at the common ſchools at one o'clock the ſame day. When the degrees of the univerſity, called regents and non-regents, were aſſembled, they ſpent the reſt of the day in reading over the charters granted to the univerſity by kings and princes, in ſearching out bulls and pardons from the pope, and in peruſing other monuments pertaining to the univerſity.

The next day, the 12th of January, they reſorted to King's-college to make inquiſition, either becauſe the ſame for the worthineſs thereof was chief and ſovereign of all the reſidue, or elſe becauſe that that houſe eſpecially had been accounted, time out of mind, never to be without an heretic or two (as they termed them). The order and manner how they would be entertained by every college, when they ſhould come to make inquiſition, they themſelves appointed, which was in this ſort.

They commanded the maſter of every houſe, with the reſidue, as well fellows as ſcholars, apparelled in prieſt-like garments (which they call habits), to meet them at the uttermoſt gate of their houſe towards the town. The maſter himſelf to be dreſſed in like apparel as the prieſt when he dreſſeth himſelf to maſs, ſaving that he ſhould put on his habit uppermoſt, as the reſt did.

The order of their going they appointed to be in this wiſe: The maſter of the houſe to go foremoſt; next unto him every man in his order of degree, ſeniority, or of years. Before the maſter ſhould be carried a croſs, and holy water to ſprinkle the commiſſioners withal, and then after that the ſaid commiſſioners to be cenſed. And ſo after this meeting, and mumbling a few devotions, with this pomp and ſolemnity they were to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the ſtate of man. Others (foraſmuch as at that time they not only pretended the juriſdiction of the cardinal, but alſo repreſented the power and authority of the biſhop of Rome himſelf, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) ſaid, It was far leſs than of duty appertained to his holineſs, in that the honour that was done to his legates, was not done to them, but to his holineſs.

Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the King's-college gate, where they looked for the maſters and fellows of the houſe, ſeeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded to the church door, where they ſtaid. There perceiving how the maſter and the reſt of the houſe were dreſſing themſelves as faſt as they could, in ſuch order as was appointed before, they came in ſuddenly upon them, before they had ſet a foot out of their places.

Then the maſter firſt excuſed himſelf, that he was ready no ſooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in readineſs. Secondly, he ſaid he was very glad of their coming, promiſing firſt in own name, and after in the name of all the reſt, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But, like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the ſame exception he made to them now alſo; for doing which he beſought them not to be offended. Seeing he did it only for the diſcharge of his duty, he had good cauſe to be held excuſed.

He had ſcarcely finiſhed his tale, but the biſhop of Cheſter, with a frowning look, and an angry countenance, interrupted him in his talk; and ſaid, he needed not to repeat the things he had proteſted before, nor they to make anſwer any more to thoſe things wherein they had ſufficiently informed him before. He feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made ſuch ado about it, and ſought ſuch ſtarting holes. So were diſeaſed perſons oftentimes wont to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a ſtrong medicine. As though that any man were able to grant ſo ſtrong a privilege, as to withſtand the pope's authority. As for the pope's letters, he ſaid, they muſt needs make on his ſide, and with ſuch as were with him, and could not in any wiſe be alledged againſt him. Therefore he admoniſhed him to deſiſt from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himſelf, and his, to ſuch things as then were in doing.

After this they went to maſs: which finiſhed, with great ſolemnity, firſt they went to the high altar of the church, and having there ſaluted their God, and ſearching whether all were well about him or no, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the croſſes, the chalices, the maſs-books, the veſtments, and whatſoever ornaments were beſides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had ſufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and ſcholar of the houſe, they went to the maſter's lodging, where firſt and foremoſt ſwearing them upon a book, to anſwer to all ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be expounded unto them (as far as they knew), they examined firſt the maſter himſelf, and afterward all the reſidue, every man in his turn. But there were ſome that refuſed to take this oath, becauſe they had given their faith to the college before, and alſo becauſe they thought it againſt all right and reaſon to ſwear againſt themſelves: for it was contrary to all law, that a man ſhould be compelled to bewray himſelf, and not be ſuffered to keep his conſcience free, when there is no manifeſt proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjuſt it is, that a man ſhould be conſtrained by force to accuſe himſelf. Nevertheleſs, theſe perſons alſo, after ſuch altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be ſworn.

Three full days laſted the inquiſition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the caſe of Martin Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed: for they looked to have had much wrangling and buſineſs about the matter. Now foraſmuch as the preſent ſtate of the caſe required good deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the maſters of the colleges aſſembled at the common ſchools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After mnch debating, they agreed all together in this determination:

That foraſmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only ſowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but alſo had himſelf been a ſectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe; a ſupplication ſhould be made to the lords commiſſioners, in the name of the whole univerſity, that his dead carcaſe might forthwith be digged up (for ſo it was needful to be done) to the intent that inquiſition might be made as touching his doctrine, which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholſome, the law might proceed againſt him: for it was againſt the rule of the holy canons, that his body ſhould be buried in chriſtian burial. Beſides, that it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's ſouls, and the offence of the faithful, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a time as that was. So it was not to be ſuffered, that they, who utterly diſſented from all other men in the trade of their living, laws, and cuſtoms, ſhould have any part with them in the honour of burial; and therefore the glory of God, firſt and before all things, ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riſeth on them) with all ſpeed put away, no room at all left unto thoſe perſons to reſt in, who even in the ſame places where they lay, were injurious and noiſome to the very elements; but the place ought to be purged, and all things ſo ordered as might be to the ſatisfying the conſciences of the weak. In executing whereof, ſo notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter ſhould be ſo bold to attempt the like.

They gave the ſame virdict by common conſent againſt Phagius alſo.

Unto this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authoriſed Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the univerſity. He was a man fitteſt for the purpoſe, both for the office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the teſtimony of Mr. Chriſtopherſon, he was judged to be the moſt catholic of all others. This ſupplication, confirmed by the conſent of all the degrees of the univerſity, and ſigned with their common ſeal, the next day, which was the 13th day of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commiſſioners.

Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to ſuborn the univerſity under a colourable pretence, to deſire this thing of them by way of petition. As much as to ſay, if they had not done ſo, the other would never have gone about it of themſelves.

But this gloſs was ſoon found out. The commiſſioners had given the vice-chancellor inſtructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this means to remove the envy of this act from themſelves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came unto the commiſſioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about ſeven of the clock in the morning. He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his ſuit, but alſo even at the very ſame time received the ſentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet the datary. This was to be confirmed by the conſent of the degrees of the univerſity. Whereupon a ſolemn convocation, called *Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium*, for the ſame purpoſe was appointed to be at nine of the clock; where the graduates being aſſembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace aſked, which was this:

Pleaſeth it you that Martin Bucer, for the hereſies now recited, and many others by him written, preached and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in chriſtian burial, may be exhumate and taken up again, &c.

Immediately after this grace was granted, the ſentence of condemnation being drawn by the datary, was openly read, and another grace aſked, that the ſame might be ſigned with the common ſeal. Which requeſt was very eaſily obtained; and it was no marvel.

For after the death of king Edward, when the realm was governed by queen Mary, all ſuch perſons were driven away as had rejected the Romiſh religion (in whom alone well nigh reſted whatſoever wit and learning was in the whole univerſity beſides), and ſuch a ſort of men were put in their room, that all places now ſwarmed with unlearned chaplains; to whom nothing was greater pleaſure than to cauſe all men to ſpeak reproachfully of Bucer. Divers were yet left among them to ſpeak againſt their demands: but they (becauſe it commonly cometh to paſs, that might overcomes right) could nothing avail. It is a common cuſtom in all ſuch matters and ordinances, that what the greater number decreeth is publiſhed in the name of all: and that which the better part diſalloweth ſeemeth as if no man at all allowed it.

The next day, being the 14th of January, all the viſitors (Mr. Chriſtopherſon ouly excepted) came to the King's-college: and firſt going into the church, there making their prayers at the greeſings, they ſo proceeded into the ſtalls, ſitting all the maſs time, the company ſtanding in their copes, and ſinging a ſolemn reſpond in honour of the viſitors. After the reſpond done, the provoſt made to them his proteſtation, uuto whom the biſhop of Cheſter made anſwer in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpoſe his proteſtation was, notwithſtanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to maſs, which ended, the catholic viſitors approached up to the altar, and took down the ſacrament, and ſearched the pyx, but firſt the two biſhops cenſed the ſacrament.

Then they went unto the veſtry, and opened the chalices, corporas caſes, and chryſmatory, and viewed all thoſe things: ſo returning into the provoſt's chamber, divided themſelves in examination of the provoſt, vice-provoſt, and the reſt of the company. The ſame day Dr. Bacon, maſter of Gonvil-hall, invited the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvy, Swineborn, Maptide, with others, home to dinner. Theſe men immediately after dinner, cauſed the common ſeal of the univerſity to be put to the aforeſaid inſtrument of condemnation, as was determined the day before by the general conſent of the graduates of the univerſity: and afterwards they carried the ſame to the commiſſioners to their lodging: which when they had received and carefully peruſed, it pleaſed them not in all points, and therefore they razed out ſome things, ſome they interlined, others they changed; ſo that in fine, they were fain to take the pains to ingroſs it again.

To the ſigning whereof a congregation was immediately called of all the graduates of the univerſity againſt the next day, which being read over, a new grace again was aſked and granted for ſetting the ſeal. Then the graduates were diſmiſſed, and commanded to reſort forthwith to St. Mary church, whither the commiſſioners alſo repaired. When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvy preſented to them, before the company, a new commiſſion to make inqueſt upon hereſy then newly ſent from the cardinal, which was immediately read by Ormanet's clerk. This done, Dr. Perne, who was factor for the univerſity, exhibited to the commiſſioners in the name of the univerſity, the ſentence of the aforeſaid condemnation. This condemnation being openly read, Dr. Perne deſired to ſend out proceſs to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cauſe, and to ſtand to the order of the court againſt the next Monday: to the intent that when they had exhibited themſelves, the court might better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next day proceſs went out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common notary, having read it over before certain witneſſes appointed for that purpoſe, cauſed to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common ſchools, and the croſs in the market-place of the ſame town. In this was ſpecified, that whoſoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or ſtand in defence of their doctrine, ſhould, at the eigth day of the ſame month, ſtand forth before the lords commiſſioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man ſhould be ſufficiently heard what he could ſay. This commandment was ſet out with many words.

Shortly after the matter drew toward judgment. Therefore, the day before the limited day, which was the 17th of January, the vice-chancellor called to him to Peter-houſe (whereof he was maſter) Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgwick, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. Theſe men caſt their heads together how they might bear witneſs againſt Bucer and Phagius, to convince them of hereſy: for ſeeing the matter was brought in open court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſs, that ſome patrons of their cauſe would come out, they thought it needful to have witneſſes to depoſe of their doctrine. What came of their conſultation is unknown.

On the 18th day, the vice-chancellor going to the inquiſitors, ſitting at the King's-college, put them in remembrance, that that was the day on which, by their proceſs, ſent forth the 16th, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, ſuch as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He deſired therefore that they would vouchſafe to ſit there, if perchance any man would try to adventure of the law. They ſoon condeſcended thereunto. When the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the proceſs of the citation which he had received of them to publiſh a little before, ſaying that he had diligently executed whatſoever the contents of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and no man putting forth himſelf to anſwer for the offenders, the judges called aſide Dr. Young, Sedgwick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above-mentioned. Alſo Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnſon, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a ſingular commendation of him, and ſent it to ſir John Cheek, knight. Theſe men, taking firſt their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witneſs againſt the hereſies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-ſecond day of the ſame month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watſon abode at home in their lodging to take the depoſitions of them, whom we ſhewed you before to have been called to Peter-houſe, and to have communicated with the vice-chancellor as concerning that matter, whoſe depoſitions (as I told you) never came to light. The biſhop of Cheſter, and Dr. Cole this day viſited them of Catherine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearſal.

As Ormanet, the pope's datary, was ſitting at Trinity-college, John Dale, of Queen's-college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pyx, wherein the biſhop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be encloſed. For Ormanet told them that he had a precious jewel; the ſame was a linen clout that the pope had conſecrated with his own hands, which he promiſed to beſtow upon them for a gift. But Dale miſunderſtanding Ormanet, inſtead of the pyx brought the chalice and a ſinging cake, called the hoſt, which he had wrapped up and put in his boſom. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he had ſent for: to whom he anſwered, he had brought it. Then give it me (quoth he.) Dale pulled out the chalice and the ſinging cake. When Ormanet ſaw that, he ſtepped back a little, as it had been in a wonder, calling him blockhead, and little better than a mad-man, demanding what he meant by theſe things, ſaying, he deſired him to bring him none of that ſtuff, and that he was unworthy to enjoy ſo high a benefit: yet, notwithſtanding, as he had promiſed before to give it them, he would perform his promiſe. Whereupon, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both for the holineſs of the thing, and alſo for the author of it, to keep it among them with much due reverence as belonged to ſo holy a relic.

About the ſame time the commiſſioners had commanded the maſters of the colleges, that every man ſhould put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names. And to the intent that every man ſhould execute it without deceit, they took an oath of them. This command ſome executed exactly and diligently; others, foraſmuch as they deemed it wrongfully, executed it ſlack enough.

We mentioned before, that the eighteenth day was limited for the day of judgment. When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himſelf to defend them, yet the courteous commiſſioners would not proceed to judgment; which nevertheleſs for their contumacy in abſenting themſelves, they might have done, conſidering how that day was peremptory. But theſe men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather ſhew ſome favour, than to do the uttermoſt they might by the law. Whereupon, Vincent publiſhed the ſecond proceſs, and ſet it up in the ſame places, as before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put off the judgment-day upon the 26th of the ſame month. Upon which day the vice-chancellor was ſent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publiſhing the ſentence. And becauſe there ſhould want no ſolemnity in the matter, they commanded him farther to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgeſſes, which the vice-chancellor did ſpeed with all readineſs.

This day (as I ſaid) was the 26th of January, which being come, firſt all degrees of the mother univerſity were aſſembled. And to fill up this pageant, there came alſo to the mayor and his townſmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there ſhould be determined upon theſe men. After long attendance, at length the commiſſioners came forth, and went up to a ſcaffold that was ſomewhat higher than the reſidue, prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, faſhioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the proceſs that was lately publiſhed to cite them, ſaying theſe words: I bring forth again to you, right reverend father and commiſſioners of the moſt reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame: omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter.

When he had thus finiſhed his tale, the biſhop of Cheſter, having viewed the people a little, began as follows.

The Oration *of* Dr. SCOT, Biſhop *of* Cheſter, *before the* Condemnation *of* BUCER *and* PHAGIUS.

YOU ſee how ſore the univerſity preſſeth upon us, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh upon us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which theſe certain years paſt have ſpread moſt pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretics, as they be indeed, but alſo that we will command their dead carcaſes, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be caſt into fire, or whatſoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be: for the degrees of the univerſity deal not ſlightly nor ſlackly with us in this caſe, but do ſo preſs upon us, and follow the ſuit ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce give us any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, tho' this caſe of itſelf be ſuch, as that even the unworthineſs of thoſe perſons, though there were no further cauſe, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with theſe ſo wholeſome petitions; it is meet and convenient we ſhould grant it. For howſoever we of ourſelves are inclined to mercy in our hearts, (than which we proteſt there is nothing under the ſun to us more dear and acceptable) yet notwithſtanding the very law riſeth up to revenge, ſo that the common ſalvation of you all, which the law provided for, muſt be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any ſuch negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being ſcarce eſcaped out of the ſhipwreck of our former calamity, ſhould now ſuffer this inexpiable miſchief to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weak.

Moreover, it is but reaſon that we ſhould do ſomewhat at ſo earneſt an intreaty and ſuit of the univerſity. I need not to ſpeak much of ourſelves: for if we had been deſirous to enterprize this matter, it had been lawful, after the firſt citation, to have proceeded to judgment; but becauſe we were willing that their defenders ſhould be heard, and that the matter ſhould be denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſs.

If we had deſired revenge, we might have ſhewed cruelty upon them that are alive: of which (alas, the more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirſted for blood, it was not to be ſought in withered carcaſes and dry bones. Therefore you may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the intreaty of the univerſity, partly moved with the unworthineſs of the caſe itſelf; but eſpecially for the care and regard we have of your health and ſalvation, which we covet by all means to preſerve.

For you yourſelves are the cauſe of this buſineſs: you gave occaſion for this confeſſion, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that ſhall come after, as in that which you may learn not only to ſhake off the filth which you have taken of theſe perſons; but alſo to beware hereafter that you fall no more ſo ſhamefully as you have done. But I truſt, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourſelves from it.

As concerning the parties themſelves, whoſe caſe now hangeth in law, they bear about the name of the goſpel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing elſe but thievery and deceit. And ſo much the more wicked were they, as they ſought to cover ſuch ſhameful acts with the cloak of ſo fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of itſelf wicked, to you pernicious, but to the authors thereof ſhameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, ſhould permit ſuch execrable crimes to eſcape unpuniſhed, we ſhould not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſy; the form and tenor of which ſentence, now rendered into Engliſh, is as follows:

The Sentence *of* Condemnation *againſt* MARTIN BUCER *and* PHAGIUS.

WE Cuthbert, by the grace of God and the apoſtolic ſee, biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet, archbiſhop of Verone, within the dioceſe aforeſaid, auditor of the reverend lord Cardinal and legate: Thomas Watſon, dean of Durham; and Henry Cole, provoſt of Eton-college, viſitors to the univerſity and town of Cambridge, within the dioceſe of Ely, alſo to all perſons dwelling in the ſaid town and places adjacent, for certain motions, cauſes and reaſons thereunto moving, we are to inquire, and as we think fit, proceed againſt thoſe who have run into vile hereſies, and condemn their memory; we are impowered by letters from the moſt illuſtrious and reverend father in Chriſt, Reginald Poole, cardinal and prieſt of the moſt holy Roman church, legate de Latere from our moſt holy lord the pope, and the apoſtolic ſee, to the moſt ſerene Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, and to the whole kingdom, to depute commiſſioners or delegates, ſufficiently inſtructed in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and having the fear of God before their eyes, to conſtitute a court, and by this our definitive ſentence, which we give according to the opinion of the moſt learned divines and lawyers, herein contained, to condemn theſe ſons of iniquity, Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, by nation Germans, but both of old living and dying in this town, whom we here declare, pronounce, judge and condemn as notorious heretics whilſt they lived; for Martin Bucer, contrary to the rules and precepts of the holy fathers, as alſo to the traditions of the apoſtolic Roman church and holy councils, and of the chriſtian religion, thoſe rights and proceſſions (which are every year on the day of the ſupper of our Lord celebrated and read by the Roman prieſts, in which, among others, the Wickliffians and Lutherans, and all other heretics, are condemned and anathematized) of the ſacraments having continued in the church hitherto, he eſpecially taught and preached about the number of them, contrary to what our holy mother the church had preached and obſerved: and he denied and openly condemned the authority of the holy apoſtolic ſee, and the ſupremacy of our great high-prieſt, and he eſpecially held this article:

"That the church may err in faith and worſhip."

This he particularly defended in the public aſſemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true, and many others, as well by John Wickliffe, Martin Luther, and other chief heretics invented, and condemned by the church, eſpecially that,

"That all things were governed by fate and an abſolute neceſſity."

As by himſelf firſt broached, believing and following falſe and heretical principles, and moreover alſo writing books, and cauſing them to be printed, and publiſhing them being printed, and in reading theſe writings publicly, and defending them in public diſputations, as alſo by an obſtinate living and dying in this manner, not only as a notorious heretic, but as a founder of hereſy.

Alſo Paulus Phagius, who, among other things which favour of hereſy, ſcattered up and down in his writings, printed and commonly read, not only approves, but gives the higheſt encomiums to the impious memory of John Oecolampadius, the aforeſaid Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, John Brent, and their doctrines; which manifeſtly ſhews, he not only favoured heretics, but aſſented, believed, and approved their falſe principles, and endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the ſame: thus he lived a common, notorious heretic, and died impenitent. Therefore we pronounce the ſaid Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law as by letters of proceſs; and that their memory be condemned, we alſo condemn their bodies and bones (which in that moſt wicked time of ſchiſm, and other hereſies flouriſhing in this kingdom, were raſhly buried in holy ground) to be dug up, and caſt from the bodies and bones of the faithful, according to the holy canons; and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publicly burnt; and we interdict all perſons whatſoever of this univerſity, town or places adjacent, who ſhall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law as by our letters of proceſs.

After the ſentence thus read, the biſhop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the ſecular power: for it was not lawful for ſuch innocent perſons as they were, abhorring all bloodſhed, and deteſting all deſire of murder, to put any man to death.

The Effect *of* Dr. PERNE's Sermon *againſt* MARTIN BUCER.

BESIDES this oration and ſentence of Dr. Scot, came in alſo Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, with his ſermon tending to the ſame effect, to the depraving of Mr. Bucer, taking for his theme the place of the 133d Pſalm, "Behold how good and pleaſant a thing it is," &c.

Where beginning firſt with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alledged, that it was not poſſible to hold together, unleſs the concord were derived out of the head, which he made to be the biſhop of Rome, and that it alſo reſted in the ſame.

After he had made a long proteſtation hereof, he paſſed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made a ſhameful railing, ſaying, that his doctrine gave occaſion of diviſion in the common-wealth, and that there was not ſo grievous a miſchief as that which by his means had been brought into the realm.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctriine it was; yet notwithſtanding (he ſaid) he knew it more perfectly himſelf than any did, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himſelf.

For at ſuch time as they had communication ſecretly among themſelves, Bucer (ſaid he) would oftentimes wiſh he might be called by ſome other name, than by the name he had; for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf guilty of ſo grievous a crime, he might by this means eſcape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

Moreover, among other things, he told how Bucer held opinion (which thing he ſhould confeſs to himſelf) that God was the author and well-ſpring, not only of good, but alſo of evil; and that whatſoever was of that ſort flowed from him, as from the head-ſpring and maker thereof. Which doctrine he held to be ſincere; howbeit, for offending divers men's conſciences, he durſt not put it into men's heads.

Many other things be patched together of like purport and effect, as of the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, of the marriage of prieſts, of divorcements and ſhameful uſury alſo, as though he had deemed the ſame lawful to be uſed among chriſtian people, with divers others of the like ſort.

In all which his allegations, conſidering how lewdly, without all ſhame, he lied upon Bucer, (as his writings evidently declare) he did not ſo much hurt his name with railing upon him, as win unto himſelf an inexpiable infamy, by forging ſuch ſhameful lies upon ſo worthy a man.

But what need of witneſs to prove him a liar? his own conſcience ſhall make as much againſt him as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth, and teſtified by his own familiar friends, that the ſaid Dr. Perne himſelf, either immediately after his ſermon, or elſe ſomewhat before he went to it, ſtriking himſelf on the breaſt, and in manner weeping, wiſhed at home in his own houſe, with all his heart, that God would grant his ſoul might even then preſently depart and remain with Bucer's. He knew well enough that his life was ſuch, that if any man's ſoul was worthy of heaven, he thought his eſpecially to be moſt worthy.

While he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verſes, in which the young men, to ſhew their folly, who ſcarce knew him by ſight, blazed Bucer's name with moſt reproachful poetry.

Theſe things being diſpatched, Dr. Perne (as though he had ſped his matter marvellouſly well) was for his labour, of courteſy bidden to dinner to Trinity-college by the commiſſioners. Where, after the table was taken up, they cauſed the ſentence of condemnation to be copied out with all ſpeed: which being ſigned with the biſhop of Cheſter's ſeal, the next day following was for a triumph ſent to London, with divers of thoſe verſes and ſlanderous libels.

Beſides this, they ſent alſo their own letters, wherein they both advertiſed the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and alſo deſired his grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of hand to Smith, mayor of the town, the commandment, commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. Unleſs he had the queen's warrant to ſave him harmleſs, he would not have to do in the matter: and that which remained to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched till that warrant came.

While this purſuivant went on his journey, they ordered to be brought unto them the books that they commanded before to be ſearched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the ſame time Dr. Watſon taking occaſion upon the day, becauſe it was a high feaſt, in which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the bleſſed virgin, made a ſermon to the people upon that pſalm, "We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midſt of thy temple," &c. In which ſermon he ſpake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He ſaid, that theſe men, and all the heretics of our time that were of the ſame opinion, (which for the moſt part, he ſaid, were budded out of Germany) among other things which they had perniciouſly put into men's heads, taught to caſt away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithſtanding, the apoſtle himſelf commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the bleſſed virgin and Joſeph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifeſtly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, obſerved theſe rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For he ſaid, that they came to the temple the ſame time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of proceſſion (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we were not aſhamed to laugh and mock at theſe things with the heretics and ſchiſmatics.

As he was ſpeaking of Chriſt, Mary, and Joſeph, one of them that heard him, a pleaſant and merry-conceited fellow, turning himſelf to him that ſtood next him, And if it be true, ſaid he, that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might aſk him a queſtion) bare the croſs before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemn ceremonies. Not only this man jeſted at the preacher's folly, but divers others alſo laughed at his manifeſt unſhamefacedneſs, in preaching theſe ſo vain and fooliſh ſuperſtitions.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Chriſtopherſon, elected biſhop of Chicheſter, being ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſs, fell down in a ſwoon among the preſs; and came not to himſelf for a good while after: in the mean time babbling many things, as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occaſion, becauſe he had been greatly accuſed before the commiſſioners for mis-ſpending and miſordering the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by reaſon Ormanet had cancelled before his face a leaſe of his, by which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, becauſe the covenants ſeemed unreaſonable.

By this time the purſuivant was returned again, who (as we ſaid before) was ſent to London with the commiſſioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of theſe men.

Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the ſixth day of February for the accompliſhment of the matter; for it had been in hand a great while already.

Therefore when the ſaid day was come, the commiſſioners ſent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what caſe things ſtood, whether all things were in a readineſs for the accompliſhment of this buſineſs. Underſtanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.

The vice-chancellor therefore taking with him Marſhal the common notary, went firſt to St. Michael's church where Phagius was buried. Then he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the ſame pariſh, and bound them with an oath to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marſhal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Haſell, the town ſerjeants, and of John Caper, warden of the ſame church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who ſhould be their executioner, (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in caſes of blood) commanded certain of his townſmen to wait upon him in harneſs, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon men's ſhoulders (for they were incloſed in cheſts, Bucer in the ſame that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one), they were carried into the midſt of the market-place, with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared before, and a great poſt was ſet faſt in the ground to bind the carcaſes to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the cheſts were ſet up on end with the dead bodies in them, and faſtened on both ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the poſt with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as ſoon as it began to flame round about, a great many books that were condemned with them were caſt into the ſame.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks (for it was market-day), who ſeeing men borne to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commiſſioners toward the rotten carcaſes, and partly laughed at their folly in making ſuch preparations. For what needeth any weapon, ſaid they? As though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them ſome harm. Or to what purpoſe ſerveth that chain wherewith they are tied, ſince they might be burnt looſe without peril? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Thus every body that ſtood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either ſharply or elſe lightly, as every man's mind gave him. There were very few that liked their doing therein.

In the mean time that they were a roaſting in the fire, Dr. Watſon went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there before his audience railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, ſaying, that it was the ground of all the miſchief that had happened for a long time in the common-wealth. For behold (ſaid he) as well the proſperity as the adverſity of theſe years that enſued, and you ſhall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily, all things have happened fortunately to them that have eſchewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we ſeen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with ſects; the common treaſure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole public weal) and the goods of the realm ſhamefully ſpent in waſte for the maintenance of a few people's luſts, all good order broken, all diſcipline caſt aſide, holidays appointed to the ſolemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and what is more, the places themſelves beaten down, fleſh and other kind of prohibited ſuſtenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorſe of conſcience, the prieſts had in deriſion, the maſs railed upon, no honour done to the ſacraments of the church; all eſtates and degrees given to ſuch a licentious liberty, without check, that all things ſeemed to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

And yet in the mean time the name of the goſpel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more different, or more to the ſlander of God's word than the ſame. For what other thing taught they to remain in that moſt bleſſed and myſtical ſacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? And what elſe do the remnant of them teach unto this day? Whereas Chriſt by expreſs words doth aſſure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and abſolute neceſſity of predeſtination? And yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who ſhould ſay, it ſkilled not what a man purpoſed of any matter, ſince he had not the power to determine otherwiſe than the matter ſhould come to paſs. Which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evil, bringing them through this perſuaſion into ſuch a careleſs ſecurity of the everlaſting eternity, that in the mean ſeaſon it made no matter either toward ſalvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. Theſe errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great ſtoutneſs.

Theſe and many other ſuch things he ſlanderouſly and falſely alledged againſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch ſort as he himſelf taught it) either he would not underſtand, or elſe he was minded to ſlander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things than the very ſame whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, had willingly aſſented, by ſubſcribing thereto with their own hands. While he talked in this wiſe before the people, many of them that had written verſes before, did now ſet up others, in which, like a ſort of water frogs, they ſpewed out their venomous malice againſt Bucer and Phagius. This was the laſt act of this interlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling of two churches, of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared before to have been interdicted.

This was done the next day following by the aforeſaid biſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremonial ſolemnity as the law required. But that breaden god, whom Bucer's carcaſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet turned thither again: neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unleſs he was brought thither with great ſolemnity: as I ſuppoſe, during all the time of his abſence, he was entertained by the commiſſioners at Trinity-college, and there continued as a ſojourner. For thither came all the graduates of the univerſity, the 8th of February, out of gentleneſs and courteſy, to bring him home again. Amongſt which number, the biſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to him, becauſe he was a biſhop) took and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of ſarſenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol alſo. Ormanet had given the ſame a little before to the univerſity, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

When this idol ſhould return home, he went not out the ſtraiteſt and neareſt way as other folks are wont to go, but he fetched a compaſs about moſt part of the town, and roamed through ſo many of the ſtreets, that it was an hour or more before he could find the way into this church again. I believe the ancient Romans obſerved a cuſtom not much unlike this in their proceſſions when they made ſupplications at the ſhrines of all their gods. The order of which proceſſion was this: the maſters regents went before, ſinging with a loud voice, *Salve feſta dies*, &c. Next them followed the biſhop of Cheſter, about him went Ormanet and his fellow-commiſſioners, with the maſters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper lighted in his hand. After whom, a little ſpace off, followed other degrees of the univerſity. Laſtly came the mayor and his townſmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow themſelves humbly before the hoſt; if any refuſed ſo to do, they threatened to ſend them forthwith to the Tollbooth. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with great ſacrificed hoſts of Bucer and Phagius, at length ſettled himſelf again in his accuſtomed room.

Dr. Scot, biſhop of Cheſter, prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himſelf, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeaſed, and all other things ſet in good order) all men ſhould make themſelves conformable to peace and quietneſs, namely, in matters pertaining to religion.

After this they beſtowed a few days in puniſhing and amercing ſuch as they thought had deſerved it. Some they ſuſpended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, leſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what print ſoever ſhould be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſy; others they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert; and many a one they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certain ſtatutes, by which they would have the univerſity hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things, as concerning the direction of their officers of the univerſity, of keeping and adminiſtering the goods of the univerſity, and of many other things. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for religion. In which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all things either with open blaſphemy or with ridiculous ſuperſtition. For they preſcribed at how many maſſes every man ſhould be day by day, and how many Pater Noſters and Aves every man ſhould ſay when he ſhould enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what ſort he ſhould bow himſelf to the altar, and how to the maſter of the houſe, what he ſhould do there, and how long he ſhould tarry, how many, and what prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations others ſhould uſe while the prieſt is in his memento, mumbling ſecretly to himſelf, what time of the maſs a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit down, when he ſhould make courteſy, when excluſively, when incluſively, and many other ſuperſtitious toys they decreed, that it was a ſport then to behold their ſuperſtitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover theſe maſters of good order, for faſhion's ſake, ordained that every man ſhould put on a ſurplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wiſe to wipe their noſes thereon.

Theſe things thus ſet at a ſtay, when the commiſſioners were now ready to go their ways, the univerſity for ſuch great benefits (which we ſhould not ſuffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to ſhew ſome token of courteſy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorſhip; for all the reſt, ſaving Chriſtopherſon, who now, by reaſon he was elected biſhop, prevented that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace-makers, that came to pacify ſtrifes and quarrels; who, through provoking every man to accuſe one another, left ſuch gaps and breaches in men's hearts at their departure, that for years after they could never be cloſed nor joined together again.

Theſe commiſſioners, before they departed out of the univerſity, commanded, that the maſters of every houſe ſhould copy out their ſtatutes, which beſides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every houſe particularly. Swinborn (who as I ſaid was maſter of Clare-hall) being demanded whether he would have thoſe things ingroſſed in parchment or in paper, anſwered, That it made no matter in what they were written: for the paper, or ſlighter thing that were of leſs continuance than paper, would ſerve the turn well enough: for he ſaid, a ſlenderer thing than that would laſt a great deal longer than thoſe decrees would ſtand in force. Neither was the man deceived in his conjecture: for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called queen Mary out of this life the 17th of November, 1558, after whom her ſiſter Elizabeth ſucceeding in the kingdom, raiſed to life again the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Chriſt began by little and little to flouriſh, ſo the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole) was reſtored again by the godly queen Elizabeth, who gave then in commiſſion to Matthew Parker, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Edmund Grindal, then biſhop of London, to Mr. Walter Haddon, and others: for the performance of which commiſſion, the ſaid reverend biſhops addreſſed their letters to the vice-chancellor, &c.

The Oration *of* Mr. Ackworth, Orator *of the* Univerſity, *at the* Reſtitution *of* Martin Bucer *and* Paulus Phagius.

I Am in doubt, whether I may treat of the praiſe and commendation of ſo great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this aſſembly and concourſe of your's is made this day), or of the vices and calamities, out of which we be newly delivered, or of them both, conſidering the one cannot be mentioned without the other.

In which times you felt ſo much anguiſh and ſorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I ſhould repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear I ſhould not ſo much work a juſt hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old ſorrow and heavineſs. Again, men muſt needs account me unadviſed and fooliſh in my doing, if I ſhould think myſelf able to make him who hath lived before our eyes in praiſe and eſtimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he by his living and converſation hath oftentimes poliſhed. But the wickedneſs of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men, the name that was ſo famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him. Inſomuch, that both in his life-time all things redounded to his continual renown, and eſpecially after his deceaſe, nothing could be deviſed more honourable, than with ſo ſolemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to have hurt the memory of ſuch a worthy man, and yet could not bring to paſs the thing that was ſo ſore coveted; but rather brought that thing to paſs, which was chiefly ſought to be avoided. For the deſire that men have of the dead hath purchaſed to many men everlaſting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but amplified and increaſed the ſame. By means whereof it cometh to paſs, that he that will treat of theſe things that pertain to the praiſe of Bucer after his death, cannot chuſe but ſpeak of the crabbedneſs of the times paſt, upon which riſeth a great increaſe and augmentation of his praiſe. But his life ſo excellently ſet forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheeke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body ſhould be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his burial, by the godly and moſt holy preachings of the right reverend father in Chriſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that now is Dr. Redman, which for the worthineſs and excellency of them, ought to ſtick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are penned and put in print; but alſo by the great aſſembly of all the degrees of the univerſity the ſame day, in bringing him to his grave, and the next day after by the induſtry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of which there was no man but ſet up ſome verſes, as witneſs of his juſt and unfeigned ſorrow, upon the walls of the church; that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then over-ſlipped, or now remaineth undone, that may ſeem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of ſo holy and famous a perſon, or to the conſecrating of him to everlaſting memory.

We at that time ſaw with our eyes this univerſity flouriſhing by his inſtitutions, the love of ſincere religion not only ingendered, but alſo confirmed and ſtrengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Inſomuch, that at ſuch time as he was ſuddenly taken from us, there was ſcarce any man that for ſorrow could find in his heart to bear with the preſent ſtate of this life, but that either he wiſhed with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality; or elſe endeavoured himſelf with weeping and ſighing to call him again, being diſpatched of all troubles, into the priſon of this body, out of which he is eſcaped, leſt he ſhould leave us as it were ſtanding in battle without a captain, and he himſelf as one caſhiered, depart with his wages, or as one diſcharged out of the camp, withdraw himſelf to the everlaſting quietneſs and tranquillity of the ſoul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how ſore they took his death to heart, and alſo how hardly they could away with the loſs of ſuch a man. As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flouriſhed, it wrought in our hearts an incredible deſire of his preſence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceaſed to be any more in our ſight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion, by little and little, waxed cold in our minds; and according to the times that came after (which were both miſerable, and to our utter undoing), it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vaniſhed away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troubleſomeneſs of the popiſh doctrine; the old rites and cuſtoms of the Romiſh church were reſtored again, not to the adorning and beautifying of the chriſtian religion (as they ſurmiſed), but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the ſame. Death was ſet before the eyes of ſuch as perſevered in the chriſtian doctrine that they had learned before. They were baniſhed the realm that would not apply themſelves to the times, and do as other men did: ſuch as remained were forced either to diſſemble, or to hide themſelves, and creep into corners, or elſe as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Cicero, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beaſts, but (what is far worſe and more monſtrous) from the likeneſs of God and his angels, into the likeneſs of devils. And all England was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of thoſe times, which overwhelmed all the whole realm, had not at leaſtwiſe yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of which there was not one, but (that beſides the grief that it felt with the reſidue of the body, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and contagion ſpread into the whole) had ſome ſorrow and calamity peculiar by itſelf. And to omit the reſt (of which to treat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be ſpoken) this dwelling place of the Muſes (which we call the univerſity) may be a ſufficient witneſs what we may judge of all the reſt of the body. For certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be diſſembled that cannot be hidden. We, applying ourſelves to thoſe moſt filthy times, have moſt ſhamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, who had not the ſtomachs to ſuſtain the adverſities of poverty, baniſhment, and death. Which in our living and converſation kept neither the conſtancy taught us by philoſophy, nor yet the patience taught us by holy ſcripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet, although in another ſenſe, hath aptly ſpoken, may well be thought to have been truly propheſied upon us:

The times and ſeaſons changed be:
And changed with the ſame are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and ſincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and troubled, the reſt that remained taſted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whoſe hands the authority of doing things here conſiſted; although to ſay the truth, I have uſed a gentler term than behoved. For is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beaſtly cruelty: who when they had exerciſed all kinds of torments and puniſhments upon the living, when they had cruelly taken life from ſuch as conſtantly perſevered; from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion; yet they could not be ſo ſatisfied, but that incenſed and ſtirred with a greater fury, it began to outrage even againſt the dead. Therefore whereas in every ſingular place was exerciſed a ſingular kind of cruelty, inſomuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be deviſed, but it was put in practice in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exerciſe the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the living. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witneſſes of the clear light of the goſpel. Moreover, at London periſhed theſe two lanthorns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom it is hard to ſay, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holineſs of life and converſation. Many others, both here and in other places, were conſumed to aſhes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I ſay not with burning of houſes and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive, upon whom they might ſpew out their bitter poiſon, played the mad Bedlam againſt the dead. The dead men, whoſe living no man was able to find fault with, whoſe doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by falſe ſlanderous accuſers indicted, contrary to the laws of God and man, ſued in the law, condemned, the ſepulchres violated and broken up, their carcaſes pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing ſurely incredible, if we had not ſeen it with our eyes, and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the heinouſneſs of this wicked act was ſpread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and diſperſed through all Chriſtendom.

Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others intreated and ſent for, to the end he might inſtruct our Cambridge-men in the ſincere doctrine of the chriſtian religion, being ſpent with age, and his ſtrength utterly decayed, forſook his own country, refuſed not the tediousneſs of that long journey, was not afraid to venture himſelf upon the ſea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Chriſt, than of all other things. So in concluſion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in ſuch wiſe, as might appear he came not hither for his own ſake, but for our's. For he ſought not to drive away the ſickneſs that he had taken by troubleſome travel of his long journey: and albeit his ſtrength were weakened, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himſelf to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and inſtruct us. And yet toward this ſo noble and worthy a perſon, while he lived were ſhewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleneſs, reverence and courteſy that could be; but when he was dead, the moſt horrible cruelty and ſpite that might be imagined. For what can be ſo commendable, as to grant unto the living houſe and abiding place, and to the dead burial? Or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cheriſh that perſon in his houſe with all kinds of gentleneſs that he can deviſe, upon whom he could not vouchſafe to beſtow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconſiſtency is it, with great ſolemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out ſpitefully, and wrongfully to ſlander him being dead, who during his life-time always deſerved praiſe? All theſe things have happened unto Bucer, who whilſt he lived had free acceſs into the moſt gorgeous buildings and ſtately palaces of the greateſt princes: and when he was dead, could not be ſuffered to enjoy ſo much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterward ſpitefully taken up and burned. Which things, although they did no harm to the dead, (for the dead carcaſes feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly perſons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful cenſure and juſt judgment of God) yet manifeſt the extreme cruelty and inſatiable deſire of revenge in them which offer ſuch utter wrong to the dead. Theſe perſons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have caſt out of houſe and home, and in they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end with moſt cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheleſs aliens, being ſtrangers, and being alſo fetched hither by us out of ſuch a country, where they not only needed not to fear any puniſhment, but on the contrary were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as alſo among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle than theſe men was biſhop Gardiner, otherwiſe an earneſt defender of the popiſh doctrine? who againſt his own countrymen, let paſs no cruelty whereby he might extinguiſh with fire and ſword the light of the goſpel: and yet he ſpared foreigners, becauſe the right of them is ſo holy, that there was never nation ſo barbarous, that would violate the ſame. For when he had in his power the renowned clerk Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to puniſh him, but (as I have heard reported) when he ſhould go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to ſtrangers.

And whom the law of God could not with-hold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of ſtrangers, which hath ever appeaſed all barbarous beaſtlineſs, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be ever ſo far ſeparated and ſet aſunder, both by ſea and by land, without which acceſs there can be no intercourſe of merchandiſe, there can be no conference of wits, which firſt of all engendered learning, nor any commodity of ſociety long to continue. To repulſe them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our ſufferance dwell among us, and have increaſe of houſhold and houſhold-ſtuff, is a point of wickedneſs. Wherefore this cruelty hath far ſurmounted the cruelty of all others, which, to ſatisfy the unſatiable greedineſs thereof, drew to execution not only ſtrangers, brought hither at our intreaty and ſending for, but even the withered and rotten carcaſes digged out of their graves; to the intent that the unmeaſureable thirſt which could not be quenched with ſhedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the leaſt be ſatisfied in burning of dead men's bones.

Theſe, my brethren, theſe, I ſay, are the juſt cauſes which have ſo ſore provoked the wrath of God againſt us; becauſe that in doing extreme injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the ſame away we have been ſlow and ſlack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to ſay freely what I think ye ſhall bear with me, if I chance to caſt forth any thing unadviſedly in the heat and haſty diſcourſe of my oration) that even this place, in which we have ſo oftentimes aſſembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedneſs, ſuch as man never heard of before, is a lett and hindrance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appeaſe the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

The blood of Abel ſhed by Cain, called and cried from the earth that ſucked it up: likewiſe the undeſerved burning of theſe bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to puniſh us, and crieth, that not only the authors of ſo great a wickedneſs, but alſo the miniſters thereof are impure, the places defiled in which theſe things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by ſundry diſeaſes and ſickneſſes we may receive puniſhment for ſo execrable wickedneſs. Look well about you (my dear brethren), and conſider with yourſelves the evils that are paſt; and ye ſhall ſee how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one on the neck of another even to this day. Firſt and foremoſt, when we were even in the chiefeſt of our mourning, and ſcarcely yet comforted of our ſorrow for his death, the ſweating ſickneſs lighted upon us, which paſſed ſwiftly through all England, and as it were in haſte diſpatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our moſt noble king Edward VI. (whoſe life in virtue ſurmounted the opinion of all men, and ſeemed worthy of immortality) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age, in which, unleſs violence be uſed, few do die. The converſion of religion, or rather the everſion and turning thereof into popery: the incurſion and domination of ſtrangers, under whoſe yoke our necks were almoſt ſubdued: the great cruelty of the biſhops againſt the chriſtians, which executed that wickedneſs, for making ſatisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. Theſe are the things that enſued after his death; but after his burning enſued yet more grievous things: namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diſeaſes, unknown to the very phyſicians, whereby either every man's health was impaired, or elſe they were brought to their graves, or elſe very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the ſlaughter with great loſs. Which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and ſighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and aſſembly in the following light: that foraſmuch as we have violated their corpſe, we ſhould do them right again; ſo that the memorial of theſe moſt holy men may be commended unto poſterity unhurt and undefamed. Wherefore amend yet at length (my brethren), which hitherto, by reaſon of the variableneſs and unconſtancy of the times, have been wavering and unſtedfaſt in your hearts; ſhew yourſelves cheerful and forward in making ſatiſfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with ſuch great wickedneſs of late you injured and defiled; not cenſing them with the perfumes of thoſe odours and ſpices now worn out of uſe, and put to flight, but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble ſubmiſſion be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requeſts.

When Mr. Ackworth had made an end of his oration, Mr. James Pilkington, the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going into the pulpit, made a ſermon upon the 112th Pſalm, the beginning whereof is, "Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord."

Where intending to prove, that the remembrance of the juſt man ſhall not periſh, and that Bucer is bleſſed, and that the ungodly ſhall fret at the ſight thereof, but yet that all their attempts ſhall be to no purpoſe, (to the intent that this ſaying may be verified, I will curſe your bleſſings, and bleſs your curſings) he took his beginning of his own perſon; That although he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthineſs of the matter itſelf, and eſpecially for certain ſingular virtues of thoſe perſons, for whom that congregation was called; notwithſtanding, he ſaid, he was not fit to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reaſon, that he which before had done Bucer wrong, ſhould now make him amends for the diſpleaſure. As for his own part, he was ſo far from working evil againſt Bucer, either in word or deed; that for their ſingular knowledge almoſt in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart: but yet he ſomewhat more favoured Bucer, as with him he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In conſideration whereof, although that it was ſcarce convenient that he at that time ſhould ſpeak, yet he was contented, for friendſhip and courteſy's ſake, not to fail them in their buſineſs.

Having made this preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, ſo fiercely extended againſt the dead. He ſaid, it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have ſhewed ſuch extreme cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to miſbehave himſelf in ſuch wiſe toward the dead, was ſuch a thing as had not lightly been heard of: ſaving that he affirmed this cuſtom of excommunicating and curſing of dead bodies to have come firſt from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that Eutychius was of the ſame opinion, induced by the example of Joſias, who ſlew the prieſts of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars. Whereas before the time of Eutychius this kind of puniſhment was nearly unknown, neither afterward uſurped by any man (that he ever heard of) till 900 years after Chriſt. In the latter times (which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apoſtles, the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelty began to creep further: for it is manifeſtly known, that Stephen the Sixth, pope of Rome, digged up Formoſus, his laſt predeceſſor in that ſee, and ſpoiling him of his apparel (as they call it), firſt cutting off and throwing his two fingers into the Tyber, with which, according to their accuſtomed manner, he was wont to bleſs and conſecrate. Which his unſpeakable tyranny uſed againſt Formoſus, within ſix years after Sergius the Third increaſed alſo againſt the ſame Formoſus: for, taking up his dead body, and ſetting it in a pope's chair, he cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be caſt into the river Tyber, abrogating and diſannulling all his decree, which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cauſe why ſuch great cruelty was exerciſed (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; becauſe that Formoſus had been an adverſary to Stephen and Sergius, when they ſued to be made biſhops.

This kind of cruelty, unheard of before, the popes a while exerciſed one againſt another. But now, before they had ſufficiently felt the ſmart thereof themſelves, they had turned the ſame upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wiſhed, that ſeeing it began among them, it might have remained ſtill with the authors thereof, and not have been ſpread over thence unto us. But ſuch is the nature of all evil, that it quickly paſſeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliffe was in like manner digged up, and burnt to aſhes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried. In the ſame manner was ſerved one William Tracy, of Glouceſter, a man of a worſhipful houſe, becauſe he had written in his laſt will, that he ſhould be ſaved only by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in heaven or on earth; therefore he bequeathed no legacy to that purpoſe, as all other men were accuſtomed to do. This deed was done ſince we may remember, about the twenty-ſecond year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1530.

Now ſeeing they extended ſuch cruelty to the dead, he ſaid it was an eaſy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living. Whereof we have had ſufficient trial by the examples of our own men, theſe few years paſt. And if we would take the pains to peruſe things done ſomewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of our own chronicles. However, it was ſufficient for the manifeſt demonſtration of that matter, to declare the beaſtly butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenſes at Cabrier, and the places thereabout, by his captain Miner, about the year of our Lord 1545, than which there was never thing read of more cruelly done, no not even of the barbarous pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had ſhewed their utmoſt cruelty both againſt theſe and many others, they were ſo far from their purpoſe, in extinguiſhing the light of the goſpel, which they endeavoured to ſuppreſs, that it increaſed daily more and more. Which thing Charles the Fifth (than whom all Chriſtendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Chriſt a ſorer enemy) eaſily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomeran with certain other preachers of the goſpel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely againſt them, nor violated their graves, but alſo intreating them gently, ſent them away, not ſo much as once forbidding them to publiſh openly the doctrine that they profeſſed. For it is the nature of Chriſt's church, that the more that tyrants ſpurn againſt it, the more it increaſeth and flouriſheth. A notable proof aſſuredly of the providence and pleaſure of God in ſowing the goſpel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wickliffe, of whom we ſpoke before, who at that time read openly at Oxford; and alſo the going of our men to the ſaid Bohemians when perſecution was raiſed againſt us. But much more notable was it, what we have ſeen come to paſs in theſe our days; that the Spaniards, ſent for into the realm on purpoſe to ſuppreſs the goſpel, as ſoon as they were returned home, repleniſhed many parts of their country with the ſame truth of religion to which before they were enemies.

By which examples it might evidently be ſeen, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, conſidering how the mercy of God hath ſown it abroad, not only in thoſe countries that we ſpake of, but alſo in France, Poland, Scotland, and almoſt all the reſt of Europe. For it is ſaid, that ſome parts of Italy (although it be under the pope's noſe) yet do of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth; wherefore ſufficient argument and proof might be taken by the ſucceſs and increaſe thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is ſent us from heaven, unleſs we will wilfully be blinded. And if there were any that deſired to be perſuaded more at large in the matter, he might adviſedly conſider the voyages that the emperor and the pope, with both their powers together, made jointly againſt the Bohemians: in which the emperor met ſuch an unworthy repulſe of ſo ſmall a handful of his enemies, that he never almoſt in all his life took the like diſhonour in any place. Hereof alſo might be an eſpecial example of the death of Henry, king of France, who, on the day that he had purpoſed to perſecute Chriſt's church, and to have burned certain of his guard, who were impriſoned for religion, at whoſe execution he had promiſed to be preſent, in the midſt of his triumph at Tournay, was wounded ſo ſore in the head with a ſpear, by one of his own ſubjects, that he ſoon after died.

In which behalf the dreadful judgments of God were no leſs approved in our own countrymen. For one that was a notable ſlaughter-man of Chriſt's ſaints, rotted alive, and before he died, ſuch a rank ſmell ſteamed from his body, that none of his friends were able to come to him, for fear of vomiting. Another, being in utter deſpair of all health, howled out miſerably. The third ran out of his wits. Divers others, that were enemies to the church, periſhed miſerably in the end. All which things were certain tokens of the favour and defence of the Divine Majeſty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants. And foraſmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he ſaid it was a moſt apt example that was reported of their captain Ziſca, who, when he ſhould die, ordered his body to be flayed, and of his ſkin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum: for it ſhould come to paſs, that when his enemies heard the ſound of it, they ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them. The like counſel (he ſaid) he himſelf now gave them as concerning Bucer: that like as the Bohemians did with the ſkin of Ziſca, the ſame ſhould they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer: for as ſoon as the papiſts ſhould hear the noiſe of him, their gew-gaws would forthwith decay. For ſaving that they uſed violence to ſuch as withſtood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might ſeem (having but mean underſtanding in holy ſcripture) to be grounded upon any reaſon. As for thoſe things that were done by them, againſt ſuch as could not play the mad-men as well as they, ſome of them ſavoured of open force, and ſome of ridiculous fooliſhneſs. For what was this firſt of all? Was it not frivolous, that for the ſpace of three years together, maſs ſhould be ſung in thoſe places where Bucer and Phagius reſted in the Lord, without any offence? and as ſoon as they took it to be an offence, ſtraightway to be an offence if any were heard there; or that it ſhould not be as good then as it was before: as if that then, upon a ſudden, it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it there, and that the fault that was paſt ſhould be counted the more grievous, becauſe it was done of long time. Moreover, this was a matter of no effect, that Bucer and Phagius only ſhould be dug up; as if they alone had embraced the religion which they call hereſy. It was well known how one of the burgeſſes of the town had been inclined toward the popiſh religion: who, when he ſhould die, deſired neither ringing of bells, dirges, nor any kind of trifles, to be done on his anniverſary, as it is termed; but that they ſhould go with inſtruments of muſic before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial; and alſo, that yearly a ſermon ſhould be made to the people, bequeathing a piece of money to the preacher. Neither might he omit in that place to ſpeak of Ward the painter, who, although he was a man of no reputation, yet was not to be deſpiſed for the religion's ſake which he diligently followed. Nor were divers others to be paſſed over with ſilence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the ſame ſect, and to reſt in other church-yards in Cambridge, and indeed through the whole realm, and yet defiled not their maſſes at all.

All which perſons (foraſmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought to have been taken up, or elſe all have been let to lie with the ſame religion; unleſs a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they like lawful and unlawful, at pleaſure.

In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to ſay the truth, they uſed too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howſoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuſe Phagius, inaſmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, except a few things that he had tranſlated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm, he never read, diſputed, preached, or taught; for he died ſoon after, ſo that he could in that time give no occaſion for his adverſaries to accuſe him whom they never heard ſpeak. In that they hated Bucer ſo deadly, for allowing marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived againſt him, and a very ſlander raiſed by themſelves. For he had for his defence in that matter (beſides other helps) the teſtimony of pope Pius the Second, who, in a certain place ſays, That upon weighty conſiderations, prieſts' wives were taken from them, but for more weighty cauſes were to be reſtored. And alſo the ſtatute of the emperor, (they call it the Interim) by which it is enacted, That ſuch of the clergy as were married ſhould not be divorced from their wives.

Thus turning his ſtyle from this matter to the univerſity, he reproved, in few words, their unfaithfulneſs towards theſe men. For if the Lord ſuffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt, without revengement (as ſaith Amos), let us aſſure ourſelves he will not ſuffer ſo notable a wrong done to his godly preachers unrevenged.

Afterward when he came to the condemnation, (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, in the name of them all) being ſomewhat more moved at the matter, he admoniſhed them how greatly it behoved them to uſe circumſpection, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the univerſity. For that he which ſhould take his authority from them, ſhould be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion he had of their doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think but well of them: for it would come to paſs, that if they would beſtow their promotions upon none but fit perſons, and let the unfit go as they come, both the common-wealth ſhould receive much advantage and profit by them, and they ſhould highly pleaſe God. But if they perſiſted to be negligent in ſo doing, they ſhould grievouſly injure the common-wealth, and work their own ſhame and reproach. Beſides, they ſhould greatly offend the majeſty of God, whoſe commandment (Not to bear falſe witneſs) would be broken and violated.

While he was ſpeaking theſe and many other things before his audience, many of the univerſity, to ſet out and defend Bucer, beſet the walls of the church and church-porch on both ſides with verſes; ſome in Latin, ſome in Greek, and ſome in Engliſh, in which they made a manifeſt declaration how they were minded toward Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his ſermon was ended, they made common ſupplication and prayers. After giving thanks to God for many other things, eſpecially for reſtoring the true religion, every man departed his way.

Foraſmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous clerk Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it will not be improper here to inſert the funeral verſe of Dr. Redman upon Bucer's death, now tranſlated into Engliſh.

The Epitaph, *or* Funeral Verſe, *of* Dr. REDMAN, *upon the* Death *of* MARTIN BUCER.

HENCE, O far hence let envy fly,
Nor be revenge nor mock'ry nigh:
The lying lips and faithleſs mind,
Let here no reſt or refuge find.
Theſe from the man God's image take,
And him more like the devil's make.
But holy truth be preſent here,
Thou virgin everlaſting fair:
And to the inquiring many ſhew,
From whence proceeds this ſcene of woe.
Bucer, who led the church before,
Bucer, that light of learning, is no more:
As the ſun gilds the world around,
So he in learning's orb was found.
The mourning ſchools his loſs confeſs,
But who can Cambridge's grief expreſs?
High as the ſtars her ſighs aſcend,
Lamenting thus her wonted friend.
No more ſhall we a maſter find,
Like him ſo juſt, like him ſo kind:
Whoſe exemplary life was fraught
With all the virtues which he taught:
His reſt ſo ſmall, labour ſo great,
Nature ſunk down beneath the weight,
And yielded to death's fatal power,
Before his ſhort appointed hour.
But ſtop, my muſe, thy labour's vain,
Thy lines can't half his praiſe contain:
Then farewel, Bucer, thy remains
An humble ſepulchre retains,
Till the Great Judge of all ſhall come,
And paſs his univerſal doom:
Then he thy body will reſtore,
More glorious than it was before.
Till when thy ſoul amongſt the bleſt remains,
There happily thou lives, there happily thou reigns.

The deſpiteful Handling *and* Madneſs *of the* Papiſts *toward* PETER MARTYR's Wife *at* Oxford, *who was taken up from her* Grave *at the* Command *of* Cardinal POOLE, *and afterwards buried in a* Dunghill.

AND becauſe one univerſity ſhould not mock the other, like cruelty was alſo declared upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an honeſt, grave, and ſober matron while ſhe lived, and always a great helper of poor people, as many dwelling there can well teſtify.

In the year of our Lord 1552, ſhe departed this life, with great ſorrow of all thoſe needy perſons, whoſe neceſſities ſhe had often liberally eaſed and relieved. Now when Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert Morwen, preſident of Corpus Chriſti college, Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's viſitors, they, among other things, had in commiſſion to take up this good woman out of her grave, and to conſume her carcaſe with fire, not doubting but that ſhe was of the ſame religion that her huſband had profeſſed before, when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a ſhew that they would do ſomething diſorderly, they called all thoſe before them that had any acquaintance with her or her huſband. They adminiſtered an oath to them, that they ſhould not conceal whatſoever was demanded. In fine, their anſwer was, that they knew not what religion ſhe was of, by reaſon they underſtood not her language.

To be ſhort, after theſe viſitors had ſped their buſineſs they came for, they went to the cardinal again, certifying him, that upon due inquiſition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithſtanding, the cardinal did not leave the matter ſo, but wrote down his letters a good while after to Marſhall, then dean of Frideſwide's, that he ſhould dig her up, and lay her out of chriſtian burial, becauſe ſhe was interred nigh unto St. Frideſwide's relics, ſometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marſhall calling his ſpades and mattocks together in the evening, when he was well fuddled, cauſed her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

However, when it pleaſed God, under good queen Elizabeth, to give quietneſs to his church, long time perſecuted with priſon and death, then Dr. Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, biſhop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her majeſty's high commiſſioners in matters of religion, (nothing ignorant how far the adverſaries of the truth had tranſgreſſed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the ſepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman) willed certain of that college, in which this uncourteous fact was attempted or done, to take her out of the dunghill where ſhe lay, and ſolemnly, in face of the town, to bury her again in a more decent grave: for though the body being once dead, no great eſtimation were to be had, where the bones were laid; yet ſome reverence was to be uſed toward her for the ſake of her ſex. Beſides, in fact, it was ſhameful, that he, after travelling ſo far at king Edward's requeſt, from the place wherein he had dwelt quietly, and had taken ſo earneſt pains, being an old man, in reading and ſetting forth the truth as far as he was able, with learning to teach and inſtruct, and ſo well deſerved of that univerſity, ſhould, by ſo ungentle a recompence of ingratitude, be rewarded again, as to have his wife, who was a godly woman, a ſtranger, good to many, eſpecially to the poor, and doing injury to no one, in word or deed, without juſt deſerving, and contrary to their own law, not proceeding againſt her according to the order thereof, ſpitefully to be laid in a ſtinking dunghill.

To all good people the fact ſeemed odious, and of ſuch indued with humanity, utterly to be deteſted. Wherefore Mr. Calfield, ſub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marſhall's dunghill ſhe was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper place again, yea, and withal coupled her with Frideſwide's bones, that in caſe any cardinal will be ſo mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcern her bones from the other. And in order to inform the minds of men the better, the next day, being Sunday, Mr. Rogerſon preached unto the people, in which ſermon by the way he declared the cruel uſage of the adverſary, which not contented to practiſe upon the living, but they muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to ſee their own wickedneſs. Amen.

Thus much touching the noble acts and ſtrangeneſs of this worthy cardinal in both the univerſities; whereunto it will not be impertinent here alſo conſequently to adjoin and ſet forth to the eyes of the world the blind and bloody articles ſet out by cardinal Poole, to be inquired upon, within his dioceſe of Canterbury, whereby it may the better appear what yokes and ſnares of fond and fruitleſs traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Chriſt, to intangle and oppreſs them with loſs of life and liberty. By which, wiſe men may ſee what godly fruits proceeded from that catholic church and ſee of Rome: in which, although thou ſeeſt (good reader) ſome good articles interſperſed, let not that move thee; for elſe how could ſuch poiſon be miniſtered, but it muſt have ſome honey to reliſh the reader's taſte.

The Articles *ſet forth by* Cardinal POOLE, *to be inquired upon in his ordinary* Viſitation, *within his* Dioceſe *of* Canterbury.

Touching the Clergy.

1. FIRST, Whether the divine ſervice in the church at times, days, and hours, be obſerved and kept duly, or no.

2. Item, Whether the parſons, vicars, and curates,

do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themſelves, or no.

3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly adminiſter the ſacraments or ſacramentals, or no.

4. Item, Whether any of the pariſhioners die without miniſtration of the ſacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

5. Item, Whether the ſaid parſons, vicars, or curates, do haunt taverns or alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamy and ſlander, or no.

6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to chriſten children in time of neceſſity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

7. Item, Whether they ſee that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be chriſtened.

8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

9. Item, Whether there be any prieſts that of late unlawfully had women under pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their pariſhioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

11. Item, Whether they do decently obſerve thoſe things that do concern the ſervice of the church, and all thoſe things that tend to a good and chriſtian life, according to the canons of the church.

12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers, pray for the proſperous eſtate of the king and queen's majeſties.

13. Item, Whether the ſaid parſons and vicars do ſufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them ſufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and unity of the church.

15. Item, Whether any of them do ſay the divine ſervice, or do adminiſter the ſacraments in the Engliſh tongue, contrary to the uſual order of the church.

16. Item, Whether any of them do ſuſpiciouſly keep any women in their houſes, or do keep company with men ſuſpected of hereſies, or of evil opinion.

17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily reſort to their pretended wives, or whether the ſaid women do privily reſort unto them.

18. Item, Whether they do go decently apparelled as it becometh ſad, ſober, and diſcreet miniſters, and whether they have their crowns and beards ſhaven.

19. Item, Whether any of them do uſe any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to ſlander and evil report.

20. Item, Whether they do keep reſidence and hoſpitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the laws eccleſiaſtical.

21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of regiſters of chriſtenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the Lay-people.

1. FIRST, Whether any manner of perſon, of what eſtate, degree or condition ſoever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm, any hereſies, errors or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws eccleſiaſtical, and the unity of the catholic church.

2. Item, Whether any perſon do hold, affirm, or ſay, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt: or that by any manner of means do contemn and deſpiſe the ſaid bleſſed ſacrament, or do refuſe to do reverence or worſhip thereunto.

3. Item, Whether they do contemn or deſpiſe by any manner of means any other of the ſacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuſe or deny auricular confeſſion.

4. Item, Whether any do abſent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine ſervice upon Sundays and holy-days.

5. Item, Whether being in the church, they do not apply themſelves to hear the divine ſervice, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of divine ſervice.

6. Item, Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit inceſt, or be bawds, and receivers of evil perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them.

7. Item, Whether any do blaſpheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common ſwearers.

8. Item, Whether any be perjured, or have committed ſimony or uſury, or do ſtill remain in the ſame.

9. Item, Whether the churches and church-yards be well and honeſtly repaired and incloſed.

10. Item, Whether the churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with all ornaments and books neceſſary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent ſtature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the ſame church.

11. Item, Whether any do with-hold, or draw from the church any manner of money, or goods, or that do with-hold their due and accuſtomed tithes from their ſons and vicars.

12. Item, Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exerciſe any lewd paſtimes, eſpecially in the time of divine ſervice.

13. Item, If there be any who do practiſe or exerciſe any arts of magic or necromancy, or do uſe or practiſe any incantations, ſorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected thereof.

14. Item, Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or conſanguinity, prohibited by the laws of holy church, or that do marry, the banns not aſked, or do make any privy contracts.

15. Item, Whether in the time of Eaſter laſt, any were not confeſſed, or did not receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themſelves in the receiving thereof.

16. Item, Whether any do keep any ſecret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion, contrary to the laws.

17. Item, Whether any do now not duly keep the faſting and ember-days.

18. Item, Whether the altars in the churches be conſecrated or no.

19. Item, Whether the ſacrament be carried devout to them that fall ſick, with light, and with a little ſacring bell.

20. Item, Whether the common ſchools be well kept, and that the ſchool-maſters be diligent in teaching, and be alſo catholic, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary.

21. Item, Whether any do take upon them to adminiſter the goods of thoſe that be dead, without authority from the ordinary.

22. Item, Whether the poor people in every pariſh be charitably provided for.

23. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the ſacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. Item, Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. Item, Whether any do keep, or have in their cuſtody, any erroneous or unlawful books.

26. Item, Whether any do with-hold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

27. Item, Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themſelves from their huſbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28. Item, Whether any do violate or break the Sunday and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exerciſes upon the ſame.

29. Item, Whether the taverns or alehouſes, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in time of maſs, mattins, and even-ſong, do keep open their doors, and do receive

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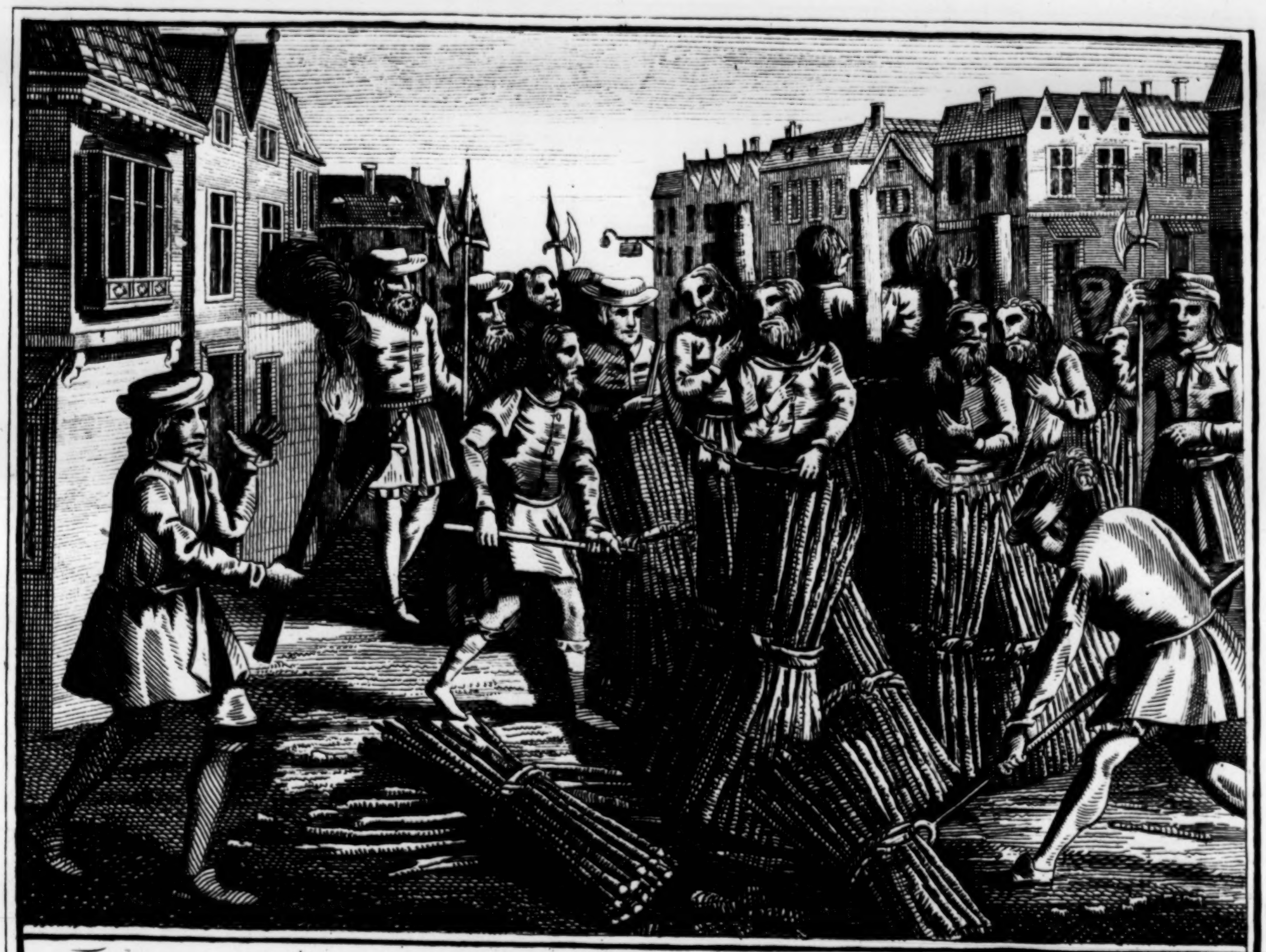
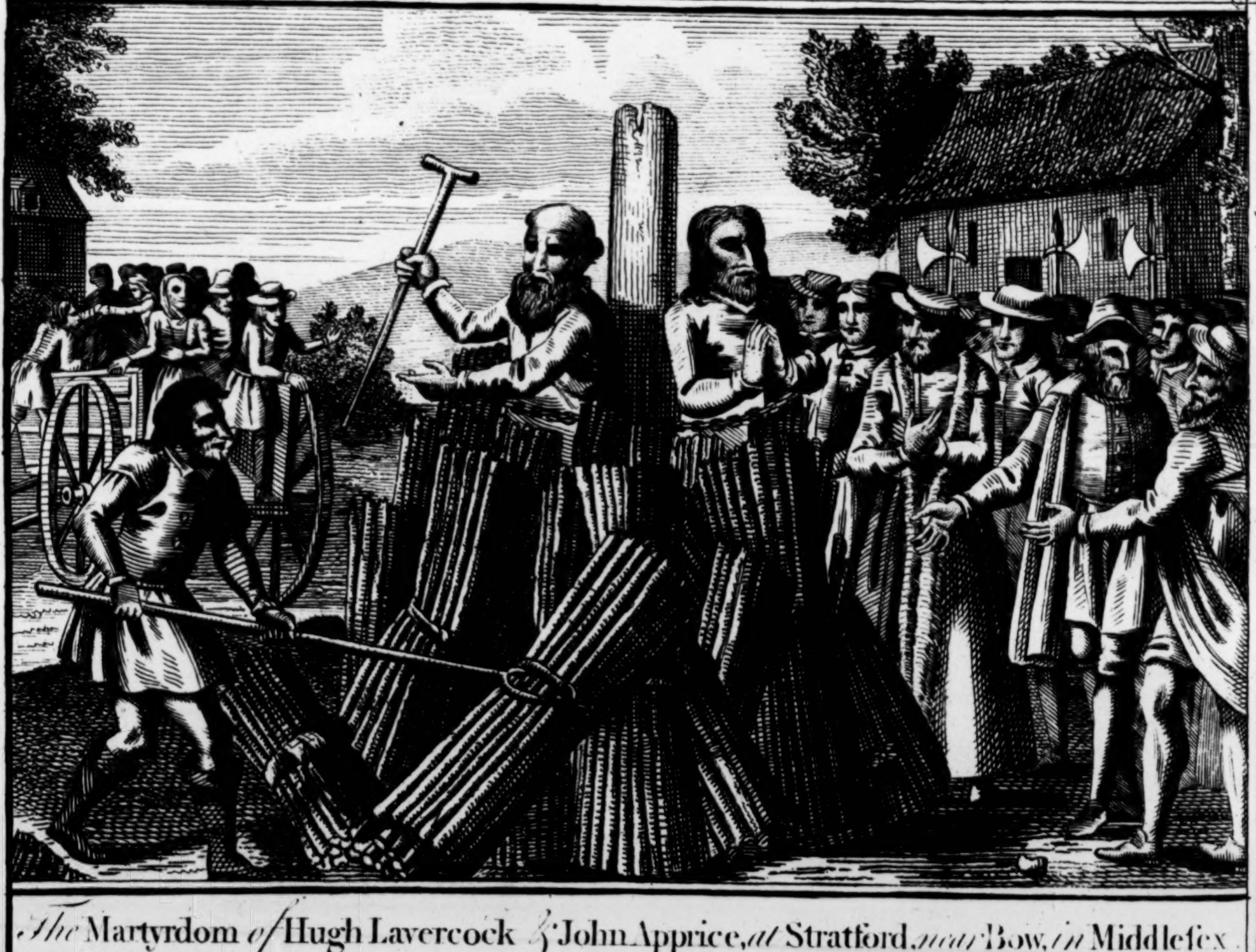


The Martyrdom *of* Kemp, Prowting, Waterer, Lowick, Hudſon *&* Haies, *at* Canterbury, *in* Kent.



The Martyrdom *of* Hugh Lavercock *&* John Apprice, *at* Stratford, *near* Bow, *in* Middleſex.

Face 6.2

people into their houſes to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

30. Item, Whether any have or do deprave or contemn the authority or juriſdiction of the pope's holineſs, or the ſee of Rome.

31. Item, Whether any minſtrels, or any other perſons, do uſe to ſing any ſongs againſt the holy ſacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

32. Item, Whether there be any hoſpitals within your pariſhes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly obſerved and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly.

33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or poſſeſſions be taken away, or with-held from the ſaid hoſpitals, and by whom.

An Account of Ten MARTYRS *condemned and burnt within the* Dioceſe *of* Canterbury.

MENTION was made a little before of the perſecution in Kent: where we declared that 15 were impriſoned and condemned in the caſtle of Canterbury: of which 15 we declared five to be famiſhed to death within the ſaid caſtle, and buried by the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten in January, 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there conſumed to aſhes, by Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Their names are as follow: John Philpot, of Tenterden, William Waterer, of Beddingden, Stephen Kempe, of Norgate, William Hay, of Hithe, Thomas Hudſon, of Salenge, Matthew Bradbridge, of Tenterden, Thomas Stephens, of Beddingden, Nicholas Final, of Tenterden, W. Lowick, of Cranbroke, W. Prowting, of Thornham.

Of theſe ten godly martyrs, ſix were burnt at Canterbury about the 15th of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudſon, and Hay. The other two, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the ſame month. The other two, Final and Bradbridge, were burnt together at Aſhford the 16th of the ſame.

What the ordinary articles were, that were commonly objected to them of Canterbury dioceſe, is before rehearſed, ſave only that to ſome of theſe, as to them that follow after, as the time of their perſecution did grow, ſo their articles withal did increaſe to the number of two and twenty, containing ſuch like matter as ſeemed to the maintenance of the Romiſh ſee.

Their anſwers likewiſe to theſe articles need not be rehearſed, ſeeing they all agreed together, though not in the ſame form of words, yet to the ſame effect, &c.

The next month, which was February, came out another bloody commiſſion from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of perſecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commiſſion I thought here not to omit; not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much; but that the reader may underſtand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the firſt perſecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximinian, Diocleſian, Licinius, &c. ſo now in theſe latter perilous days, have ſet out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority, to the uttermoſt they could deviſe againſt Chriſt and his goſpel. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe laws, inſtitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided againſt Chriſt and his goſpel, he ſtill continueth, his goſpel flouriſheth, and truth prevaileth; kings and emperors in their own purpoſes overthrown, their devices diſſolved, their counſels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifeſt. But now let us hear the intent of this commiſſion, in tenor as follows:

A bloody Commiſſion *given forth by* King PHILIP *and* Queen MARY, *to perſecute the poor* Members *of* Chriſt.

PHILIP and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God our right truſty and well-beloved counſellor Thomas, biſhop of Ely, and to our right truſty and well-beloved William Windſor, knight, lord Windſor, Edward North, knight, lord North, and to our truſty and well-beloved counſellor J. Bourn, knight, one of our chief ſecretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, maſter of our wards and liveries, Edward Walgrave, knight, maſter of our great wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, maſter of the rolls, Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Richard Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, William Raſtal, ſerjeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of St. Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, eſquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

Foraſmuch as divers deviliſh and ſlanderous perſons have not only invented, noiſed, and ſet forth divers falſe rumours, tales, and ſeditious ſlanders againſt Us, but alſo have ſown divers hereſies, and heretical opinions, and ſet forth divers ſeditious books within this Our realm of England, meaning thereby to ſtir up diviſion, ſtrife, contention, and ſedition, not only amongſt Our loving ſubjects, but alſo betwixt Us and Our ſaid ſubjects, with divers other outrageous miſdemeanours, enormities, contempts and offences, daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of Us and Our people, We, minding the due puniſhment of ſuch offenders, and the repreſſing of ſuch like offences, enormities, and miſbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpecial truſt and confidence in your fidelities, wiſdoms and diſcretions, have authoriſed, appointed and aſſigned you to be Our commiſſioners, and by theſe preſents do give full power and authority unto you, or any three of you, to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witneſſes and all other means and politic ways you can deviſe, of all and ſingular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and ſeditious books, concealments, contempts, conſpiracies, and all falſe rumours, tales, ſeditious and ſlanderous words or ſayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruited, invented, or ſet forth againſt Us, or either of Us, or againſt the quiet governance and rule of Our people and ſubjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwiſe, in any county, bowing, key, or other place or places, within this Our realm of England or elſewhere, in any place or places beyond the ſea, and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, ſellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any ſuch letter, books, rumour and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counſellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, or any three of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof, to ſearch out and take into your poſſeſſions, all manner of heretical and ſeditious books, letters, and writings, where they or any of them ſhall be found, as well in printers' houſes and ſhops as elſewhere, willing you and every of you to ſearch for the ſame in all places according to your diſcretions.

Alſo to inquire, hear, and determine all and ſingular enormities, diſturbances, miſbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and alſo for and concerning the taking away or with-holding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, ſtocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the ſaid churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the ſame.

And alſo to inquire and ſearch out all ſuch perſons as obſtinately refuſe to receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, to hear maſs, or come to their pariſh churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine ſervice,

vice, and all ſuch as refuſe to go in proceſſion to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwiſe do miſbehave themſelves in any church or other hallowed place, whereſoever any of the ſame offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be committed within Our ſaid realm.

Nevertheleſs, Our will and pleaſure is, that when, and as often as any perſon or perſons, hereafter being called or convened before you, do obſtinately perſiſt or ſtand in any kind of hereſy, or heretical opinion, that then you or three of you do immediately order, that the ſame perſon or perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, to be uſed according to the ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical laws.

And alſo we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to inquire and ſearch out all vagabonds, and maſterleſs men, barrators, quarrellers, and ſuſpected perſons, abiding within Our city of London and ten miles compaſs of the ſame, and all aſſaults and affrays done and committed within the ſame city and compaſs.

And further to ſearch out all waſtes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parſonages, and vicarages in the dioceſe of the ſame, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other offences and matters above ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your wiſdoms, conſciences, and diſcretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to uſe and deviſe all politic ways and means, for the trial and ſearching out of the premiſes, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary: and upon inquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confeſſion of the parties, or by ſufficient witneſſes before you, or three of you, concerning the premiſes or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requiſite, to give and award ſuch puniſhment to the offenders, by fine, impriſonment, or otherwiſe, and to take ſuch order for redreſs and reformation of the premiſes, as to your wiſdoms ſhall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in caſe you ſhall find any perſon or perſons obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or aſſignment, or elſe in not accompliſhing or obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things, touching the premiſes or any part thereof, to commit the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be diſcharged or delivered, &c.

The Apprehenſion *of twenty-two* Priſoners *in* Eſſex.

AFTER this bloody proclamation or commiſſion thus given out at London, which was the eighth day of February, in the third and fourth years of the reign of the king and queen, theſe new inquiſitors, eſpecially ſome of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; ſo that all quarters were full of perſecution, and priſons almoſt full of priſoners; namely, in the dioceſe of Canterbury, whereof (by the leave of Chriſt) we will ſay more preſently.

In the mean time, about the town of Colcheſter, the wind of perſecution began fiercely to riſe; inſomuch that three and twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at one time; of which number one eſcaped; the other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of chriſtian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at moſt, ready to give their ſkins to be plucked off for the goſpel's ſake. Notwithſtanding the biſhops, afraid perhaps of the number, to put ſo many at once to death, ſought means to deliver them, and ſo they did, drawing out a very eaſy ſubmiſſion for them, or rather ſuffering them to draw it out themſelves; notwithſtanding divers of them were afterwards taken again and ſuffered, as (God willing) ye ſhall hear hereafter. Such as met them by the way coming up, ſaw them in the fields ſcattering in ſuch ſort, as that they might eaſily have eſcaped away. And when they entered into the towns, their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the ſame in their hands, every one having another cord about his arm, as though they were tied. And ſo were theſe fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them ſtrength. At their entering into London, they were pinioned, and ſo came into the city. But firſt let us declare concerning their being taken and their attachers, contained in the commiſſary's letter written to Bonner; then the indenture made between the commiſſioners and the popiſh commiſſary. The letter of the commiſſary is this:

AFTER my duty done in receiving and accompliſhing your honourable and moſt loving letters, dated Auguſt 7, be it known unto your lordſhip, that on the 28th of Auguſt, the lord of Oxenford, lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendlows, E. Tyrel, R. Weſton, R. Appleton, publiſhed their commiſſion, to ſeize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, ſo that the owners ſhould have neither uſe nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in ſafe keeping, until the cauſe was determined. And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the queen's warrant for the reſtitution of the church goods within Colcheſter, and the hundreds thereabout, to the uſe of God's ſervice. And then were called the pariſhes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination. And that divers perſons ſhould certify to me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the juſtices' next appearance, which ſhall be on Michaelmas next. And the pariſhes which had preſented at two ſeveral times, to have all ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time. And thoſe names blotted in the indenture, were indicted for treaſon, fugitives, or diſobedience, and were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the ſealing, my lord Darcy ſaid unto me apart, and Mr. Bendlows, that I ſhould have ſufficient time to ſend unto your lordſhip, and, if need were, the heretics to remain in confinement till I heard from you, yea, till the lords legates graces commiſſioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my lord Darcy's houſe and parlour belonging to Mr. Barnaby, before my ſaid lord and all the juſtices, and laid his hand on my ſhoulder, with a ſmiling countenance, and deſired me to make his hearty commendations to your good lordſhip, and aſked me if I would: I ſaid, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought I ſhould not have been charged with ſo ſudden carriage.

But after dinner, the juſtices counſelled with the bailiffs, and the jailors, and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the indentures, and ſealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the 30th of Auguſt, to go and receive my priſoners by-and-by. Then I ſaid, It is an unreaſonable commandment, for I have attended on you here theſe three days, and this Sunday early I have ſent home my men. Wherefore I deſire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will pleaſe my lord, my maſter, to ſend his commiſſioners hither, or that I ſhall make carriage of them unto his lordſhip. Then Mr. Brown ſaid, We are certified that the council have written to your maſter to make ſpeed, and to rid theſe priſoners out of hand: therefore go receive your priſoners in haſte. I anſwered, Sir, I ſhall receive them within theſe ten days. Then Mr. Brown ſaid, The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence.

I replied, Sir, you have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whoſe faith or opinions I knew not, truſting that you will grant me a time to examine them, leſt I ſhould puniſh the catholics. Well, ſaid Mr. Brown, for that cauſe you ſhall have time betwixt this and Wedneſday. And I ſay unto you, Meſſ.

Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wedneſday, ſet open your door, and let them go.

Then I ſaid, My lord, and maſters all, I promiſe to diſcharge the town and country of theſe heretics within theſe ten days. The lord Darcy anſwered, Commiſſary, we do and muſt all agree in one: wherefore do you receive them on or before Wedneſday.

To which I replied, My lord, the laſt I carried, I was going betwixt the caſtle and St. Catherine's chapel two hours and a half, and in great preſs and danger; wherefore this may be to deſire your lordſhip, to give in commandment unto Mr. Sayer, my bailiff, here preſent, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready with his book to write the names of the moſt buſy perſons, and this upon three hours warning; all which both my lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

The 31ſt of Auguſt, William Goodwin, of Muchbirch, huſbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alſey, of Copford, your lordſhip's apparator of your conſiſtory in Colcheſter, covenanted with me, that they ſhould hire two other men at the leaſt, whereof one ſhould be a bow-man, to come to me the next day at two of the clock in the afternoon, that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, forty-ſix ſhillings and eightpence: wherefore they ſhould then go forth with me unto Colcheſter, and on Wedneſday, before three of the clock in the morning, receive there at my hand within the caſtle and mote-hall, fourteen men and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry, or lead and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found continually, until the ſaid Goodwin and Alſey ſhall cauſe the ſaid two and twenty perſons to be delivered to my lord of London's officers, and within the ſafe keeping of my ſaid lord, then to bring unto me the ſaid fetters, with a perfect token of or from my ſaid lord, and then this covenant is void, or elſe, &c.

Mr. Bendlows ſaid unto me in my lord of Oxenford's chamber, at the King's-head, after I had ſaid maſs before the lords, that on the morrow after Holy-Rood day, when we ſhall meet at Chelmsford for the diviſion of theſe lands, I think, Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. Smith, ſhall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to thoſe portions and manors in your part of Eſſex, and in like caſe divide yourſelves, to tread and view the ground with the queſt, or elſe I think they will not labour the matter, and ſo tell Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice, the wife of William Walley, of Colcheſter, hath ſubmitted herſelf, abjured her erroneous opinions, aſked abſolution, promiſed to do her ſolemn penance in her pariſh church at St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholic and a faithful woman as long as God ſhall ſpare her life. And for theſe covenants her huſband ſtandeth bound in five pounds: which Alice is one of the nine women of your indenture, and ſhe is with child. Wherefore ſhe remaineth at home, and this done in the preſence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And becauſe Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he inquired who was the former? The anſwer was, ſir Francis Jobſon. Who is the parſon? The queſt-men anſwered, ſir Roger Ghoſtlow. When was he with you? Not theſe fourteen years. How is your cure ſerved? Now-and-then. Who is the patron? My lord of Arundel. And within a ſhort time after, ſir Francis Jobſon came with great courteſy to my lord Darcy's place; and I ſaw no more come in.

Sir Robert Smith, prieſt, ſome time canon of Bridlington, now curate of Appledore in the wild of Kent, came to Colcheſter the 28th of Auguſt, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on ſuſpicion, examined by the lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain perſons, and eſpecially of one, prieſt, whoſe name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith), doubting this prieſt to be the ſame Pullen, though neither he nor his wife would confeſs the ſame.

Wherefore he ſtill lieth in priſon, but ſurely this is not Pullen. If it pleaſe your lordſhip to have in remembrance, that the houſeholders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own ſeat in the church in time of divine ſervice, it would profit much. Alſo, there be yet ſtanding hoſpitals, and others of like foundation, about Colcheſter, which I have not known to appear at any viſitation, as the maſters and lazars of Mary Magdalen in Colcheſter, the proctor of St. Catherine's chapel in Colcheſter, the hoſpital or bread-houſe of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremarny, the hoſpital and beadmen of Little Horkſley. Thus preſuming on your lordſhip's goodneſs, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly buſineſs, beſeeching Almighty God to ſend your honourable lordſhip a condign reward.

From Eaſtthorp, this preſent 30th of Auguſt.

We found a letter concerning the marriage of prieſts in the hands of the aforeſaid ſir Robert Smith. Alſo I deſired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who aſked me, if I had made the proclamation. I ſaid, Yea. Then he ſaid openly upon the bench, that they ſhould be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the conſtables and officers, and they take and puniſh the offenders accordingly.

By your poor beadman,
John Kingſton, prieſt.

An Indenture *made between the* Lords *and* Juſtices *within ſpecified, and* BONNER's Commiſſary, *concerning the* Delivery *of the* Priſoners *above-named.*

THIS indenture, made the 19th day of Auguſt in the third and fourth years of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, both Sicilies, Jeruſalem and Ireland, defenders of the faith, archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundy, Millain, and Brabant, counties of Haſburgh, Flanders, and Tirol, between the right honourable lord John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England, Thomas lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, the king and queen's ſerjeant at law, Edmund Tyrel, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, eſquires, juſtices of oyer and terminer, and of the peace within the ſaid county of Eſſex, to be kept of the one party, and John Kingſton, clerk, bachelor at law, commiſſary to the biſhop of London, of the other party, witneſſeth, that Robert Colman, of Walton, in the county of Eſſex, labourer; Joan Winſeley, of Horſeley Magna, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Stephen Glover, of Rayley, in the county aforeſaid, glover; Richard Clerke, of Much Holland, in the ſame county, mariner; William Muns, of Much Bently, in the ſaid county, ſawyer; Margaret Field, of Ramſey, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Agnes Whitlock, of Dovercourt, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Roſe Allin, of the ſame town and county, ſpinſter; Richard Bongeor, of Colcheſter, in the ſaid county, currier; Richard Atkin, of Halſtead, in the ſaid county, weaver; Robert Barcock, of Wiſton, in the county of Suffolk, carpenter; Richard George, of Weſtbarhoult, in the county of Eſſex, labourer; Richard Jolley, of Colcheſter, in the ſaid county, mariner; Thomas Feereſanne, of the ſame town and county, mercer; Robert Debnam, late of Dedham, in the ſaid county, weaver; Cicely Warren, of Cockſall, in the ſaid county, ſpinſter; Chriſtian Pepper, widow, of the ſame town and county; Allin Simpſon, Helen Euring, Alice the wife of William Wallis, of Colcheſter, ſpinſter; William Bongeor, of Colcheſter, in the ſaid county, glazier; being indicted of hereſy, are delivered to the ſaid John Kingſton, clerk, ordinary to the biſhop of London, according to the ſtatute in that caſe provided.

In witneſs whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the ſaid earl, lord, and other the juſtices, the ſaid ordinary hath ſet to his hand and ſeal; and to the other part remaining with the ſaid ordinary, the ſaid earl, lord, and other the juſtices, have ſet to their ſeveral hands and ſeals, the day and year above written.

Oxenford.
Thomas Darcy.
Henry Tyrel.
Anthony Brown.
William Bendlows.
Edmund Tyrel.
Richard Weſton.
Roger Appleton.

The twenty-two aforeſaid priſoners thus ſent from Colcheſter to London, were brought at length to biſhop Bonner; concerning whom Bonner himſelf writeth to cardinal Poole, in the following manner:

A Letter *of* Biſhop BONNER *to* Cardinal POOLE.

MAY it pleaſe your grace, with my moſt humble obedience, reverence, and duty to underſtand, that going to London on Thurſday laſt, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germaine's matter only, and ſuch other common matters as are accuſtomed, enough to weary a right ſtrong body, I had the day following, to comfort my ſtrength withal, letters from Colcheſter, that either that day or the day following, I ſhould have ſent me from thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commiſſioners, and indeed ſo I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, both of which coſt me above twenty nobles, a ſum of money that I thought full evil beſtowed. And theſe heretics, notwithſtanding they had honeſt catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and all the way from Colcheſter to Stratford-le-Bow, did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleaſed themſelves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increaſed till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

And although I took order that the ſaid heretics ſhould be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and they would take no way but through Cheapſide, ſo that they were brought to my houſe with about a thouſand perſons: which thing I took very ſtrange, and ſpake to ſir John Greſſam, being then with me, to tell the mayor and the ſheriffs that this thing was not well ſuffered in the city. Theſe wicked heretics, all the way they came through Cheapſide, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiſcuous multitude; and being entered into my houſe, and talked withal, they ſhewed themſelves deſperate, and very obſtinate; yet I uſed all the honeſt means I could, both of myſelf and others, to win them, cauſing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding in them nothing but pride and wilfulneſs, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, to give ſentence againſt them. Nevertheleſs, perceiving by my laſt doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I proceeded herein, firſt to inform your grace hereof, and know your pleaſure, which I beſeech your grace I may do by this truſty bearer. And thus moſt humbly I take my leave of you, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve the ſame. At Fulham, Anno 1556.

Your grace's moſt bounden beadſman and ſervant,
Edmund Bonner.

By this letter of biſhop Bonner to the cardinal, is to be underſtood what good-will was in this biſhop to have the blood of theſe men, and to have paſſed ſentence of condemnation againſt them, had not the cardinal ſomewhat (as it ſeemed) ſtayed his fervent headineſs. Concerning which cardinal, though it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, that he was a profeſſed enemy, and a reputed papiſt; yet it is to be ſuppoſed that he was none of the cruel ſort of papiſts, as may appear by ſtaying the rage of this biſhop, as well as by the ſolicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, alſo by the complaints of certain papiſts, accuſing him to the pope, of being a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope's letters ſent to him upon the ſame, calling him to Rome, and ſetting friar Peto in his place, had not queen Mary, by intreaty, kept him out of the pope's danger. Which letters I have (if need be) to ſhew; beſides, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, juſt before his coming from Rome to England, he began ſomewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no leſs ſuſpected at Rome: yea, he there converted a certain learned Spaniard from papiſm to Luther's ſide; notwithſtanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward induced him to play the papiſt as he did. But enough of this cardinal.

To return to this godly company: firſt, ye have heard how they were brought up in bands to London; alſo, how Bonner was about to have read the ſentence of death upon them, and how he was ſtopped by the cardinal, ye know. Touching their confeſſion, which they articled up in writing, it were too tedious to recite it at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's ſupper (for which they were chiefly troubled) they wrote as follows:

The Supper *of the* Lord.

WHEREAS Chriſt, at his laſt ſupper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body:" and likewiſe took the cup and thanked, &c. we underſtand it to be a figurative ſpeech, the moſt part of his language being in parables and dark ſentences, that they which are carnally minded ſhould ſee with their eyes and not perceive, and hear with their ears, and not underſtand; ſignifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, ſo we, through his body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the croſs for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood cleanſeth us from all our ſins, and hath pacified God's wrath toward us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

And in that he ſaid further, "Do this in remembrance of me," it is a memorial and token of the ſuffering and death of Jeſus Chriſt: and he commanded it for this cauſe, that the congregation of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and ſo to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Chriſt had given his body, and ſhed his blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, though Chriſt called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, yet it followeth not, that the ſubſtance of his body ſhould be in the bread and wine; as divers places in ſcripture are ſpoken by Chriſt and the apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeech, as in John xv. "I am the true vine." Alſo, in John x. "I am the door." And as it is written, in the 9th chapter to the Hebrews, and in Exod. xxiv. how Moſes took the blood of the calves, and ſprinkled both the book and all the people, ſaying, "This is the blood of the covenant or teſtament." Alſo, in the 5th of Ezekiel, how the Lord ſaid unto him concerning the third part of his hair, "This is Jeruſalem," &c.

Thus we ſee the ſcriptures how they are ſpoken in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would have us ſay, that the bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the bread, which is a blaſphemous underſtanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy ſcriptures. Alſo we do ſee that great idolatry is ſprung out of the carnal underſtanding of the words of Chriſt, "This is my body," and daily ſpringeth, to the great diſhonour of God; ſo that men worſhip a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that as their Maker.

After this confeſſion of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they deviſed a letter withal, in manner of a ſhort ſupplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commiſſioners, requiring that juſtice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be miniſtered unto them: the copy of which letter I thought good alſo to ſhew unto the reader in form as followeth:

A Sup-

A Supplication *of the* Priſoners *to the* Judges.

TO the right honourable audience, whom theſe our ſimple writings, and the confeſſion of our faith, ſhall come to be heard or ſeen, we poor priſoners, being faſt in bonds upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the ſcriptures, pray moſt heartily, that foraſmuch as God hath given you power and ſtrength over us concerning our bodies, under whom we ſubmit ourſelves as obedient ſubjects in all things due, you being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteouſneſs, govern the people according to right, hear the poor and helpleſs in truth, and defend their cauſe.

God, for his Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, give you the wiſdom and underſtanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moſes, with divers other moſt virtuous rulers, by whoſe wiſdom and godly underſtanding, the people were juſtly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedneſs was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all goodneſs and virtue did flouriſh and ſpring. O God, which art the moſt high, the creator and maker of all things, and of all men both great and ſmall, and careſt for all alike, who doſt try all men's works and imaginations, before whoſe judgment-ſeat ſhall come both high and low, rich and poor: we moſt humbly beſeech thee to put into our rulers' hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themſelves would be judged, and as they ſhall make anſwer before thee, ſo may they hear our cauſes, judge with mercy, and read over theſe our requeſts and confeſſions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here ſeemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or diſagreeing to the ſcripture, if it ſhall pleaſe your lordſhip to hear us patiently, which do offer ourſelves to the ſcriptures, thereby to make anſwer and be tried, in ſo doing we poor ſubjects being in much captivity and bondage, are moſt bound to pray for your noble eſtate and preſervation.

The requeſt of theſe men being ſo juſt, and their doctrine ſo ſound, yet all this could not prevail with the biſhop and other judges, but that ſentence ſhould have proceeded againſt them immediately, had not the goodneſs of the Lord better provided for his ſervants than the biſhop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by ſentence, it was thought otherwiſe by the cardinal, and ſome other wiſer heads; fearing, leſt by the death of ſo many together, ſome diſturbance might ariſe among the people; ſo it was decreed among themſelves, that they ſhould rather make ſome ſubmiſſion or confeſſion ſuch as they would themſelves, and ſo be ſent home again, as they were indeed: however, divers of them were afterward apprehended and put to death. In the mean time, touching their ſubmiſſion which they made, it was in the following form:

The Submiſſion *or* Confeſſion *of the aforeſaid* Priſoners.

BECAUSE our Saviour Chriſt at his laſt ſupper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me;" therefore, according to the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, we do believe in the ſacrament to be Chriſt's body. And becauſe he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "This is my blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many;" therefore likewiſe we do believe that it is the blood of Chriſt, according as Chriſt's church doth adminiſter the ſame. Unto which catholic church of Chriſt we do in this as in all other matters ſubmit ourſelves, promiſing therein to live as it becometh good chriſtian men, and here in this realm to uſe ourſelves as it becometh faithful ſubjects unto our moſt gracious king and queen, and to all other ſuperiors, both ſpiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties.

The names of thoſe who ſubſcribed to this ſubmiſſion were theſe:

John Atkin, Alyn Sympſon, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winſley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merſe, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Chriſtian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winſley, Cicely Warren, Roſe Alin, Ann Whitelocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker.

An Account of Five godly MARTYRS, *burnt at one Fire in* Smithfield, *on the 12th Day of* April, 1557.

TO proceed further in this hiſtory of perſecuted martyrs, next follow theſe five, namely—

Thomas Loſeby, Margaret Hide,
Henry Ramſey, and
Thomas Thirtell, Agnes Stanley,

Who being, ſome by the lord Rich, ſome by other juſtices of the peace, and conſtables (their own neighbours), at the firſt accuſed and apprehended for not coming to their pariſh churches, were in the end ſent unto Bonner, biſhop of London, and by his commandment, on the 27th of January, were examined before Dr. Darbyſhire, then chancellor to the ſaid biſhop, upon the former general articles mentioned.

Anſwers *to the* Articles.

WHOSE anſwers thereunto were, that as they confeſſed there was one true and catholic church, wherein they ſtedfaſtly believed, and thought the church of Rome to be no part or member; ſo in the ſame church they believed there were but two ſacraments, that is to ſay, baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper. However, ſome of them attributed the title and honour of a ſacrament to the holy eſtate of matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather out of ſimple ignorance than of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admoniſhed.

Moreover, they acknowledged themſelves to be baptized into the faith of that true church, as in the third article is ſpecified. And here, in reading, as well theſe articles as the reſt, mark, I beſeech you, the ſubtlety of theſe catholic companions, who, intermixing certain points of faith, and of the true church, with the idolatrous and ſuperſtitious traſh of their Romiſh ſynagogue, cauſed the poor and ſimple people, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets.

For after they had made them grant a true church, with the ſacraments of the ſame, though not in ſuch a number as they would have them, and alſo that they were chriſtened in the faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, they craftily now in their other objections, deſcending, as it were, from the faith of the Trinity unto their idolatrous maſs and other ſuperſtitious ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof, they have ſevered themſelves from the faith of the true church, whereinto they were baptized, which is moſt falſe: for though the true light of God's goſpel and holy word was marvellouſly darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguiſhed, yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was ſtill preſerved, and into the faith thereof were they baptized, and not into the belief and profeſſion of their horrible idolatry and vain ceremonies.

Theſe things not thoroughly weighed by theſe poor, yet faithful and true members of Chriſt, cauſed ſome of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of diſcretion, and underſtood the light of the goſpel, they did ſeparate themſelves from the faith of the church, meaning none other but only to ſeparate themſelves from admitting or allowing of ſuch their popiſh and erroneous traſh as they now had defiled the church of England with, and not from their faith received in baptiſm, which in expreſs words, in their anſwers to the other articles they conſtantly affirmed, declaring the maſs and ſacrament of the altar to be moſt wicked blaſphemy againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and contrary to the truth of his goſpel, and therefore they utterly refuſed to aſſent unto them, or to be reconciled again thereunto.

Theſe anſwers in effect being thus taken by the ſaid chancellor, they were for that time diſmiſſed; but the biſhop, taking the matter into his own hands, the 6th of March, propounded unto them certain other new articles; the copy whereof here followeth:

Other Articles *objected by* BONNER, Biſhop *of* LONDON, *againſt* THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSEY, THOMAS THIRTELL, MARGARET HIDE, *and* AGNES STANLEY, *the* 6th *of* March, *being the ſecond* Time *of* Examination.

FIRST, That thou haſt thought, believed and ſpoken, within ſome part of the city and dioceſe of London, that the faith, religion, and eccleſiaſtical ſervice here obſerved and kept, as it is in the realm of England, is not a true and laudable faith, religion, and ſervice, eſpecially concerning the maſs, and the ſeven ſacraments, nor is agreeable to God's word and teſtament; and thou canſt not find in thy heart, without murmuring, grudging, or ſcruple, to receive and uſe it, and to conform thyſelf unto it, as other ſubjects of this realm cuſtomably have done and do.

2. Item, That thou haſt thought, &c. that the Engliſh ſervice ſet forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, was and is good and godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, uſed, and practiſed, and none other.

3. Item, Likewiſe thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come to thy pariſh church, and there to be preſent, and hear mattins, maſs, evenſong, and other divine ſervice, ſung or ſaid there.

4. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound to come in proceſſion to the church upon days and times appointed, and to go in the ſame with others of the pariſh, ſinging or ſaying then the accuſtomed prayers uſed in the church, nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemaſs day, nor take aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, nor to creep to the croſs upon accuſtomed days, nor to receive and kiſs the pyx at maſs-time, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and uſages of the church, after the manner and faſhion as they are uſed in this realm.

5. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that thou art not bound at any time to confeſs thy ſins to any prieſt, and to receive abſolution at his hands, as God's miniſter, nor to receive at any time the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, eſpecially as it is uſed in this church of England.

6. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that in matters of religion and faith, thou muſt follow and believe thine own conſcience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the catholic church, and the ſee of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

7. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that all things do chance of an abſolute and preciſe mere neceſſity, ſo that whether man do well or evil, he could not chuſe but do ſo, and that therefore no man hath any free-will at all.

8. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that the faſhion and manner of chriſtening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby ſaved, except he be of years of diſcretion to believe himſelf, and ſo willingly accept or refuſe baptiſm at his pleaſure.

9. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that prayers to ſaints, or prayers for the dead, avail nothing, and are not allowable by God's word, or profitable in any wiſe, and that the ſouls departed do go ſtraight to heaven or hell, or elſe do ſleep till the day of doom, ſo that there is no place of purgation at all.

10. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that all ſuch as in the time of king Henry the Eighth, or in the time of queen Mary in England, have been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, but faithful and good chriſtian people; eſpecially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and ſuch like; and that thou didſt and doſt allow, like, and approve all their opinions, and doſt miſlike their condemnations and burnings.

11. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that faſting and prayers uſed in this church of England, and the appointing of days for faſting, and the abſtaining from fleſh upon faſting-days, and eſpecially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by God's word, but is hypocriſy and fooliſhneſs; and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

12. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that the ſacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reſerve and keep it, or to honour it, is plain idolatry and ſuperſtition: and likewiſe of the maſs and elevation of the ſacrament.

13. Item, Thou haſt thought, &c. that thou or any elſe, convented before an eccleſiaſtical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, are not, nor is bound to make anſwer at all, eſpecially under an oath upon a book.

Their Anſwers *to the above* Articles.

CONCERNING the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, ſaving that they denied the ſouls of the departed to ſleep till the day of judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

And as concerning the ſixth objection, they thought themſelves bound to believe the true catholic church, ſo far forth as the ſame doth inſtruct them according to God's holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonical church of Rome.

As for the ſeventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any ſuch abſurd opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that man of himſelf, without the help and aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in God's ſight.

To the eleventh they ſaid, that true faſting and prayer, uſed according to God's word, are allowable and available in his ſight, and that by the ſame word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thankſgiving to God for the ſame.

After this, the 1ſt of April, they were again convented before the biſhop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would ſtand to their anſwers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refuſed to recant, and deny the received and infallible truth, the biſhop cauſed them to be brought into the open conſiſtory, the third of the ſame month of April in the forenoon, where firſt underſtanding by them their immutable conſtancy and ſtedfaſtneſs, he demanded particularly of every one what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Loſeby firſt anſwered, God give me grace and ſtrength to ſtand againſt you and your ſentence, and your law, which devoureth the flock of Chriſt. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would conſent to your devouring law, and believe in that idol the maſs.

Next unto him anſwered Thomas Thirtell, ſaying, My lord, I ſay thus, if you make me an heretic, then you make Chriſt and all the twelve apoſtles heretics; for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I. will ſtand in it, for I know full well I ſhall have eternal life therefore.

The biſhop then aſked the like queſtion of Henry Ramſey; who ſaid again, My lord, will you have me to go from the truth that I am in? I ſay unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will ſtand unto; and I ſay unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himſelf and other true martyrs and profeſſors of Chriſt) be of the true church, and ye be not.

Unto this queſtion next anſwered Margaret Hide, ſaying, My lord, you have no cauſe to give ſentence againſt me, for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forſake it: and I do wiſh that I were more ſtrong in it than I am.

Laſt of all anſwered Agnes Stanley, and ſaid, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were of ever ſo much value, ſooner than I will forſake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith:

The time being now ſpent, they were commanded to appear again in the afternoon in the ſame place: which commandment being obeyed, the biſhop firſt called for Loſeby, and after his manner ordered his articles and anſwers to be read: in reading whereof, when mention was made of the ſacrament of the altar, the biſhop with his colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loſeby ſaid, My lord, ſeeing you put off your cap, I will put on mine; and accordingly put it on. The biſhop continuing in his accuſtomed perſuaſions, Loſeby again ſaid, My lord, I truſt I have the Spirit of truth, which you deteſt and abhor, for the wiſdom of God is fooliſhneſs unto you. Whereupon the biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt him.

And delivering him unto the ſheriff, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he uſed the like order or exhortations. To whom ſhe ſaid, I will not depart from my ſayings till I be burnt: and, my lord, ſaid ſhe, I would wiſh you to inſtruct me with ſome part of God's word, and not of the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the ſcripture.

But neither himſelf nor any of his colleagues, being able rightly to accompliſh her requeſt, to make ſhort work, uſed his final reaſon of convincement, which was the ſentence of condemnation. Therefore, leaving her off, called for Agnes Stanley, who, upon the biſhop's like perſuaſions, made this anſwer:

My lord, where you ſay I am an heretic, I am none; neither will I believe you, nor any man that is wiſe will believe as you do. And as for thoſe that you ſay were burnt for hereſy, I believe them true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live.

· Her talk thus ended, ſhe received the like reward that the others had. And the biſhop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtell, received of him likewiſe this final anſwer: My lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways; for I ſay, the maſs is idolatry, and will ſtick to my faith and belief ſo long as. the breath is in my body. Upon which words he alſo was condemned as an heretic.

Laſt of all Henry Ramſey was demanded if he would, as the reſt, ſtand unto his anſwers, or elſe recanting the ſame, come home again, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he anſwered, I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live; and, my lord (ſaid he), your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's word.

After theſe words, the biſhop (to conclude) pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt him and the reſt (as you have heard), charging the ſheriffs of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, the 12th of the ſame month of April, brought them into Smithfield, where they all in one fire moſt joyfully and conſtantly ended their temporal lives, receiving therefore the life eternal.

An Account of Three MARTYRS *burned in* St. George's Fields, *in* Southwark.

In the month of May following, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, ——— King, ſuffered in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.

Among other hiſtories of the perſecuted and condemned ſaints of God, I find the condemnation of none more ſtrange nor unlawful than this of Stephen Gratwick; who firſt was condemned by the biſhop of Wincheſter and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who were not his ordinaries.

Secondly, When he did appeal from theſe incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, When they had no other ſhift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they ſuborned one of the prieſts to come in for a counterfeit and a falſe ordinary, and ſit upon him.

Fourthly, Being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet Dr. White, the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor ſuffer any of the audience aſſiſtant once to ſay, God ſtrengthen him.

Fifthly, As they brought in a falſe ordinary to ſit upon him, ſo they pretended falſe articles againſt him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their deviſing, to have his blood.

Sixthly and laſtly, Having no other ground nor juſt matters againſt him, but only for ſaying theſe words, "That which I ſaid, I have ſaid," they read the ſentence of death upon him.

And thus did theſe men deal, who needs will be reputed for catholic fathers of the ſpirituality, ſucceeders of the apoſtles, diſciples of Chriſt, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whoſe proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Chriſt and his apoſtles, I leave to diſcuſs, referring the judgment hereof to them who know the inſtitution of Chriſt's religion and doctrine.

Now, leſt the diſordered miſ-rule of theſe Chriſtmas lords will not be credited upon the ſimple narration of the ſtory, you ſhall hear the whole diſcourſe of this proceſs, regiſtered by the hand of the martyr himſelf, who, as he could beſt tell what was done, ſo I am ſure he would not teſtify otherwiſe than the truth was, as you ſhall hear by his declaration.

The Declaration *of* STEPHEN GRATWICK *concerning his own* Story *and* Condemnation.

On the 25th day of May, in the year 1557, I Stephen Gratwick came before Dr. White, biſhop of Wincheſter, in St. George's church, Southwark, at eight o'clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and ſaid unto me—

Wincheſter. Stephen Gratwick, how ſtandeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy hereſies, which thou haſt maintained and defended within my dioceſe, oftentimes before me? Alſo upon Sunday laſt you ſtood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your hereſies, ſo that you have offended within the liberty of my dioceſe: and now I being your ordinary, you muſt anſwer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not, which I have here in writing; and if you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore note well what you do, for now I read the articles againſt you.

And when he had ended, he bade me anſwer unto them.

Gratwick. My lord, theſe articles which you have here objected againſt me, are not mine, but of your own making; for I never had any of my examinations written at any time, and therefore theſe are the objections that you lay againſt me as a ſnare to get my blood. Wherefore, I deſire your lawful favour, to allow my appeal to mine ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your dioceſe, I ſay, it is not ſo; for I have not enterpriſed either to preach or teach within your dioceſe, but was apprehended by mine own biſhop, and ſent priſoner into your dioceſe, by the conſent of the council and mine own ordinary; and therefore I ſo being in your dioceſe, you have no cauſe to refuſe my lawful appeal.

And with that came the biſhop of Rocheſter, (whom the biſhop of Wincheſter gladly received) according to their determinate purpoſe; and ſo followed the archdeacon of Canterbury: and the biſhop again ſtarted up, as a man half raviſhed of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and ſaid, he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it ſhould appear to me. Then ſaid Wincheſter—

Sir, I am very glad of your coming; for here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you, being his ordinary. Then ſaid the archdeacon of Canterbury—

I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And I anſwered—

My lord, I am not of his dioceſe by five miles: for his dioceſe reacheth on that part no farther than the cliffs of Lewes, and I dwelt at Brighthelmſtone, five miles beyond, in the dioceſe of the biſhop of Chicheſter; and therefore I am not of his dioceſe.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, caſt their heads together and laughed: and then they ſaid my ordinary would be here by-and-by; and ſo they ſent for a counterfeit, inſtead of mine ordinary: then I ſaw them laugh; when I ſpoke to them, and ſaid—

Why do you laugh? Are you confederate together for my blood, and therein triumph? You have more cauſe to look weightily upon the matter; for I ſtand here before you upon my life and death. But you declare yourſelves what you are: for you are clothed in lamb's apparel; but I would to God you had coats according to your aſſembly here, which is ſcarlet gowns, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my blood.

And then came ruſhing in that counterfeited biſhop, who was the hired ſervant to deliver me into the hands of the high-prieſt; and the biſhop hearing him come, with haſte inquired of his man who was there? and he ſaid, My lord of Chicheſter. Then the biſhop in haſte roſe up and ſaid—

You are moſt heartily welcome; and required him to ſit down: and then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter to me, Lo, here is your ordinary; what have you now to ſay to him?

Gratwick. I have nothing to ſay to him. If he has nothing to ſay to me, I pray you let me depart. Then anſwered my counterfeit ordinary, and ſaid—

Here you ſtand before my lords and me in trial of your faith; and if you bring the truth, we ſhall by compulſion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word; and your doctrine to be heard and embraced for a truth.

Gratwick. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

And he anſwered me, By authority as well as by the Spirit.

Then, ſaid I, now will I turn your own argument upon you; for Chriſt came before the high prieſts, ſcribes and phariſees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himſelf, which truth cannot lie, yet both he and his truth were condemned, and took no place with them: and alſo the apoſtles, and all martyrs that died ſince Chriſt: therefore I turn your own argument upon you; anſwer it, if you can.

Then the ſaid counterfeit ordinary, with great heat and choler, ſaid to the biſhop of Wincheſter, Object ſome articles againſt him, for he is obſtinate, and would fain get out of our hands; therefore, hold him to ſome particular: ſo that no other anſwer could I have to this argument.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter began to read objections of his own making againſt me, and he bade me anſwer to them.

And I ſaid, No, except you will ſet the law apart, becauſe I ſee you are mindful of my blood.

Wincheſter. Now you may ſee he will not anſwer to theſe, but as he hath aforeſaid.

Then ſpake the counterfeit ordinary again, and ſaid, My lord, aſk him what he ſaith to the ſacrament of the altar. Then the biſhop aſked me, as my counterfeit ordinary required him.

Gratwick. My lord, I do believe that in the ſacrament of the ſupper of the Lord, truly adminiſtered in both kinds, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth myſtically by faith the body and blood of Chriſt. Then I aſked him, if it were not the truth, and he ſaid, Yes; then, ſaid I, Bear witneſs of the truth.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe head being ſubtleſt to gather upon my words, ſaid, My lord, ſee you not how he creepeth away with his hereſies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here ſeparateth the ſacrament of the altar from the ſupper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true ſacrament, and alſo how he condemneth our adminiſtration in one kind, allowing that the unworthy receiver doth not eat and drink the body and blood of Chriſt; which be ſore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his ſubtle ſhifts and ſophiſtry, but he ſhall anſwer directly before he depart.

Gratwick. My lord, that is but your gathering of my words, for you before confeſſed the ſame ſayings to be the truth, and this you catch at me, and fain would have an advantage for my blood: but ſeeing you judge me not to mean the ſacrament of the altar, now come to the probation of the ſame ſacrament, and prove it to be the true ſacrament, and I am with you; or elſe, if you can prove your church to be the true church, I am alſo with you.

But then he called to memory the laſt probation of the church and ſacraments, how he before was driven to forſake the ſcriptures, and to ſhew me by good reaſon how they might adminiſter the ſacrament in one kind: and his reaſon was this, Like as a man or woman dieth on a ſudden, and ſo when we have given him the body of Chriſt, in the mean time the party dieth, and ſo he eateth the body of Chriſt, and drinketh not his blood. And this was his ſimple ſhift in the proving of their ſacraments: ſo he was now half aſhamed to begin that matter again.

But yet a little ſhift he brought in, and ſaid—

What ſayeſt thou by the adminiſtration of the prieſts every day for themſelves, and they miniſter in both kinds?

To that I anſwered, You have two adminiſtrations, for I am ſure at Eaſter you adminiſter but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, but after your own imaginations.

Wincheſter. Then, what ſayeſt thou to theſe words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Theſe are the words of Chriſt. Wilt thou deny them?

Gratwick. My lord, they are the words of ſcripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.

Rocheſter. Why, then, thou doſt confeſs the ſacrament of the altar to be a real preſence, the ſelfſame body that was born of the virgin Mary, and is aſcended into heaven.

Gratwick. My lord, what do you now mean? Do you not alſo mean a viſible body? For it cannot be, but of neceſſity, if it be a real preſence, and a material body, it muſt be a viſible body alſo.

Winchester. Nay, I ſay unto thee, it is a real preſence and a material body, and an inviſible body too.

Gratwick. My lord, then it muſt needs be a fantaſtical body, for if it ſhould be material and inviſible, as you affirm, then it muſt needs be a fantaſtical body: for it is apparent that Chriſt's human body was viſible and ſeen.

Then the biſhop brake out and ſaid, When didſt thou ſee him? I pray thee tell me.

To that I anſwered and ſaid, A ſimple argument it is; becauſe our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Chriſt, doth it prove or follow, that he is inviſible, becauſe we cannot ſee him?

And with that the biſhop began to grow weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the ſacrament, and ſaid, He eat him wholly, as the apoſtles did.

And then I aſked him, If he meant Chriſt's fleſh and blood, which he ſpeaketh of in the ſixth of John, and ſaith, "He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me."

To that he anſwered and ſaid, Yea.

Then ſaid I, Of neceſſity Judas muſt needs be ſaved, becauſe he did eat the fleſh and drink the blood of Chriſt, as you have affirmed, and alſo all the ungodly that die without repentance, becauſe they have eaten your ſacrament, which you ſay is the fleſh and blood of Chriſt: therefore of neceſſity they ſhall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life: which is a great abſurdity to grant, and then of neceſſity it muſt follow, that all that eat not, and drink not of your ſacrament, ſhall finally periſh and be damned: for Chriſt ſaith, "Except ye eat my fleſh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you." And you have afore ſaid that of your ſacrament, which you ſay is the ſame fleſh and blood which Chriſt ſpeaketh of: and here I prove, that all children then that die under age to receive the ſacrament, by your own argument, muſt be damned, which is horrible blaſphemy to ſpeak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you; anſwer it, if you can.

Winchester. My lord, do you not ſee what deceitful arguments he bringeth in againſt us, mingled with ſophiſtry, and keepeth himſelf ſo that we can get no hold of him? But I ſay unto thee, perverſe heretic, I ſee thou art a perverſe fellow. I had a better opinion of thee, but now I ſee we loſe our time about thee; yet I anſwer thee, St. Paul doth open the ſixth of St. John plainly, if thou wilt ſee: for he ſaith, "They eat Chriſt's body and drink his blood unworthily;" and that was the cauſe of their damnation.

Gratwick. My lord, take heed you do not add unto the text, for he that addeth to the text is accurſed of God, and I am ſure here you have brought more than Paul hath ſpoken: for he ſaith not, Becauſe they have eaten his body and drank his blood unworthily; but St. Paul ſaith, "Whoſoever ſhall eat of this bread and drink of this cup unworthily, ſhall be guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt." Note, my lord, he ſaith not as you have affirmed, but quite contrary. And with that they were all in a great rage.

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaid I belied the text.

And then I called for the text.

Winchester. I aſked thee even now if thou didſt underſtand Latin, and thy anſwer was, Whether thou didſt or no, the people ſhall bear witneſs in Engliſh.

Gratwick. And ſo I called again for the Teſtament, whether it were Latin or Engliſh, for the trial of the text.

And then when the biſhop of Wincheſter ſaw that I cared not which of the tranſlations I had, he ſtood up, thinking to beguile ſome ſimple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an Engliſh Teſtament to bring it in, that he might get ſome hold of him that ſhould bring a Teſtament: but God diſappointed him thereof, and ſo he flew away from the matter, and began to rail upon me, and ſaid, my ſubtle arguments ſhould not ſerve: for if I would not anſwer directly, I ſhould nevertheleſs be excommunicated. For (ſaid he) I ſee a mad toy in thine head; thou glorieſt much in thy talk, and thinkeſt now the people are come about thee, that thou ſhalt encourage them with thy conſtant heretical opinion. For the laſt day, when thou waſt before me upon Sunday in St. Mary Overy's church, thou there reprovedſt my ſermon, and hadſt a thouſand by thee at leaſt, to bid God ſtrengthen thee: but now let me ſee him here that dare open his mouth to bid God ſtrengthen thee; he ſhall die the death that thou ſhalt die.

To that I anſwered, My lord, I know your cruelty far exceeds your pity. I know from experience that you keep men in priſon a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not ſo much as a Teſtament to look upon for their ſouls' comfort, which all men ought to have: and ſo you treat them more like brute-beaſts than chriſtian men.

Winchester. No, ſir, we will uſe you as we will uſe the child: for if the child will hurt himſelf with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. Becauſe you will damn your ſoul with the word, you ſhall not have it.

Gratwick. My lord, a ſimple argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not aſhamed to make the word the cauſe of our damnation? I never knew any man but you that did not affirm our ſins to be the cauſe of our damnation, and not the word, as you ſay: and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good alſo: becauſe that ſome men do abuſe drink, therefore the benefit of drink ſhould be taken from all men, or any other ſuch like good gift.

Winchester. My lords, we loſe much time, for this fellow is perverſe, ſpeaking nothing but ſophiſtry and perverſe queſtions: ſo that we can get no advantage of him.

Then ſpake my counterfeit ordinary, as one half aſleep all this while; yet ſomewhat with haſte when he was awakened he began to tell his tale, and ſaid—

Read theſe articles againſt him once more, and if he will not anſwer them, take him upon his firſt words—"That which I ſaid, that I have ſaid."

Then the biſhop of Wincheſter began to read them again.

But I ſaid unto him I would not anſwer them, becauſe they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their own making, becauſe they would have my blood. But yet I ſaid, if they would ſet the law apart, I would talk my conſcience freely to them.

Then my counterfeit ordinary began to ſpeak again, charging me with the ſaying of St. Peter, that I ſhould render an account of ſuch hope as was in me.

Gratwick. So I can do, yet I ſhall not pleaſe you, for here I now render my hope as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jeſus Chriſt to have my ſalvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in ſuch ſort, as you may have my blood, and therefore you bring good ſcriptures, and evil apply them.

Winchester. Why, this fellow is perverted, and we ſhall get no more at his hands than we have already; therefore let us pronounce ſentence againſt him, for we do but loſe our time.

Gratwick. Nay, my lord, ſeeing you will needs have my blood, let me ſay a little more for myſelf.

On Sunday laſt, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apoſtle St. James, and ſaid, "If any man think himſelf a religious man, and in the mean time ſeduce his tongue or his heart, the ſame man's religion is a vain religion;" and ſo, my lord, you ſtanding there in the pulpit, in the mean time ſeduced your tongue to ſlander us poor priſoners, being there preſent in iron bands, burdening us with the ſects of Arians, Herodians, Anabaptiſts, Sacramentaries, and Pelagians.

And when we ſtood up to purge ourſelves thereof, you ſaid you would cut out our tongues, and cauſe us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave yourſelf a ſhrewd blow, for your tongue in the mean time ſlandered your neighbour. For I, my lord, will give my life againſt all theſe hereſies, which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life againſt that wherein I now ſtand before you. And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation, and ſaid—

Thou wilt grant here no more but this word, "That I have ſaid, I have ſaid:" and here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou haſt heretofore ſaid.

Then I anſwered, If you can prove that ever any of my examinations were written, it is enough: but you have nothing againſt me but objections of your own making.

Wincheſter. Have at thee now, if thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce ſentence againſt thee; and ſo he proceeded forward, curſing and banning in Latin; ſo I told him if the people might hear it in Engliſh, they would think him an uncharitable biſhop.

And then I ſaid, Stay, my lord, and mind what you do: for you have neither temporal nor ſpiritual law here againſt me in any cauſe.

Then ſtepped forth a gentleman, and ſaid unto my lord, Take heed what you do: for he doth here ſay, that you have no title or cauſe why you ſhould condemn him.

Then the biſhop looked about him again, and aſked me if I would recant.

I aſked him, whereof I ſhould recant.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Are you there? Nay then I know what I have to do: and ſo he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another gentleman which began to ſnap and ſnatch at me: and then, ſaid I, I would to God I had known this before I had ever come from home, I would have put on breeches, and not had my ſkin thus torn. And all this while the biſhop read on ſtill.

At laſt his chaplains cried, Stop, ſtop, my lord; for now he will recant. And then the biſhop aſked me again.

To which I anſwered, My lord, my faith is grounded more ſtedfaſtly, than to change in a moment; it is no proceſs of time can alter me, unleſs my faith were as the waves of the ſea: and ſo the biſhop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the ſheriff, to be again carried to the Marſhalſea. And when I was condemned, I deſired God with a loud voice, that he would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were his good will, and they refuſed my prayer, and ſent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, Cut out his tongne, or ſtop his mouth: and ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſea, and bound in irons. Therefore I pray unto God that they unto whom this preſent writing ſhall come, may take example by my death and warfare. So be it.

By me Stephen Gratwick, condemned for God's everlaſting truth.

Here, for want of time, I left out many matters, becauſe the Lord hath haſtened the time, ſo that I have written but the briefneſs of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of faith, which the biſhop of Rocheſter and I debated upon; which matter I would have been glad to have ſet down in writing.

Alſo much more talk there was, that the biſhop of Wincheſter and I had concerning my worldly friends and perſonal eſtate: for he played Satan with me, he carried me up to the mountains, and there told me my learning was good, and my eloquence, and alſo my knowledge, ſave that I did abuſe it, ſaid he; and then he fell to praiſing of my perſon, that it was comely, and worthy to ſerve a prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me anſwer to ſuch objections as he would lay againſt me, that I might fall into his dioceſe.

Thus this chriſtian martyr Stephen Gratwick, being wrongfully condemned by the biſhop of Wincheſter (as you have heard), was burnt with W. Moraunt, and one named King, in St. George's-fields, about the latter end of May.

The Hiſtory *of ſeven godly* MARTYRS, *five* Women *and two* Men, *burnt at* Maidſtone *for profeſſing the true* Religion *of* Chriſt.

I SHEWED a little before, how after the univerſal proclamation was ſet forth by the king and queen in the month of February laſt, the ſtorm of perſecution began in all places to riſe (whereof ſome part alſo is declared before), but yet in no place more than in the dioceſe of Canterbury, by reaſon of the aforeſaid inquiſitors, being now armed with authority, but eſpecially by reaſon of Richard Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who were ſo furious and fiery againſt the harmleſs flock of Chriſt, that there was no need of any proclamation to ſtir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reaſon whereof many a godly ſaint lieth ſlain under the altar.

Now to return to the ſaid dioceſe of Canterbury, in the next month following, being the 18th day of June, were ſeven chriſtian and faithful martyrs of Chriſt burned at Maidſtone, whoſe names here follow:

Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurſt.
Walter Appleby, of Maidſtone.
Petronil, his wife.
Edmund Allin, of Frytenden.
Catherine, his wife.
John Manning's wife, of Maidſtone.
Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public conſiſtory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the uſual manner expreſſed before, neither did their anſwers in effect much differ from the others that ſuffered under the ſame ordinary in the aforeſaid dioceſe of Canterbury.

Now as touching their anſwers and manner of apprehenſion, and their private conflicts with their adverſaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, ſave only of Edmund Allin ſome intimation is given me, how his troubles came, what was his cauſe and anſwers before the juſtices, as here conſequently you ſhall underſtand.

The Examination *of* EDMUND ALLIN.

THIS Allin was a miller, of the pariſh of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to ſtarve, he fed them, and ſold his corn cheaper by half than others did; alſo fed them with the food of life, reading to them the ſcriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popiſh prieſts dwelling thereabouts, by the procurement of them, namely of John Taylor, parſon of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parſon of Staplehurſt, he was ſoon complained of to the juſtices, and brought before ſir John Baker, knight, who committed both him and his wife to priſon, but ſoon after they were let out, I know not how, and went to Calais; where continuing ſome time, he began to be troubled in conſcience, and meeting with one John Webb, from Frytenden (who had likewiſe fled from the tyranny of ſir John Baker and parſon Taylor), ſaid unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatſoever the cauſe was; for God, ſaid he, had ſomething to do for him in England: and ſhortly after he returned to Frytenden, where was cruel Taylor.

This parſon being informed that Edmund Allin and his wife were returned, and were not at maſs-time in the church; as he was the ſame time in the midſt of his maſs, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it), even almoſt at the lifting up of his Romiſh god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all ſpeed to go unto their houſe, and apprehend them, and he would come unto them as ſoon as he could. Which promiſe he well performed, for he had no ſooner made an end of *Ite, miſſa eſt*, and the veſtments off his back, but preſently he was at the houſe, and there laying hands on the ſaid Allin, cauſed him again to be brought to ſir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the ſcriptures to the people; and ſo he and his wife were ſent to Maidſtone priſon. Witneſſed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Crambroke, and John Webb, of Frytenden.

No ſooner were they in priſon, but ſir John Baker immediately ſent certain of his men to their houſe, namely, John Dove, Thomas Beſt, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforeſaid John Taylor, parſon of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parſon of Staplehurſt, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the houſe: where they found in the bed ſtraw a little cheſt locked with a padlock, wherein they found a ſackcloth bag of money, containing the ſum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold and partly in ſilver; which money after being told, and put in the bag again, they carried away with them.

Beſides alſo they found there certain books, as pſalters, bibles, and other writings: all which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforeſaid prieſt, Thomas Henden, parſon of Staplehurſt, and afterwards in the fifth year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, it was by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be ſeen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciouſly accuſed, wrongfully impriſoned, and cruelly robbed and ſpoiled of all their goods, were brought, as is aforeſaid, before ſir John Baker, the juſtice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, aſked him if thoſe were the fruits of his goſpel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conſpiracies to ſow ſedition and rebellion; and thus he began to reaſon with him.

A Conference *between* Sir JOHN BAKER, COLLINS, *his* Chaplain, *and* EDMUND ALLIN.

Baker. WHO gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a prieſt? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me ſee thy licence.

Collins, ſir John Baker's ſchoolmaſter, ſaid, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. If it pleaſes your honour to permit me to anſwer in the cauſe of my faith, I am perſuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other chriſtians. Why are we called chriſtians, if we do not follow Chriſt, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not ſo much underſtanding? Is not Chriſt our Father? Shall not the ſon follow the father's ſteps? Is not Chriſt our maſter? and ſhall the ſcholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Chriſt our Redeemer, and ſhall not we praiſe his name, and ſerve him who hath redeemed us from ſin and damnation? Did not Chriſt, when but twelve years of age, diſpute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Iſaiah? and yet, notwithſtanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were prieſts, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward prieſthood; wherefore, if we be chriſtians, we muſt do the ſame.

Collins. Pleaſe your honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himſelf with Chriſt!

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out preſently an infinite number of hereſies. Haſt thou any more to ſay for thyſelf?

Allin. Yea, that I have. Adam was licenſed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and poſterity, and ſo David teacheth in divers Pſalms: and Solomon alſo preached to the people, as the book of the preacher very well proveth, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were diſobedient in his days, and therefore is called "The eighth preacher of righteouſneſs," in the ſecond epiſtle of Peter. Alſo, in the 11th chapter of Numbers, where Moſes had choſen ſeventy elders to help him to teach and rule the reſt, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents, wherefore Joſhua being offended, complained to Moſes, that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moſes anſwered, and wiſhed that all the people could do the like. Why ſhould I be long? moſt of the prieſts were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

Collins. Theſe are authorities of the Old Teſtament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knoweſt no ſchool-points. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, and judicial?

Allin. I grant that the ceremonies ceaſed when Chriſt came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews, and to the Coloſſians, where he ſaith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the Sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Chriſt is the body."

Collins. And are not the judicials abrogated by Chriſt?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Chriſt in the fifth chapter of Matthew, and by Paul in the firſt epiſtle to Timothy. The law, ſaith he, is not ſet forth for the virtuous and godly, but for man-ſlayers, perjurers, adulterers, and ſuch like.

Collins. Thou art an heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moſes again? Wilt thou have adultery puniſhed with death? diſobedient children to their parents to be ſtoned? wilt thou have *Legem Talionis?* But thou art an aſs. Why ſhould I ſpeak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? ſhall we now ſmite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

Allin. If we had that law, we ſhould neither have diſobedient children, neither falſe witneſs bearers, nor ruffians.

Baker. Maſter Collins, let us return to our firſt matter. Why did you teach the people, whom you ſaid you had fed both bodily and ſpiritually, being no prieſt?

Allin. Becauſe that we are all kings to rule our affections, prieſts to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively ſtones to give light to others. For as out of flint ſtones cometh forth that which is able to ſet the world on fire; ſo out of chriſtians ſhould ſpring the beams of the goſpel, which ſhould inflame all the world. If we muſt give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then muſt we ſtudy the ſcriptures, and practiſe them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and to utter none? Shall every artificer be ſuffered, yea and commended to practiſe his faculty and ſcience, and the chriſtian forbidden to exerciſe his? Doth not every lawyer practiſe his law? Is not every chriſtian a follower of Chriſt? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all ſciences, be practiſed by chriſtians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's ſpirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of theſe gifts, which he repeateth, 1 Cor. xiv. to practiſe the ſame? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbad any. Read the Acts of the apoſtles. And the reſtraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard a learned man preach in king Edward's days.

Collins. This villain, pleaſe your honour, is mad. By my prieſthood, I believe that he will ſay that a prieſt hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a prieſt bind and looſe?

Allin. No, my ſin bindeth me, and my repentance looſeth. God forgiveth ſin only, and no prieſt. For every chriſtian, when he ſinneth, bindeth himſelf, and when he repenteth, looſeth himſelf. And if any other be looſed from his ſin by my exhortation, I am ſaid to looſe him; and if he perſevere in ſin notwithſtanding my exhortation, I am ſaid to bind him, although it is God that bindeth, and looſeth, and giveth the increaſe. Therefore, ſaith Chriſt, Matth. xviii. "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them; and whoſe ſoever ſins they forgive, they are forgiven, and whoſe ſoever they retain,

tain. they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, ſave the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's myſteries and ſalvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reaſon, St. Auſtin, Origen, and others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the ſtocks all night: wherewith ſome that were better minded, being offended with ſuch extremity, deſired Allin to keep his conſcience to himſelf, and to follow Baruch's counſel, in the ſixth chapter. "Wherefore when ye ſee the multitude of people worſhipping them, behind and before, ſay ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worſhipped."

Wherewith he was perſuaded to go to hear maſs the next day, and ſuddenly before the ſacring, went out and conſidered in the church-yard with himſelf, that ſuch a little cake between the prieſt's fingers could not be Chriſt, nor a material body, neither to have ſoul, life, ſinews, bones, fleſh, legs, head, arms, nor breaſt, and lamented that he was ſeduced by the words of Baruch, which his conſcience told him was no ſcripture, or elſe had another meaning: after this he was brought again before ſir John Baker, who aſked why he refuſed to worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar.

Allin. It is an idol.

Collins. It is God's body.

Allin. It is not.

Collins. By the maſs it is.

Allin. It is bread.

Collins. How proveſt thou that?

Allin. When Chriſt ſat at his ſupper, and gave them bread to eat.

Collins. Bread, knave?

Allin. Yes, bread, which you call Chriſt's body. Sat he ſtill at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he was in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or elſe he had a fantaſtical body; which is an abſurdity.

Baker. Chriſt's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.

Allin. Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

Collins. Thou ignorant aſs, the ſchoolmen ſay, that a glorified body may be every where.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it roſe again, then was it not glorified at his laſt ſupper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths by your own reaſon.

Collins. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing elſe: but Chriſt's body, you ſay, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing elſe. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the perſon of the Father, of the Son, of the Holy Ghoſt, the human nature of Chriſt. If Chriſt be nothing, which you muſt needs confeſs, if he occupieth no place, then is our ſtudy vain, our faith fruſtrate, and our hope without reward.

Collins. This rebel will believe nothing but ſcripture. How knoweſt thou that it is the ſcripture but by the church? and ſo ſaith St. Auſtin.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. Auſtin ſaith, but I am perſuaded that it is ſcripture, by divers arguments: Firſt, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myſelf I am damned; and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you muſt find in yourſelf, or elſe you ſhall never come to repentance. For as this grief and ſorrow of conſcience, without faith, is deſperation; ſo is a glorious and Romiſh faith, without the lamentation of a man's ſins, preſumption.

The ſecond is the goſpel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (ſaith St. Paul) certifieth my ſpirit that I am the ſon of God, and that theſe are the ſcriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cauſe me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. i. The ſun, the moon, the ſtars, and other his works (as David diſcourſeth in Pſal. xix.) declare that there is a God, and that theſe are the ſcriptures, becauſe that they teach nothing elſe but God and his power, majeſty and might; and becauſe the ſcripture teacheth nothing diſagreeing from this preſcription of nature. And fourthly, becauſe that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradiſe, ſaying, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break down the ſerpent's head. This ſeed is the goſpel; this is all the ſcriptures, and by this we are aſſured of eternal life; and theſe words, "The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

Baker. I heard ſay that you ſpake againſt prieſts and biſhops.

Allin. I ſpake for them; for now they have ſo much living, and eſpecially biſhops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds a-piece, then would they apply their ſtudy; now they cannot for their affairs.

Collins. Who will then ſet his children to ſchool?

Allin. Where there is now one ſet to ſchool for that end, there would be forty; becauſe that one biſhop's living divided into thirty or forty parts, would find ſo many men, as well learned as the biſhops now are who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any ſuch revenue.

Baker. Let us diſpatch him; he will mar all.

Collins. If every man had a hundred pounds, as he ſaith, it would make more learned men.

Baker. But our biſhops would be angry, if that they knew it.

Allin. It would be for the common good to have ſuch biſhoprics divided, for the further increaſe of learning.

Baker. What ſayeſt thou to the ſacrament?

Allin. As I ſaid before.

Baker. Away with him.

Then he was carried to priſon, and afterward burned. And thus much concerning the particular ſtory of Edmund Allin and his wife: who, with the five other martyrs above named, being ſeven, were burned at Maidſtone, the 18th of June, 1557.

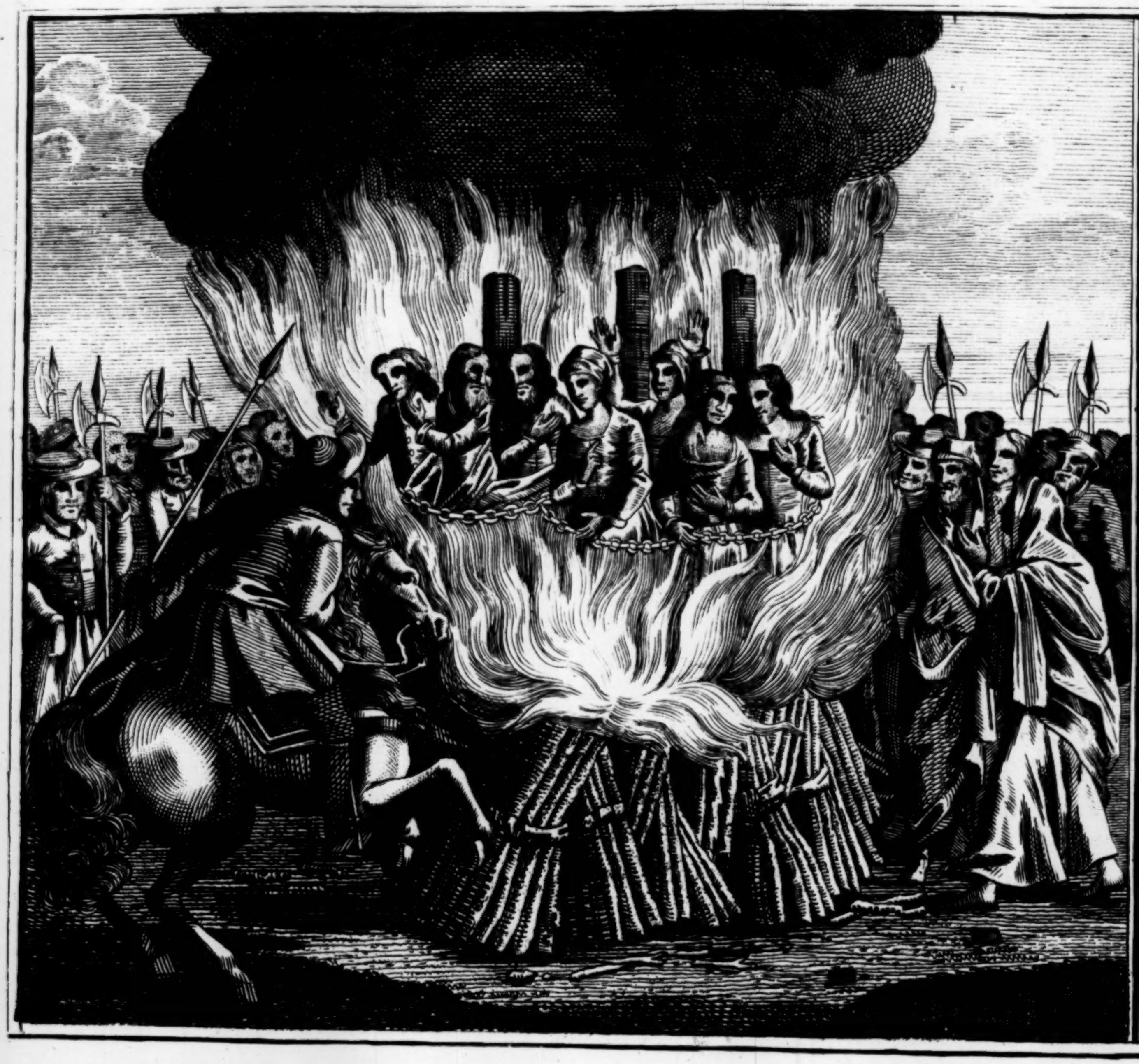
Another Story *of like* Cruelty, *ſhewed upon three* Men *and four* Women, *who were burnt at* Canterbury.

AMONG ſuch infinite ſeas of trouble in theſe moſt dangerous days, who can with-hold from tears to ſee the madding rage of theſe pretended catholics, who being never ſatisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, preſume ſo highly to violate the preciſe law of God's commandments, in ſlaying the ſimple poor lambs of the glorious congregation of Jeſus Chriſt, and that for the true teſtimony of a good conſcience, in confeſſing the immaculate goſpel of their ſalvation? What heart will not lament the murdering miſchief of theſe men, who for want of work do ſo wrack their time on ſilly poor women, whoſe weakneſs the more ſtrength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at leaſt pitied, and not oppreſſed of men that be ſtronger, and eſpecially of prieſts that ſhould be charitable.

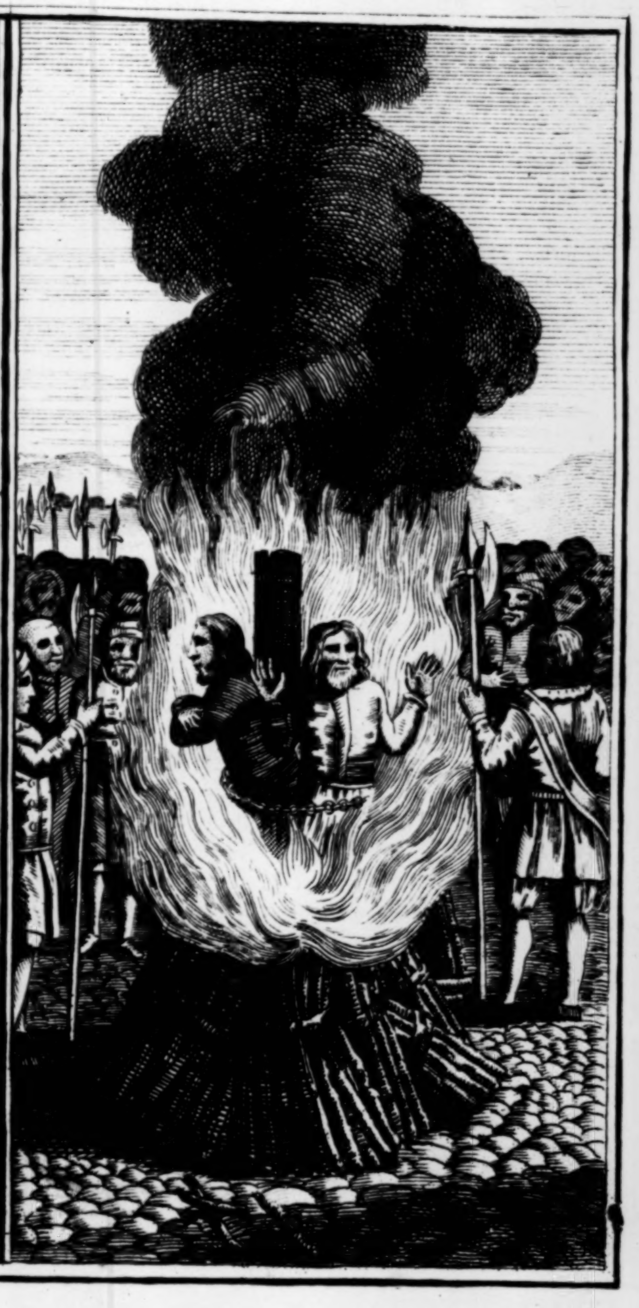
But bleſſed be the Lord Omnipotent, who ſupernaturally hath indued from above ſuch weak creatures with ſuch manly fortitude, ſo conſtantly to withſtand the uttermoſt extremity of theſe mercileſs perſecutors: as he did before ſtrengthen the mother of the ſeven ſons in the Maccabees, and as he hath done ſince with divers other godly women in our days, partly before mentioned, and partly hereafter, as may appear by the martyrdom of the ſeven following, four women and three men, burnt together at Canterbury the 30th of the ſaid month of June, 1557, whoſe names are theſe—

John Fiſhcock,
Nicholas White,
Nicholas Pardue,
Barbara Final, widow,
Bradbridge's widow,
Wilſon's wife,
Benden's wife.

As it would be tedious exactly and particularly to relate the ſeveral ſtories of every one of theſe martyrs, ſo I cannot



The Burning *of* John Fiſhcock, Nich. White, Nich. Pardue, Barbara Final, Mary Branbridge, Ann Wilſon *and* Alice Benden *at* Canterbury, *in* Kent.



The Martyrdom *of* Rob^{t}. Glover & Cor^{s}. Bungey, *at* Coventry, Warwick-ſh.

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I cannot paſs over untouched the cruel and unchriſtian handling of Alice Benden during her impriſonment, according as I have received by the faithful relation of them who were beſt acquainted with her, and partly alſo ſome doers in the matter, being her own natural brethren. The ſtory is thus:

Alice Benden, wife of Edward Benden, of the pariſh of Staplehurſt, in the county of Kent, was firſt brought before Mr. Roberts, of Cranbroke, in the ſaid county, the 14th of October, 1556, of whom ſhe was demanded why ſhe would not go to the church? To which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not do ſo with a good and clear conſcience, becauſe there was much idolatry committed againſt the glory of God. For which, with many mocks and taunts, ſhe was ſent to priſon, where ſhe lay fourteen days: and on the 20th of October, her huſband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurſt, to write to the biſhop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannical ſword in Kent for thoſe days, which they did, deſiring him to ſend her home.

Wherefore the biſhop called her before him, and aſked her if ſhe would go home, and go to the church. Whereunto ſhe anſwered, If I would have ſo done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be confeſſed by thy pariſh prieſt? And ſhe ſaid, No, that ſhe would not.

Well, ſaid he, go thy ways home, and go to the church when thou wilt. To which ſhe anſwered nothing. But a prieſt that ſtood by, ſaid, She ſaith ſhe will, my lord. Wherefore he let her go, and ſhe came home forthwith.

On the Saturday following her huſband deſired her to go to the church; which ſhe refuſed to do: wherefore, on the Sunday fortnight after, he going to the church, came into the company of divers inhabitants of the ſame pariſh; among whom, through his fooliſh talk and behaviour, he procured her to be ſent to fir John Gilford, who commanded her to priſon again: yea, and the more to utter his own ſhame, they ſaid her huſband took money of the conſtable to carry her to priſon, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to priſon himſelf. But ſhe having much more care of his honeſt and good report, than he had regard (as it is eaſy to ſee) of his own infamy, and no leſs aſhamed of his unnatural doings, choſe rather to commit herſelf willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world ſhould bear witneſs againſt her huſband of ſo wicked a fact. Wherefore ſhe went to the conſtable, deſiring him to go with her: but he anſwered that he could not; yet he granted her his boy to go with her, with whom ſhe went to priſon, namely, Canterbury caſtle, according to commandment.

Here one thing is worthy to be noted, that while ſhe was in this priſon, ſhe practiſed with a fellow-priſoner, the wife of one Potkin, to live both of them on two-pence halfpenny a day, to try thereby how well they could ſuſtain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they ſhould be removed from thence to the biſhop's priſon, their allowance ſhould be but three farthings apiece a day: and did indeed both ſo live for 14 days before ſhe was removed.

The 22d of January following, her huſband went again to the biſhop, deſiring him to deliver his wife out of priſon; but he ſaid ſhe was an obſtinate heretic, and would not be reformed, and therefore ſaid that he could not deliver her.

Then ſaid he, My lord, ſhe hath a brother, whoſe name is Roger Hall, who reſorteth unto her. If your lordſhip could keep him from her, ſhe would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and perſuadeth her not to return or relent.

This caution was no ſooner given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the biſhop commanding her upon the ſame to a priſon called Monday's Hole, he gave a ſtrict charge, that if at any time her brother came, he ſhould be apprehended.

This priſon was within a court where the prebend's chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and before the window incloſed with a pale about four feet and an half high, and three feet diſtance from the ſame; ſo that ſhe looking from beneath, might only ſee ſuch as ſtood at the pale. After this, her brother ſought often for her, with no leſs danger of life than diligence. But, for the unknown ſituation of the place, it being but ſeldom uſed as a priſon, and the matter cloſely kept, he could never underſtand that ſhe was there, until, through God's merciful will and unſearchable providence, he coming thither early in the morning, her keeper being gone to the church to ring, happened to hear her voice, as ſhe was pouring out her ſorrowful complaints unto God, ſaying the Pſalms of David: and he could not relieve her, only by putting money in a loaf of bread, and ſticking the ſame on a pole, and ſo reached it to her; for neither with meat nor drink could he ſuſtain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither, in all which time no creature was known to come at her more than her keeper.

Her lying in that priſon was only upon a little ſtraw between a pair of ſtocks and a ſtone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, one half-penny for bread, and a farthing for drink, neither could ſhe get any more for her money. Wherefore ſhe deſired to have her whole allowance in bread, and uſed water for her drink. Thus did ſhe lie nine weeks. During all which time ſhe never changed her apparel; whereby at laſt ſhe became a very piteous and loathſome creature to behold.

At her firſt coming into this place ſhe did grievouſly bewail, with great ſorrow and lamentation, and reaſoned with herſelf, why her Lord God did ſuffer her with ſuch heavy juſtice to be ſequeſtered from her loving fellows into ſuch extreme miſery.

In theſe dolorous mournings did ſhe continue, till on a night as ſhe was in her ſorrowful ſupplication, rehearſing this verſe of the Pſalm, "Why art thou ſo heavy, O my ſoul?" And again, "The right hand of the Moſt High can change all:" ſhe received comfort in the midſt of her miſery, and after that continued very joyful till her delivery from the ſame.

About the 25th of March, in the year 1557, ſhe was called before the biſhop, who demanded of her, whether ſhe would now go home, and to the church or no, promiſing her great favour, if ſhe would be reformed and do as they did.

To whom ſhe anſwered, I am thoroughly perſuaded, by the great extremity that you have already ſhewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly: and I ſee that you ſeek my utter deſtruction; ſhewing how lame ſhe was by hunger and cold, while ſhe lay in the diſmal priſon, whereby ſhe was not able to move without great pain.

Then the biſhop delivered her from that filthy hole, and ſent her to Weſt-gate, where being kept clean, her ſkin did peel and ſcale off, as if ſhe had been poiſoned by ſome mortal venom. Here ſhe continued till the latter end of April, when ſhe was called before them, and with others condemned, and committed to a priſon called the Caſtle, where ſhe lay till the 19th of June, and then reſigned her life in the flames.

When ſhe was at the ſtake, ſhe threw her handkerchief to one John Banks, requiring him to keep it in memory of her; and from her middle ſhe took a white lace, which ſhe gave to the keeper, deſiring him to give the ſame to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him, that it was the laſt band that ſhe was bound with, except the chain. A ſhilling alſo, of Philip and Mary, ſhe took forth, which her father had bent and ſent her when ſhe was firſt ſent to priſon, deſiring that her ſaid brother ſhould with obedient ſalutation render the ſame to her father again, and ſhew him that it was the firſt piece of money that he ſent her after her troubles began, which (as ſhe proteſted) ſhe had kept, and now ſent to let him underſtand, that ſhe never wanted money while ſhe was in priſon.

Alice Benden, and the other five before mentioned, were burnt at the ſame time. Being brought to the place of martyrdom, they undreſſed themſelves joyfully at the fire, and being ready, they all ſeven (like the communion of ſaints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to the Lord with ſuch zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the croſs could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they aroſe and went to the ſtake, where being ſoon encompaſſed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their ſouls and lives glorioufly into the hands of the Lord.

This Bradbridge's wife had two children, the one named Patience, the other Charity, and when ſhe was condemned by the biſhop, ſhe deſired (if ſhe muſt needs be burnt) that he would take Patience and Charity (meaning her two children) and keep them. Nay, quoth the biſhop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them.

The Troubles *and* Examinations *of* MATTHEW PLAISE.

MATTHEW PLAISE, of the pariſh of Stone, in the county of Kent, weaver, and a faithful chriſtian, being apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of Canterbury, was brought to examination in the year 1557, before Thornton, biſhop of Dover, archdeacon Harpsfield, commiſſary Collins, and other inquiſitors, in the following manner:

Biſhop. Art thou of the dioceſe of Canterbury, and where dwelleſt thou?

Plaiſe. I am of the pariſh of Stone, in Kent, and ſubject to the king and queen of England.

Biſhop. Thou wert indicted by twelve men at the ſeſſions of Aſhford, for hereſy.

Plaiſe. That is ſooner ſaid than proved.

Biſhop. I have ſpoken the truth, and can prove it.

Plaiſe. I deſire to hear it, and then I will anſwer to it.

Biſhop. No, no; you ſhall anſwer to the article, yea or nay.

Plaiſe. You cannot prove it; for I was not at Aſhford, and therefore you have nothing to lay to my charge; but now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

Harpsfield. Peace, peace; we do not deſire thy blood, but we are glad to hear thou art no heretic, [with many other flattering words] yet thou art ſuſpected of hereſy; and if thou wilt be content to confeſs how thou doſt believe concerning theſe articles, we ſhall gladly teach thee.

Plaiſe. I do not think ſo, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I believed in the ſacrament, and I recited unto him the text, and becauſe I would not make my expoſition to him upon it, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him, for my inſtruction, to write his mind, and if it were the truth I would believe him; and this I deſired of him for the love of God, but it would not be.

Harpsfield. I dare ſwear upon a book, that it is not ſo.

Plaiſe. Nay, I can prove it to be true.

Harpsfield. I will tell thee the truth [and he ſtood up with a long proceſs], I am ſure that the ſame doctor doth believe as I do.

Plaiſe. How do you know that? Seeing St. Paul doth ſay, That no man knoweth what is in man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you knew what Chriſt meant by theſe words, "I require mercy and not ſacrifice," Matthew xii. you would not kill innocents.

Biſhop. I charge thee, in the name of the king and queen and the lord cardinal, to anſwer yea or nay to the articles.

Plaiſe. I command you, in the name of Him who ſhall come in flaming fire with his mighty angels, to render vengeance to the diſobedient, and to all thoſe that believe not the goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt who ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting damnation, that you ſhall ſpeak nothing but the truth grounded upon Chriſt and his apoſtles, and then I will anſwer you, or elſe not.

Biſhop. Unleſs thou wilt anſwer to every article, I will immediately condemn thee.

Plaiſe. Well, if you do, you ſhall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourſelf a murderer.

Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the ſecond article, which was, That I was a chriſtian man, and did believe in their mother the catholic church, and the determination thereof.

Plaiſe. I am a chriſtian man indeed, and therefore you have nothing againſt me.

Harpsfield. What ſayeſt thou to the catholic church, which hath ſo long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this hereſy hath ſprung up in this realm?

Plaiſe. No man can accuſe me of any thing ſpoken againſt the catholic church of Chriſt.

Biſhop. Doſt thou not believe the creed?

Plaiſe. Yes verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the Teſtament of Chriſt, with the reſt of the ſcriptures.

Biſhop. Thou doſt confeſs that there is a catholic church, I am glad of that; but tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or no?

Plaiſe. Well, now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuſer and alſo my judge, contrary to all right. I confeſs Chriſt hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apoſtles and prophets, Chriſt being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I anſwer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge, for I judge not myſelf, but the Lord muſt judge me.

Biſhop. Is there no part of that church here in England?

Plaiſe. Well, I perceive you would fain have ſomething to lay to my charge. I will tell you where; Chriſt ſaith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midſt of them.

Then the archdeacon ſtood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and ſaid to the people that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived ſo long time, and that half a dozen of us ſhould have the truth in a corner, and that all they ſhould be deceived, with ſuch like taunts and mocks; but would not ſuffer me to ſpeak one word. Then he read the article of the ſacrament, and ſaid I denied the real preſence to be in the ſacrament after it was once conſecrated, and that I ſaid, Chriſt's body was in heaven, and no where elſe, and that the bread was nothing but a ſign, token, or remembrance.

Plaiſe. You have to ſhew where and what my words were.

Hereof we talked a great while.

At laſt the biſhop was ſo angry, that he charged me, in the names of the king, queen, and cardinal, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witneſs, if I did not ſay yea, or nay, he would condemn me.

Then ſaid I, Seeing you have nothing to accuſe me of, why ſhould I anſwer?

Then the archdeacon ſaid I was guilty, and that I was like a thief at the bar, who would not confeſs his fault becauſe his accuſers were not preſent; with a great many more words, and would not let me open my mouth againſt him.

Then I ſaw whereabouts they went, gathering to anſwer them by the word, or elſe I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning, I believe that Chriſt took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me."

Harpsfield. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt meant even as he ſaid?

Plaiſe. Chriſt was no diſſembler, but he ſpake the very truth.

Harpsfield. Thou haſt very well ſaid, we will take no advantage of thy words.

Then he praiſed me with many words, going about to prove his body real and ſubſtantial, and ſaid, Chriſt called himſelf bread: and this to prove, when Chriſt ſaid, "This is my body;" the bread was his body, ſaid he, indeed, real and ſubſtantial, not ſo long and ſo big as it hung on the croſs, as the Capernaites did think; but we eat it, as man's weak nature can eat Chriſt. Therefore when he had ſaid, "This is my body," the bread was his body in very deed.

Plaiſe. What did Chriſt mean by theſe words, "Which is given for you?"

Harpsfield. Chriſt ſpake that by the bread alſo.

Plaiſe. Is Chriſt's body made of bread? Was bread given for our redemption? Or was the bread crucified for us, or not?

Harpsfield. No, by St. Mary, I ſay not ſo.

Plaiſe. You have ſaid the truth indeed, and even as I believe.

Then he ſtood up with a great many words, and ſaid, that I thought it but bare bread ſtill, as other bread is; but he was ſure Chriſt called it his body, and then it was his body indeed, for he would believe Chriſt.

When he had ſpoken his pleaſure by me, thinking to have condemned me by the law, I ſaid, he had not judged right of me, for I had not ſo ſpoken, but did believe the words of Chriſt as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

Harpsfield. What doſt thou ſay it is?

Plaiſe. I do believe it was that which he gave them.

Harpsfield. What was that?

Plaiſe. That which he brake.

Harpsfield. What did he break?

Plaiſe. That which he took.

Harpsfield. What did he take?

Plaiſe. The text ſaith, "He took bread."

Harpsfield. Well then, thou ſayeſt it was but bread that his diſciples did eat, by thy reaſon.

Plaiſe. Thus much I ſay, Look, what he gave them, they did eat it indeed.

Harpsfield. Why, then, was not that his body which they did eat?

Plaiſe. It was that which he brake.

Harpsfield. Well, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou doſt think it is but bread ſtill, and that he was not able to make it his body.

Plaiſe. That is your expoſition upon my mind.

Harpsfield. What didſt thou receive when thou didſt receive laſt?

Plaiſe. I do believe that I did eat Chriſt's fleſh, and drink his blood; for he ſaith, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Then he ſaid, I had anſwered well, thinking to have had ſome advantage over me, and prayed me to tell him how I did eat Chriſt's fleſh, and drink his blood.

Then I ſaid, I muſt anſwer you by the word which Chriſt ſaith, "He that eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him."

Then he faced out the matter with ſophiſtry, and ſaid, I did eat Chriſt as that church was in his eye, with many ſuch mocks, but would not let me anſwer one word.

Commiſſary Collins then aſked me, if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and becauſe they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himſelf bread in the 6th of John. So Paul ſaith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread, (meaning Chriſt's body) unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, becauſe ye make no difference of the Lord's body." For thus ſaith Chriſt, "The bread that I will give you is my fleſh." Now it is no bread, but it is his fleſh. And thus he alledged every ſcripture falſe, to make up the matter.

Plaiſe. I believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he hath ſpoken them. For thus he ſaith, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lord's body."

Collins. What is the cauſe that he eateth his own damnation?

Plaiſe. St. Paul declareth it plainly with theſe words, "If ye had judged yourſelves, ye ſhould not have been judged of the Lord."

Harpsfield. I marvel that you will not ſay, that he called the bread his body, ſeeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.

Plaiſe. You have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me ſay with them, becauſe you would kill me.

Harpsfield. In that they ſaid it was his body, they ſaid the truth.

Plaiſe. Wherefore were they killed, ſeeing they ſaid the truth.

Biſhop. I had all their anſwers, and they did not believe as they ſaid. For they ſaid Chriſt called it his body, but it was not his natural body: but thou ſhalt anſwer me by-and-by, whether it be his body or not, or elſe I will anger thee.

Plaiſe. I have anſwered you by the word already, and I believe it alſo; therefore if you condemn me for that, my life is not dear unto me, and I am ſure you ſhall not eſcape unpuniſhed; for God will be revenged on ſuch murderers.

Then the archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I muſt needs be burned. Yet he would not ſay but my ſoul might be ſaved; with many more words, and deſired me that I would believe him, for he would ſpeak the truth: beginning with how Chriſt fed five thouſand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine; even ſo Chriſt took bread and bleſt it, and when he had done, he brake it, and ſaid, "This is my body," and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it muſt needs be his body.

Plaiſe. I deſire you to ſpeak the text right, or elſe I will not believe you.

Then archdeacon Harpsfield ſtood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and ſaid, I was a ſtubborn fellow, and took ſcorn to be taught.

Plaiſe. I ought to hold you accurſed, if you teach doctrine contrary to Chriſt and his apoſtles.

Harpsfield. Do you believe that Chriſt gave that he took or not?

Plaiſe. I do believe as much as can be proved by the ſcripture, and more I will not believe.

Then he began with Moſes's rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a ſerpent. Seeing that this was by Moſes being but a man, how much more Chriſt, being both God and man, took one thing and gave to his diſciples another?

Plaiſe. Your compariſon is nothing like, for Moſes's rod when it was laid down, he ſaw that it was turned into a very ſerpent indeed; but in this ſacrament no man can ſee either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Biſhop. Your opinion and faith is like unto the Capernaites.

Plaiſe. Yours is more like their opinion than mine.

Then Harpsfield aſked me, whether Chriſt took not one thing and gave another?

Plaiſe. What he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and no other anſwer will I make, contrary to the word.

Then the archdeacon ſaid, he marvelled why I would not believe them, ſeeing this learning had continued 1500 years: neither yet did ſay, as others had before, how Chriſt did call it his body.

Plaiſe. When Cranmer, who was here biſhop, was in authority, he ſaid, he held the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and hath given his life for his opinion, and would you have me believe you, becauſe you ſay you hold the truth? That which makes me believe chiefly, is the ſcripture, which I am ſure is the truth indeed.

Biſhop. I have ſpoken the truth, and you will not believe.

Plaiſe. If you do not now ſpeak the truth, I am ſure you have ſpoke the truth: [for he had before preached doctrine contrary to this.]

Then the reſt of my articles were read; which I anſwered, and in every article he had up this breaden god. And they ſent for a lighted candle, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not ſuffer their cruel hearts to have their pleaſure then: bleſſed be his name for evermore, Amen.

Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide me, becauſe I would not deſire a day of the biſhop, and ſaid, I was a naughty ſtubborn fellow, and that it had been my duty to have deſired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Plaiſe. I have ſpoken the truth; and therefore will not aſk him for a day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Then the commiſſary ſaid, Doſt thou not think that thou mayeſt be deceived, ſeeing he may be deceived that hath gone to ſtudy all the days of his life?

Plaiſe. Yea, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was ſure God's word could not be deceived.

Then the commiſſary prayed me to be content, and confeſſed that I might learn; and ſaid, they would be glad to teach me.

Plaiſe. I will be as glad to learn as any man.

And thus they roſe up, and went away, ſaying nothing.

What became of this Matthew Plaiſe afterwards, whether he died in priſon, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The History *of* TEN MARTYRS, *who were burnt in one* Fire *at* Lewes.

IN the town of Lewes, on the 22d of June, the ten following perſons ſuffered in one fire. Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Mainard, Alexander Hoſman, his ſervant, Thomaſin Wood, Mainard's maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her ſon, Denis Burgis, Aſhdon's wife, and Grove's wife.

Of which number Richard Woodman was the firſt, who by his occupation was an iron-maker, dwelling in the pariſh of Warbleton, in the county of Suſſex, and dioceſe of Chicheſter, about the age of 30 years. The occaſion of his firſt apprehenſion was this:

There was one Fairebanke, who had ſometime been a married prieſt, and ſerved the cure of Warbleton, where he had often perſuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught and ſet forth in king Edward's days. And afterward, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the ſaid Fairbanke preached contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman hearing him preach ſo contrary to himſelf, admoniſhed him of his inconſtancy, how before time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and deſired him to teach them the truth. For which words he was apprehended, and brought before Mr. John Aſhburnham, Mr. Tonſton, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Roberts, juſtices of the peace in the county of Suſſex, and by them committed to the King's-Bench, where he continued from June, the ſpace almoſt of a year and a half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Story into biſhop Bonner's Coal-houſe, where he remained a month before he came to examination.

At length, the ſame day, when Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, he with four other priſoners was ſet at liberty by biſhop Bonner. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after he was ſought for again, and at laſt taken by means of his father, brother, and other friends, and was ſent up again to biſhop Bonner, where he remained in the Coal-houſe eight weeks. He was there ſix times examined, and twenty-ſix times before; ſo that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his apprehenſion to his condemnation. And as the matter is ſomewhat ſtrange, and will perhaps ſcarce find credit upon my narration, with them who deny all things that do not pleaſe them, you ſhall hear himſelf ſpeak and teſtify both of the manner of his troubles, and alſo his own examinations, recorded by himſelf as follows:

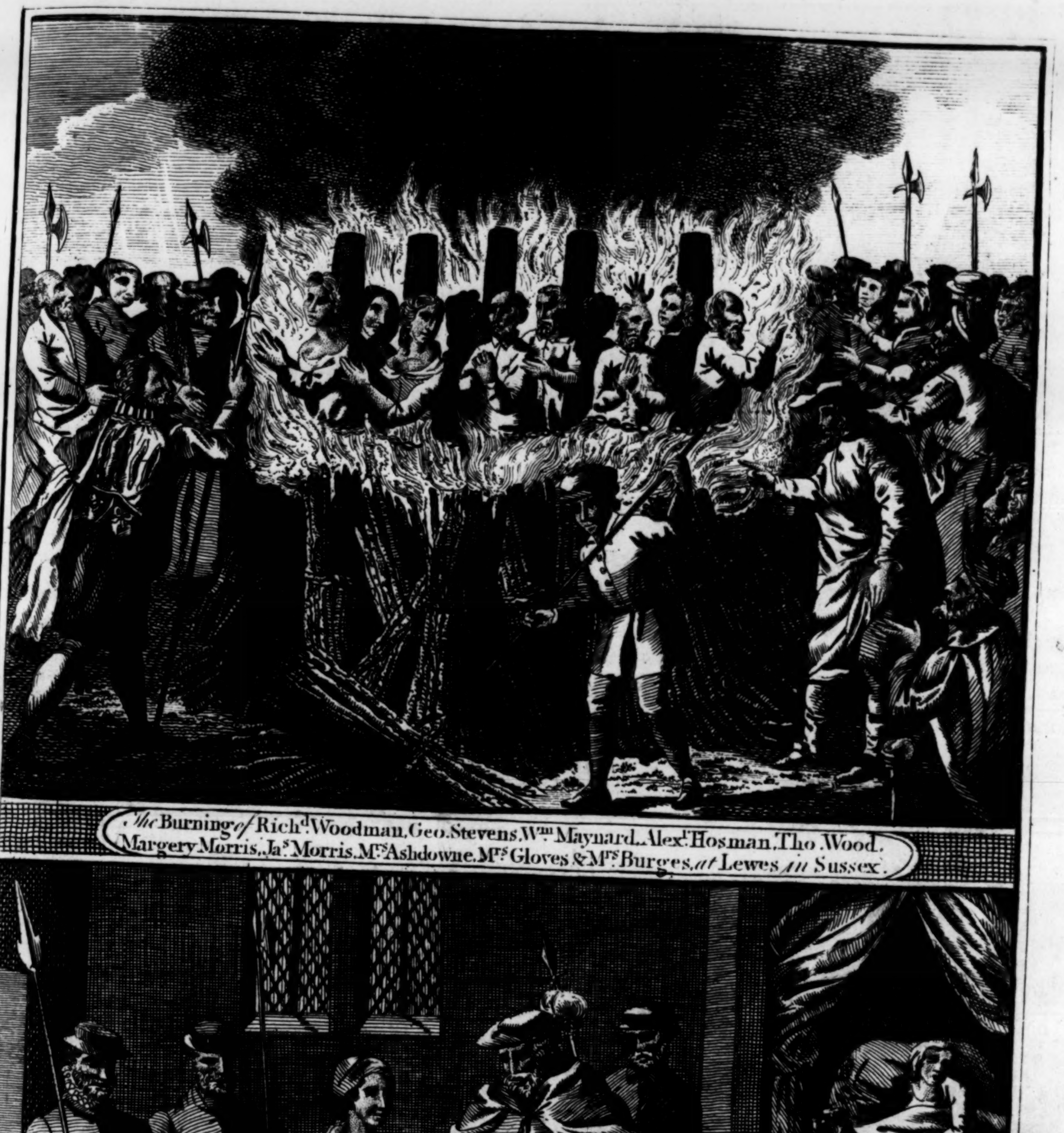
A true Certificate *written by* RICHARD WOODMAN, *of his* Apprehenſion *and* Impriſonment, *and how he was there uſed, till he was brought before the* Biſhop *of* Chicheſter, *at* Black-Friars, London, *together with his* Examinations.

GENTLE reader, you will here perceive how the ſcriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the leaſt of theſe poor lambs. Firſt, you ſhall underſtand, that ſince I was delivered out of the biſhop of London's hands in the year 1555, and the ſame day that Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his Coal-houſe eight weeks, wanting a day; and before that I was almoſt a year and a half in the King's-Bench after my firſt apprehenſion, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the pariſh of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two ſeſſions before I was ſent to priſon, and carried to two more while I was in priſon, twice before the biſhop of Chicheſter, and five times before the commiſſioners; and then ſent to Bonner's Coal-houſe, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I have written.

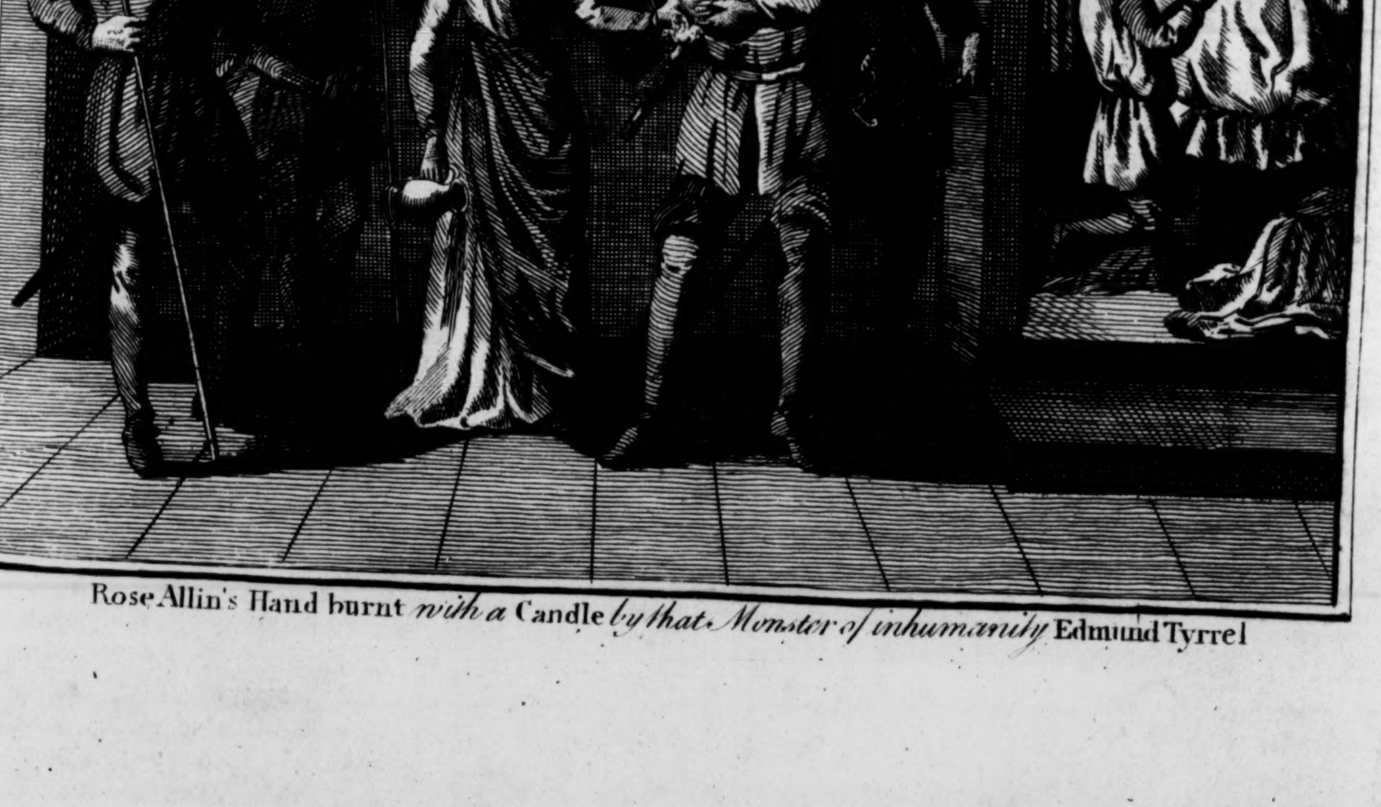
And it pleaſed God to deliver me with four more out of the butcher's hands, requiring nothing elſe of us but that we ſhould be honeſt men, and members of the true catholic church that was built upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the true head of the church; to which we all affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purpoſed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he ordered us many times to ſpeak well of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praiſed, becauſe he had been ſo faithful a ſervant in his maſter the devil's buſineſs. For he had burnt good Mr. Philpot the ſame morning, in whoſe blood his heart was ſo drunken (as I ſuppoſed) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before he promiſed us that we ſhould be condemned that ſame day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he ſought for ſome of us again, yea, and that earneſtly. He waxed dry, after his great drunkenneſs, wherefore he is like to have blood to drink in hell, as he is worthy, if he repent it not ſpeedily. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will.

This have I written, chiefly to certify to all people how we were delivered, becauſe many carnal goſpellers and papiſts have ſaid, that it was preſcribed that we ſhould be ſo delivered, becauſe they think that God is ſubject to man, and not man to God: for if they did they would not blaſpheme him as they do, or if they thought they ſhould give an account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Iſrael out of Egypt, and Daniel out of the lion's den? Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, out of the burning oven? with divers other ſuch like examples; yea God is the ſame God that he was then: he is no older, nor leſs in power, as ſome count him, in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was delivered, the papiſts ſaid, that I had conſented to them, whereof they made themſelves glad; which was the leaſt part of my thought, (I praiſe God for it) as they well perceived, and knew the contrary in a ſhort time: for I went from pariſh to pariſh, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefeſt in all the country; and I angered them ſo, that they with the commiſſioners complained of me to the lord chamberlain that was, then to the queen, ſir



The Burning of Rich^{d}. Woodman, Geo. Stevens, W^{m}. Maynard, Alex^{r}. Hosman, Tho. Wood, Margery Morris, Ja^{s}. Morris, M^{rs}. Ashdowne, M^{rs}. Gloves & M^{rs}. Burges, at Lewes in Sussex.



Rose Allin's Hand burnt with a Candle by that Monster of inhumanity Edmund Tyrrel

7. C. last page.

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John Gage, ſhewing him that I baptized children, and married people, with many ſuch lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the commiſſioners ſent out certain citations to bring me to the court. The lord chamberlain had directed out three or four warrants for me, that if I had come there I ſhould have been attached and immediately ſent to priſon; which was not God's will, for I had warning of their lying in wait for me, and went not thither, but ſent my deputy, and he brought me word that the bailiffs waited for me there; but they miſſed of their prey for that time, whereupon they were diſpleaſed.

Then within three days after, my lord ſent three of his men to me, whoſe names were Dean, Jeffrey, and Francis. I being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my houſe, leaſt miſtruſting them of all others, came and ſpake to them, aſking them how they did. And they ſaid they arreſted me in the names of the king and queen, and that I muſt go with them to their maſter the lord chamberlain. Which words made my fleſh to tremble and quake, being ſuddenly ſurpriſed. But I anſwered them that I would go with them, and deſired that they would go with me to my houſe, that I might break my faſt, and put on ſome other apparel; and they ſaid I ſhould. Then I remembered myſelf, and ſaid in my heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myſelf happy. I remembered how I was willing before to die in that quarrel, and ſo had continued ever ſince; and ſhould I now fear to die? God forbid; for then were all my labour vain.

So by-and-by I was perſuaded, I praiſe God, conſidering it was but the frailty of my fleſh, which was loth to forego my wife and children, and goods; for I ſaw nothing but preſent death before mine eyes. And as ſoon as I had determined in my mind to die, I had regard to nothing in this world, but I was as merry and as joyful, I praiſe God, as ever I was. This agitation laſted not a quarter of an hour; but it was ſharper than death itſelf, for the time it laſted.

So after I had my breakfaſt, I deſired them to ſhew me their warrant, thinking thereby I ſhould know for what cauſe I was arreſted, that I might the better defend myſelf when I came before their maſter. And one of them anſwered, they had not their warrant there. Which words made me aſtoniſhed, and it was put into my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unleſs they had their warrant. Then ſaid I to them, That is a wonder you will come to take a man without a warrant. It ſeemeth to me that you come of your own mind to get thanks of your maſter; for, indeed, I heard ſay, that there were four or five warrants out for me, but they were all called in again, becauſe I had certified to my lord and the commiſſary, by a letter I had ſent to the commiſſary's court, that I was not guilty of that they had charged me with, which was baptizing of children, and marrying folks; which I never did; for I was never a miniſter appointed to do any ſuch thing: wherefore ſet your hearts at reſt, I will not go with you, unleſs you will carry me by force, and if you do ſo be it at your peril. So I roſe from the table, and ſtepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them, if poſſible, ſeeing God had made the way ſo open for me. I meant to play Peter's part with them, but God would not it ſhould be ſo, but ſent a fear amongſt them, that as ſoon as I was gone into my chamber, before I could come out again, they were gone out of my houſe.

When I ſaw that, I knew it was God's doing to ſet me at liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to ſpeak to them, and ſaid, If you have a warrant, I deſire you for God's ſake to ſhew it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I deſire you, in God's peace and the king's to depart; for ſurely I will not go along with you without the order of law; for I have been too ſimple in ſuch things already. Before I was ſent to priſon firſt, I met the juſtices at two ſeſſions, without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and went juſtly to them, and they ſent me to priſon, and kept me there near a year and three quarters; without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cauſe gently debated. And it ſeemeth ſtrange to me that I ſhould be thus evil treated; therefore I will go to none henceforth, without the extremity of the law.

Then one of them ſaid to me, We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my houſe; the worſt is, you can but make us fetch it. Then ſaid I, Fetch it, if you will; but if you come in my houſe before you have it, at your peril be it. So I ſhut my door, and went out at the other door. They got help to guard my houſe, and one of them fetched the conſtable and many more, thinking to have carried me away with a licence; but, as God would have it, I was gone before. Notwithſtanding, they ſought every corner of my houſe, but to no purpoſe. I ſuſpected they would ſearch it that night again, and kept myſelf abroad; and there came ſeven of his men, and the conſtable, and ſearched my houſe. When they found they could not meet with me, they could have rent their clothes, that I had ſo eſcaped them, knowing they ſhould have a check from their maſter. Hearing that they had ſo ſought for me again, and perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, I came home, and my wife told me all things.

Then I ſuppoſed that they would ſearch all the country for me, and the ſea coaſt, becauſe I ſhould not go over, and then I thought that they would not imagine that I would dare to be near home. So I told my wife that I would take my lodging in a wood near my houſe, as indeed I did, even under a tree, and there had my Bible, pen and ink, and other neceſſaries; continuing there ſix or ſeven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought myſelf bleſſed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Chriſt. Then there came word into the country, that I was ſeen and ſpoken with in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me: for they had ſought all the country for me, and the ſea-coaſt from Portſmouth to Dover, even as God put it in my mind they would.

So when all was huſhed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the ſea into Flanders and France; but I thought every day ſeven years whilſt I was there; ſo I came home again as ſoon as poſſible. I was there but three weeks, before the prieſts of Baal diſcovered me, and procured warrants againſt me, cauſing my houſe to be ſearched ſometimes twice in a week. This continued from St. James's-tide to the firſt Sunday in Lent. Sometimes I went privily, at others openly; ſometimes from home a fortnight or three weeks, at others I was at home a month or five weeks together, living moſt commonly and openly, about my ordinary buſineſs; yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was fully come: and then by the voice of the country, and manifeſt proofs, my brother as concerning the fleſh, delivered me into their hands, becauſe he knew that I was at home.

My father and he had as much of my effects in their hands as would produce 56l. a year clear. I delivered into their hands a lordſhip and an honour, and half an honour, to pay my debts, and the reſt to remain with my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts, which grieved me ſore, for it was 200l. better than the goods came to; which cauſed me to ſpeak to ſome of my friends, that they would ſpeak to them to come to ſome ſort of reckoning with me, and to take all ſuch money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver to me ſuch writings and writs as they had of mine, or to whom I ſhould appoint them.

So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I ſhould have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning ſhould be made and ſent to me the ſame day that I was taken; my brother ſuppoſing that I ſhould have put him out of moſt of all that he poſſeſſed; for it was all mine, in a manner, that he occupied, as all the country can and do well know. Whereupon

upon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar, my next neighbour, and ſome of Mr. Gage's men, or Mr. Gage himſelf: and ſo he ſent to his brother, and his brother ſent twelve of his men (he being ſheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the buſhes near my houſe, till about nine o'clock, the hour that was appointed among themſelves; for about the ſame time they thought to have had me within my houſe.

They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, ſaw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, mother, yonder comes twenty men. I ſitting in my bed, making of ſhoe-thongs, heard the words, and ſuſpecting that I was betrayed, I put on my hoſe, thinking to have gone out of the door before they had come. My wife being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were by. Then ſhe ſhut the door, and barred it faſt, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and barred the other. They immediately beſet the houſe, and commanded the doors to be opened, or they would break them in pieces. Then I had no ſhift, but I muſt either openly appear, or make ſome other remedy.

There was a certain place in my houſe that had never been found out, though ſearched at leaſt twenty times, and ſometimes almoſt by as many men at once; into which place I went. Then my wife opened the door, and they came in and aſked for me: but ſhe ſaid I was not at home. They aſked her why ſhe ſhut the door, if I was not at home. She ſaid, becauſe ſhe had been made afraid divers times with ſuch as came to ſearch us; therefore ſhe ſhut the door: for it is reported (ſaid ſhe) that whoſoever can take my huſband, may hang him or burn him directly; and I doubt they will ſerve me or my children ſo; for I think they may do ſo unto us as well as to him. Well, ſaid they, we know he is in the houſe, and we muſt ſearch it, for we are the ſheriff's men: let us have a candle: it is told us there are many ſecret places in your houſe. So ſhe lighted a candle, and they ſought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my houſe into the church-yard, and there talking with my father and ſome he had brought with him.

When they could not find me, one of them went to my brother, who informed them I was at home, and they ſaid, We cannot find him. Then he aſked them if they had ſought over a window in the hall (as it was known after), for the ſame place I had told him of myſelf: for many times when I came home, I uſed to ſend for him to bear me company; yet as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to ſearch again. One looked up over the window, and ſpied a little loft, with three or four cheſts, and the entrance was between two of the cheſts, but no man could perceive it. Then he aſked my wife the way into it: here is a place that has not been ſought. When ſhe thought they would ſee it by one means or other, ſhe ſaid, the way into it was out of the chamber they were then in. So ſhe ſent them up, and cried, Away, away. Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the beſt ſhift for myſelf that I could. The place was boarded over, and nailed faſt, and if I had come out the way that I went in, I muſt needs come out amongſt them all in the hall. Then I had no ſhift, but ſet my ſhoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, making a great noiſe; and they that were in the other chamber, ſeeking the way into it, heard the noiſe, and looked out of a window, and ſpied me, and made an out-cry. Yet I got out, and leaped down, having no ſhoes on.

So I took down a lane that was full of ſharp cinders, and they came running after with a great cry, and their ſwords drawn, crying, Strike him, ſtrike him. This made me look back, and there was no one near me by an hundred feet; and that was but one, the reſt being a great way behind. I turned about haſtily to go, and ſtepped upon a ſharp cinder with one foot, and ſaving of it, I ſtepped into a great miry hole, and fell down, and before I could ariſe, and get off, he came up with me. His name is Parker the Wild, as he is counted in all Suſſex. But if I had had my ſhoes on, they had been like to have gone back errandleſs, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to which I had not a ſtone's caſt: but it was not God's will; if it had, I ſhould have eſcaped from them all, if there had been ten thouſand of them.

Then they took me and led me home again, to put on my ſhoes, and ſuch clothes as I had need of. Then ſaid John Fauconer, Now your maſter hath deceived you. You ſaid you were an angel, and if you had been one, why did you not flee from us? Then ſaid I, Who are they that ever heard me ſay that I was an angel? It is not the firſt lye by a thouſand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women: but if they had ſaid, they had heard me ſay, that I do truſt I am a ſaint, they had not ſaid amiſs. What, do you think to be a ſaint? Yea, that I do, and am already in God's ſight, I truſt in God; for he that is not a ſaint in God's ſight already, is a devil. Therefore he that thinketh ſcorn to be a ſaint, let him be a devil. And with that word they had brought me to mine own door, where I met my father, and he deſired me to remember myſelf.

To whom I ſaid, I praiſe God, I am well remembered whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies; but woe unto him by whom I am betrayed. It had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with ſpeed. The ſcriptures are now fulfilled on me, "For the father ſhall be againſt the ſon, and the brother ſhall deliver the brother to death," as it is this day come to paſs. Then ſaid one, He doth accuſe his father, a good child indeed. I accuſe him not, but ſay my mind; for there was no man knew I was at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, who I dare ſay would not hurt me for all the good in this town.

There was one George Beching that married one of my ſiſters, and he thought that I meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he ſaid, Brother, do not think I was the cauſe of your being taken. I anſwered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then one from Lauſe ſaid, that I had been a goſpeller, and ſtood from them when I was brought to a ſeſſions at Lauſe; and he ſaid, I thought you would have been an honeſt man when you were at Lauſe, and I offered Huſſey the ſheriff to be bound for you, that you ſhould go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was, and ſaid, Be you the pewterer? And he ſaid, Yea. Then ſaid I, It has happened to you according to the true proverb, as St. Peter ſaith, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the ſow that is waſhed, to wallow in the mire," and the end of all ſuch will be worſe than the beginning. Then his mouth was ſtopped, ſo that he had nothing to ſay.

All this time I ſtood on the outſide of my door; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my ſhoes and clothes; then they put an harneſs about my arms, made of a dog's ſlip, which rejoiced my heart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never expecting to ſee them any more in this world: for it was ſo thought by all the country, that I ſhould not live ſix days after my apprehenſion; for they had ſo reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unleſs God would grant it; I know what God can do; but what he will do I know not: but I am ſure he will work all things for the beſt to them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Firle about three o'clock. And thus much touching the cauſes and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Let us now ſee his examinations, which follow in this order.

The firſt Examination *of* RICHARD WOODMAN, *before* Dr. CHRISTOPHERSON, Biſhop *of* Chicheſter, Dr. STORY, Dr. COOK, *and others.*

ON the 12th of April, in the year of our Lord 1557, I was ſent from the ſheriffs to London, and afterwards, on the 14th of the ſame month, I was brought before the biſhop of Chicheſter, Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook. So the ſheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the biſhop. Then the biſhop aſked me what my name was. My name (quoth I) is Richard Woodman.

Chicheſter. I am ſorry for you, and ſo are all the worſhipful men of your country. For it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good eſtimation with all the country, amongſt the poor and rich, till of late. Wherefore look well upon yourſelf, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled by me. Think not yourſelf wiſer than all the realm. Be informed, and you ſhall have the favour of them all, as much as ever you had.

Woodman. You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended: as, if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you.

Chich. Yes, I pray you ſay your mind.

Woodman. May it pleaſe you, you have charged me as though I made myſelf wiſer than all the realm; God doth know, I ſtand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you ſay, I have been well eſteemed both by the rich and poor, God doth know, I know not that I have given any juſt offence either to rich or poor. As for my wife and children, God knows how I love them in him, and my life alſo. My life, my wife, and my children, are all in God's hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I truſt, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thouſand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all, than them, if I might have my choice, and not diſpleaſe God.

Chich. The ſheriff took pains to come to me out of love, which he bare to you as to himſelf; and ſaid you were deſirous to ſpeak to me.

Wood. I thought it meet to appeal to mine ordinary: for they go about to ſhed my blood unrighteouſly, and they have laid many unjuſt things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by God's word, I ſtand to be reformed; and likewiſe if my blood ſhall be ſhed unrighteouſly, that it might be required at your hands, becauſe you have taken upon you to be the phyſician of our country.

Story. Is not this a perverſe fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood ſhall be required at your hands? Thinkeſt thou that thou ſhalt be put to death unjuſtly, that thy blood ſhould be required? No, if he ſhould condemn an hundred ſuch heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good many of you: and I promiſe thee, I will help to rid thee too, the beſt that I can.

Then I would have anſwered him, but the biſhop deſired us both to give him place.

Chich. Well, neighbour Woodman, I call you neighbour, becauſe you are one of my dioceſe; and you are ſent to me that I ſhould give you ſpiritual counſel: for I am your ſpiritual paſtor. Therefore hear what I ſhall ſay to you.

Wood. Firſt, I deſire you to hear me a few words. You have ſaid, you will give me ſpiritual counſel: are you ſure you have the Spirit of God?

Chich. No, I am not ſure of that.

Wood. No! be you not ſure of that?

Chich. No, by St. Mary, I dare not be ſo bold to ſay ſo; I doubt that.

Wood. Then you are like the waves of the ſea, as St. James ſaith, that be toſſed about with the wind, and are unſtable in all their ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand: yea, you are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will ſpew you out of his mouth, as ſaith St. John.

Then they were in a great fury, eſpecially Dr. Story, who ſaid,

What a perverſe fellow is this! He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worſe than the devil. Now I perceive that it is true what is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all ſuch heretics to boaſt themſelves.

Chich. Yea ſurely, he is ſent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

Wood. The Jews ſaid to Chriſt, he had the devil, and was mad, as you have ſaid here by me. But I know the ſervant is not above his maſter. And God forbid that I ſhould learn of him, who confeſſeth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

Chich. Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

Chich. You boaſt more than ever Paul did, or any of the apoſtles, which is great preſumption.

Wood. I boaſt not in myſelf, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he ſaid he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubts, in 1 Cor. vii.

Chich. It is not ſo, you bely the text.

Wood. If it be not ſo, let me be burnt to-morrow.

Story. Thou ſhalt not be burned to-morrow, but thou ſhalt be burned within theſe ſix days, I promiſe thee.

Chich. If it be ſo, it is wrong tranſlated, as it is in a thouſand places more.

Then one looked in a Latin Teſtament, another in a Greek Teſtament, and they ſaid it was in them both, that Paul ſuppoſed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not ſure.

Chich. Even ſo I hope and ſuppoſe that I have the Spirit of God, but am not ſure.

Wood. If that place be wrong tranſlated, and ſo many places of the Bible as you ſay, then I may ſay with Chriſt, it cannot be avoided but offences muſt be given; but woe unto them by whom they come. I may ſay, Woe unto falſe tranſlators: for curſed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you bely not the tranſlators: I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes, than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong tranſlated, I can prove by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myſelf and all God's elect have.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. "No man can believe that Jeſus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghoſt," 1 Cor. vii. I do believe that Jeſus Chriſt is my Redeemer, and that I ſhall be ſaved from all my ſins by his death and bloodſhedding, as Paul and all the apoſtles did, and as all faithful people ought to do; which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus; ſo there is no ſalvation to them that are not in Chriſt Jeſus. "For he that hath not the Spirit of Chriſt, is none of his, but is a caſt-away," as he ſaith in the ſame text. And again, "We have not received the ſpirit of bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba Father. The ſame Spirit certifieth our ſpirits, that we are the ſons of God." Here are proofs enough that Paul was ſure that he had the Spirit of God. Alſo St. John ſaith, "He that believeth not that Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is an Antichriſt, and denieth both the Father and the Son:" which is ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and ſhall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beſides all this, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him." So it is impoſſible to believe in God, unleſs God dwell in us. O good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, than to miſtruſt that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men ſee their blindneſs, and whoſe ſervants they be, as they do declare themſelves both by their words and deeds.

Story. O my lord, what an heretic is this ſame! Why hear you him? Send him to priſon to his fellows in the Marſhalſea, and they ſhall be diſpatched within theſe twelve days.

When I heard him ſay ſo, I rejoiced greatly in my heart, deſiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind: for I looked ſurely to have gone to the biſhop of London's Coal-houſe, or Lollards'-Tower, yea, I thought myſelf happy if I might have gone to Lollards'-Tower; but it pleaſed God to put in their hearts to ſend me to the Marſhalſea, amongſt our brethren and my old fellow-priſoners. So merciful hath God dealt with me in eaſing of my burden that I looked for.

And when they perceived that I feared not impriſonment, but rather rejoiced, the biſhop then ſaid, Methinks he is not afraid of the priſon.

Wood. No, I praiſe the living God.

Story. This is an heretic indeed. He hath the right terms of all heretics: the living God! I pray you be there dead gods, that you ſay the living God?

Wood. Are you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeak the words that are written in the Bible?

Story. Bibble babble, bibble babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of the Bible? there is no ſuch word written in all the Bible.

Wood. Then I am much to blame if it be not ſo written. "Behold, for the offences that you have done, you ſhall be carried away captive by Nebuchodonoſor to Babylon, and there you ſhall be ſeven generations: and when you be there, you ſhall ſee gods of gold, of ſilver, of wood, and of ſtone, borne before and behind you upon men's ſhoulders, to caſt out a fear among the heathen. When you ſhall ſee all theſe abominations, then ſay in your heart, It is the living God that ought to be worſhipped." Here I prove my ſaying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Alſo David ſaith in the Pſalms, "My ſoul hath a deſire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord: my heart and my fleſh rejoice in the living God;" with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for ſpeaking the truth.

Chich. I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but ſuch is the ſpeech of all heretics.

Story. My lord, I will tell you how you ſhall know an heretic by his words, becauſe I have been more uſed to them than you have been; that is, they will ſay [the Lord,] and [we praiſe God,] and [the living God]. By theſe words you ſhall know an heretic.

Wood. All theſe words are written for our learning, and we are commanded by the prophets to uſe them daily, as this; "The Lord's name be praiſed from the riſing up of the ſun unto the going down of the ſame." Alſo, "As many as fear the Lord, ſay always, the Lord be praiſed."

Story. My lord, ſend him to priſon, you ſhall do no good with him, I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretic. Waſt thou never before me ere now?

Wood. Yea forſooth, that I have.

Story. Yea, I thought ſo; and I ſent thee to the biſhop of London, and he releaſed thee, and thou promiſed him to be an honeſt man, and that thou wouldſt be of the true catholic church, which thou haſt not fulfilled.

Wood. I promiſed him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man is able to prove the contrary.

Story. Well, it will be tried well enough. My lord, I will take my leave, I fear you will do this man no good.

Chich. I would not have you to uſe ſuch ſpeeches as you do, as the Lord be praiſed, and the living God, with ſuch like words. Can you not ſay as well, our Lord, or our God, as otherwiſe?

Wood. I marvel why you ſhould reprove me for it, ſeeing they be the words of God. I do not refuſe to ſay, our God, or our Lord, when I talk of the ſcripture where it is written. If I ſhould, it muſt follow, that I denied the words of God, and muſt needs be an heretic; but I do not. Wherefore I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It ſeemeth to me, that you miſtruſt that I believe not as you do.

Chich. Yea, that is my meaning indeed.

Wood. I believe in the living God, if you do not ſo, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it pleaſe you to examine me upon any particular matter, now or at any other time, I will make anſwer thereto by God's help.

Chich. Though you believe in God, I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can ſhew you by your hand-writing. You have denied the catholic church. Wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be ſaid that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the church, from which you have erred.

Wood. I will not deny my hand by God's help. For I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written againſt me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not: but my hand cannot well be counterfeited, there are enough that know my hand.

Chich. Do you know it yourſelf, if you ſee it?

Wood. Yea, that I do.

Then he aroſe and brought a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me obſerve. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Chich. How ſay you, is it not your own handwriting?

Wood. Yea, ſurely it is.

Chich. How ſay you to this, is not this your hand alſo?

Wood. Yea, verily is it.

Chich. Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare ſay.

Wood. Yes, I know it well; here is a great deal, which I had thought had been in my houſe, but I thank God that it is here: for in this you ſhall try whether it be true or not. This contains all the talk that was between the commiſſioners and me, when I was before them five times, and alſo before the biſhop of London divers times: and I am ſure, neither you nor they ſhall find any words falſe therein written: and I think the ſheriff's men, on ſearching my houſe for me, when I was taken, found this, and took it with them, but I never knew it before. I am not ſorry for it, but am rather glad; for herein you may ſee all the wrong that I received at their hands, and how long I was in priſon, and how I was toſſed up and down, and how I was delivered at length, and by this you may try whether it be ſo or not. I ſuppoſe thoſe who found it, and brought it to you, had thought it would have turned to my diſpleaſure; but it is certain all things work for the beſt to them that fear God.

Chich. Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perilous gear, here is ſedition. This was ſet up upon the church door, which you know well enough.

Wood. Indeed I wrote it to the prieſt, and to others that took upon them to fetch my child out of my houſe without my leave, and uſed it at their pleaſure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conſcience compelled me to ſhew them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the ſcriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly.

Chich. Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is ſuch gear coupled together I promiſe you, as I never ſaw the like. But I promiſe you, I will make the beſt of it. And I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſoul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part. Caſt not yourſelf away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to teach nor preach. St. Paul ſaith, "Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide." Remember you are called to another vocation; for God's ſake walk therein. It is not right to do as you have done. You might do as much good by the report of worſhipful men, as any man might do in all the country by your example, and if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occaſion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are.

Wood. I would not that you ſhould ſay that I am out of the church of God, for I am not, but do allow the church of God according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true church, that be out, by any means that I could uſe, I ſhould be glad. God knoweth I love all people as myſelf. And where you ſay I have been a preacher, it is not ſo. I never took any ſuch thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching I cannot deny; for it becometh every man to teach and inſtruct his houſhold in the fear of God, and all others (as far as he can) that deſire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the ſcripture, and leaving my vocation (as you ſay), I left not my vocation in reading the ſcripture: for I truſt I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greateſt reaſon that compelled me to read the ſcriptures, was becauſe the preachers and teachers were ſo changeable.

Chich. No? Did you not preach at a fair?

Wood. No ſurely, but it was ſo reported. I was at a fair indeed. While I was in priſon, I had leave of the council to go home to pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to ſell cattle, and met with divers poor men that I had ſet to work, who lovingly aſked me how I did, and how I could away with impriſonment. I ſhewed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would alſo deal with them that put their truſt in him; and this they called preaching. And ſince that it hath been reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, which I never did; for I never was a miniſter. And if I had, I had done contrary to the order of the apoſtles, which God forbid I ſhould.

Chich. I am well paid if you be faultleſs in theſe things; for I have heard the contrary.

Wood. I have ſhewed you the truth, and that no man living ſhall be able to prove the contrary.

Chich. You ſaid you did not diſallow the true catholic church.

Wood. No, that I do not.

Chich. Why do you not then go to the church? I am informed you do not go there.

Wood. I truſt I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not to the church where the moſt do reſort. For if I was, I ſhould offend, and be offended: for the laſt time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myſelf. For conſcience ſake therefore I would not come there. I was ſent to priſon for my coming there, and now I am ſent to you for biding thence. So they will not be pleaſed any way with me, for they ſeek my life. Look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be an houſe of defence againſt my enemies. For if you ſuffer them to kill me, my blood ſhall be required at your hands. If you can find juſt cauſe in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me, and not offend God: wherefore look to it, the matter is weighty, deliver me not into their hands, and think ſo to be diſcharged.

Chich. I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter. I have not full authority as yet of mine office: but I will ſend for you and talk with you, if I thought I ſhould do you any good.

Wood. I ſhould be glad to talk with you, and to let you know my mind in any thing you ſhall demand of me, now, or at any other time.

So then he deſired the ſheriff's men to tarry and dine with him: that this man (ſaid he) may dine with me alſo: for it may be he may have no great ſtore of meat where he is going.

So we tarried to dinner with him, and had no farther talk, neither how to prove where the true church of God is, nor of the ſacraments, nor of any thing pertaining toward me, for the ſpace of two hours or more: but he entered into talk with me, how I underſtood many ſcriptures, and for biſhops and prieſts marriages, and whether Paul had a wife or not: To whom I anſwered, It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages; but I am content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will ſerve. When he had talked with me of divers ſcriptures, he liked my diſcourſe well. He aſked me how I ſaid by St. Paul, whether he were married or not? To whom I anſwered, I can prove by the ſcriptures that he was never married.

Chich. How prove you that?

Wood. I will prove it well enough, by God's help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apoſtles had.

Chich. Why, had the apoſtles wives?

Wood. Yes, all, ſaving Paul and Barnabas, as I underſtand it. For theſe are Paul's words in the 9th chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians: "Am I not an apoſtle? am I not free? have I not ſeen Jeſus Chriſt? Are not ye my work in the Lord? and if I be not an apoſtle to others, yet to you I am an apoſtle: for you are the ſeal of mine apoſtleſhip in the Lord. Mine anſwer to them that aſk me, is this, Have we not power to eat and to drink? Or have we not power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other apoſtles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? Or have not Barnabas and I power thus to do?" So this text proveth that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth, that the reſt had wives, and that they had power likewiſe ſo to have, but they found no need thereof. Paul declareth, in the 7th chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, that he who hath no power over his fleſh may marry: "For it is better to marry than to burn. Wherefore, to avoid fornication, let every man have his wife." He ſaith, "Let every man have his wife, and every woman her huſband." By this text of ſcripture, I underſtand, that biſhops and prieſts may have wives, becauſe they are men, rather than burn, or commit fornication. But I think verily he that can abſtain, having power of his own will, doeth beſt; but if he marrieth, he ſinneth not.

So then he debated the ſcriptures with me divers ways, that a biſhop or prieſt ought not to have a wife; but I proved by divers ſcriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at firſt made for the help of men, which was ſpoken generally to all men. Wherefore (ſaid I) every man may have a woman, and ſin not, in honeſt matrimony, as well biſhops and deacons, as other men, which you call prieſts, if they be true miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and of that order that biſhops and deacons were in Paul's time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, in the firſt epiſtle and 3d chapter, "That a biſhop ſhould be the huſband of one wife," and how they ſhould be honeſtly apparelled, and ſhould bring up their children, and likewiſe the deacons. This proveth more plainly, that both biſhops and deacons had wives in the apoſtles' time, which he could not deny. But then he alledged, that no biſhop or prieſt might take a wife, after he had taken upon him that office; but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpoſe for his life and his learning, he might keep his wife and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy, or elſe might they have no wives.

Then ſaid I, I think Paul's meaning in that place, was, that a man that hath had two wives might not be made a biſhop nor a deacon, if he had ever ſo much learning. But that text doth not ſay, that a biſhop or a deacon may not marry after they be made biſhops and deacons. For I am ſure that Paul was in the ſtate of a biſhop, when he ſaid, "He had power to lead about a ſiſter to wife, as well as the other apoſtles had." Here Paul declares, that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a biſhop, which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God.

Thus have I ſhewed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and alſo for the marriages of biſhops and prieſts, as I underſtand the ſcriptures. However, it is a thing which I have little to do with: but as you required me to give you my ſentiments on that matter, I have done ſo.

Chich. Marry, I am glad you have ſaid as you have done. Many do affirm boldly that Paul had a wife, and cannot prove it by the ſcriptures; but you have ſaid very well. I am glad that you are contented to be ruled by God's word. And if you will be contented likewiſe in other matters, no doubt you will do well: therefore, good Mr. Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I proteſt before him, I would you ſhould do as well as my own ſoul and body, and ſo would all the worſhipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.

Wood. Why, my lord, I take God to record that I would be as glad to live in reſt and peace as any man in the world, if I might. And I ſtand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is ſo, I have talked with a dozen prieſts at the leaſt, ſince I was delivered out of priſon, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have aſked them: therefore they have complained of me to the ſheriff and juſtices, forging tales and lies of me, to turn me to diſpleaſure, as much as in them lieth. I promiſe you, there be as many unlearned prieſts in your dioceſe, as in any one dioceſe in England, I think; the more it is to be lamented.

Chich. I promiſe you I do much lament it myſelf: for I hear what you ſay is true. I wiſh I could remedy it, but I cannot: but I will do the beſt that I can when I come into the country; and I will be glad to talk with you at ſome other time, when I am ſomewhat better at eaſe. You ſee I am very tender now, as I have been more than half a year. Come to dinner; it is ready. I cauſed you not to tarry for any great cheer that you ſhould have, nor would I have you think that I go about to win you with my meat. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come, ſit down.

Wood. I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchant-man, one of the ſheriff's men, and I; and we had good cheer, God be praiſed therefore. We had no talk of the ſcriptures all dinner time: but when dinner was over, the biſhop ſaid—

Now call Mr. Story's man: for the commiſſioners have committed you to priſon: but I will ſend for you before it be long, and I pray God I may do you good. I ſhould be very glad of it.

Wood. Should it pleaſe you to ſend for me, I ſhould be glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then, if it pleaſe your lordſhip to examine me on any particular matter, I will ſhew you my mind therein, by God's grace, without diſſimulation. But pray let me have nothing to do with Mr. Story, for I think he is a man void of reaſon.

Chich. Well, before you go, what ſay you to the ſeven ſacraments? Let me hear what you ſay to them, that I may be the more willing to ſend for you.

Wood. I know not ſeven ſacraments.

Chich. Then what ſhall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Wood. I know but two; one the ſacrament of baptiſm, and the other the ſupper of the Lord. But if you can juſtly prove by God's word, that there be more than two, I ſtand to be reformed.

Chich. If I prove not ſeven by God's word, then believe me not: and ſo he bade me farewel.

Then the ſheriff's two men, and one of Dr. Story's, carried me to Dr. Cook's houſe, when Dr. Cook commanded them to carry me to the ſheriff's priſon in Southwark, ſaying, he ſhall be called before us again ſhortly, and all his fellows, and we ſhall diſpatch them from troubling the country any more.

And ſo I was brought to the Marſhalſea, where I now am (God be praiſed), looking for judgment of my fleſh; for they intend to diſpatch me ſhortly, if God gives them leave: but he hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me but as he pleaſes. Wherefore I commit my cauſe to God only, and I am ſure there ſhall not one hair of my head periſh without my heavenly Father's will, although I undergo ever ſo much trouble. Job periſhed not, for all his trouble, although God gave the devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as he hath ſuffered his members to trouble and try me divers and many ways. They ſhall as little prevail againſt my faith (I truſt), as the devil prevailed againſt Job, whatſoever they do with my goods, life, or body. He that kept Job in all his trouble, neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or die, it ſhall be to the praiſe and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will, and if we die, we die to his will: ſo, live or die, we are the Lord's; therefore bleſſed be his name.

Wherefore, dear brethren and ſiſters, to whom my writing ſhall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you. They can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to deſtroy both body and ſoul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer. For the ſheriff, with divers other gentlemen and prieſts, whilſt I was at the ſheriff's houſe, ſaid to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times paſt upon St. Auguſtine or St. Ambroſe, or ſuch like. Wherefore, ſaid they, look well on it, you have a great thing to anſwer for. I anſwered, I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for hereſy, as I am ſure he will not. For he hath ſet my ſins as far from me as it is from eaſt to weſt: ſo that I am ſure they ſhall never come near me again. Yea, and in that they call hereſy, we ſerve God withal. I am ſure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on me, but on God. Yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they ſhould win a great many likewiſe; and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I truſt in God they never ſhall by his grace, if it were poſſible for them to kill me ten times. For I am ſo linked to Chriſt in a chain by faith, that it is impoſſible for men to looſe us aſunder, neither for life nor death, I praiſe my Lord God therefore. And no doubt their intent and purpoſe is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. Which death of my body were beſt of all for me, if God be pleaſed. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praiſed therefore: I know what he can do; but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, ſo that I cannot refuſe it without diſpleaſing of God, I truſt in him I ſhall not offend my brethren in receiving death, but ſhall rather be the cauſe of their faith being ſtrengthened, by chuſing and receiving it with joy. As Chriſt hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the goſpel, and comfort of our brethren. Whereas the biſhop ſaith, he will prove ſeven ſacraments, be you out of doubt he will never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well, from the Marſhalſhea, where I now am, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain, God be praiſed therefore.

The ſecond Examination *of* RICHARD WOODMAN *before the* Biſhop *of* Chicheſter, *two of his* Chaplains, *and Dr.* Story, *on* April 27.

FIRST, I was ſent for to the Marſhalſea by Dr. Story, and carried to his houſe near St. Nicholas Shambles: when I had ſpoken to him, he ſent me to the biſhop of Chicheſter, and ſaid he would come to him preſently. When we were in the biſhop's hall, I was ſent for by the biſhop, and when I came before him, I paid my obeiſance.

Then ſaid the biſhop, You are welcome. How do you now?

Wood. Well, I praiſe God, thanking your lordſhip for the gentle talk that you had with me at our laſt interview.

Chich. Well, good Mr. Woodman, I have ſent for you out of love and good-will to talk with you, and would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the laſt time that I talked with you, our talk was ſo long, that I fell into a great drought, and have been the worſe in my body ever ſince. Wherefore, I pray you, let me know your mind briefly in thoſe particular matters that I ſhall demand of you, according to the promiſe that you made when you was laſt with me. Will you?

Wood. Yea, I will anſwer to any thing you ſhall demand of me (by God's help) as well as I can.

Chich. How ſay you by the ſeven ſacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You ſaid then there were but two. How ſay you now to it? Will you deny all except two?

Wood. I ſay now as I ſaid then. You ſaid, there be ſeven ſacraments; and I ſaid I knew but two; but if you could prove ſeven by God's word, when I came before you again, I muſt needs grant them. And you ſaid, if you could not prove them by God's word, I ſhould not believe them: and now I am come to ſee how well you can prove them.

At which words the biſhop and his chaplains were moved.

Chich. By God and my troth, I believe he thinketh I cannot prove them. How ſay you to the ſacrament of matrimony?

Wood. Why, my lord, St. Paul ſaith to Timothy, A biſhop ſhould be faultleſs; and you uſe much ſwearing, which is the greateſt fault in a biſhop of all others, that ſhould be an example to the flock.

Then the biſhop and his prieſts were in a rage with me, becauſe I reproved him for ſwearing.

Chich. What, I perceive this man is worſe than he was the laſt day: what, he taketh upon him to teach me to ſpeak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.

Prieſt. So I think, my lord, he is a ſtout fellow indeed, as we have ſeen.

Wood. Yea, I am ſtout, becauſe I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace; for I ſhould bear your ſin, which I will not do for any of you, I tell you plainly.

Chich. Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

Wood. If thou ſee thy brother ſin, reprove him; if he repent, thou haſt won thy brother. But you repent it not, but rather go about to maintain the ſame, Chriſt ſaith, "He that breaketh one of the leaſt of my commandments, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be called leaſt in the kingdom of heaven;" and you go about to teach men ſo, as far as I ſee.

Prieſt. Why, my lord, this man is paſt cure. I ſee no hope in him.

Chich. No, ſo I think. I will never talk with him more. Call Mr. Story; let him do with him as he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marſhalſea, and is worſe than he was before. I had ſome hope in him the other day, but now I ſee none.

Wood. No, I praiſe God, my faith hangeth upon no man, but upon God.

Prieſt. Nay, my lord, I think he is not the worſe for them: I fear they be the worſe for him. I know this man of old, before mine old lord.

Wood. Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to ſhed my blood, and ſo think to waſh your hands of me, as Pilate did by Chriſt? Nay, you cannot be ſo diſcharged.

Chich. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentleneſs I have ſent for you, becauſe you ſaid, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I will do ſo, if you demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to others to kill me: and I know there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chich. I am not yet conſecrated: wherefore my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my lord of London; for you are now in his dioceſe.

Wood. Yea, my lord, is the matter even ſo? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Aſk me what you will, but I will ſhew you nothing of my mind. I promiſe you I will not anſwer in particular matters, ſo that you may accuſe me to others, and they to kill me.

Chich. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind reſpecting the ſacraments, and if you do not underſtand them, I ſhould be glad to let you know how I underſtand them. For I would you ſhould do as well as mine own ſelf.

Wood. If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and tell you my mind; otherwiſe I ſhould be loth.

Chich. Nay, I will promiſe you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing againſt you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. What ſay you to the ſacrament of matrimony? is it a ſacrament or no? What think you of it?

Wood. I think it is an holy inſtitution ordained by God in paradiſe, and ſo to continue to the world's end.

Chich. Lo, now you ſhall ſee how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the reſt. Come hither. You can read Latin I am ſure.

Wood. Yes, I can read Latin, but I underſtand very little.

Chich. Come to me, you ſhall ſee that Paul calleth it an holy ſacrament. For theſe are his words, "For this cauſe ſhall a man leave his father and mother, and ſhall be joined to his wife: and two ſhall be made one fleſh:" this is a great ſacrament.

Wood. I remember ſuch a ſaying; but St. Paul calleth it not a ſacrament, but he ſaith, "It is a great myſtery."

Chich. Where ſaith he ſo?

Wood. I am not ſure in what text it is, but I am ſure theſe are St. Paul's words, and that he calleth it not a ſacrament in all his writings.

Chich. What, the laſt day you were full of ſcriptures! here it is written, and there it is written. Why, we can rehearſe the ſcriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we are ſure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will ſhew you the place, I think, that you mean.

I looked, and it was written *Sacramentum.* I know it is a great myſtery, in the Engliſh tranſlation.

Chich. I permit it to be a myſtery. What is a myſtery?

Wood. A myſtery is (as I take it) unſeen; for he ſaith, he ſpeaketh betwixt Chriſt and the congregation: ſo the great myſtery that he ſpeaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that are married, which is hid in Chriſt, which we ſee not, but Chriſt. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage we ſee, but the inward marriage of the heart we ſee not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a myſtery. Therefore if it be a ſacrament, it is inviſible to us: it is not ſeen, as other ſacraments are.

Chich. Nay, I tell you it is a viſible ſacrament, ſeen as the others are; for is not the marriage ſeen, is not the man and woman ſeen?

Wood. My lord, I pray you, what is a ſacrament?

Chich. It is a ſign of a holy thing.

Wood. Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a ſign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itſelf.

Then his chaplains would have interrupted me, but I deſired my lord I might ſpeak my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me ſay what I could.

There need not be a ſign of a thing, where the thing is itſelf. Matrimony is holy of itſelf, and is ended outwardly, and need no more ſigns but themſelves; ſo it cannot be a ſacrament as others be.

Chich. Lo, how much you ſpeak againſt yourſelf. For example, I come by an hoſier's ſhop, and there hangeth a pair of hoſe, which be hoſe, and are a ſign that hoſe is ſold within.

Prieſt. What ſay you to this? Now my lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perilouſly, I tell you, with ſophiſtry to blind mine eyes withal. I wonder you are not all aſhamed of it. I can anſwer that to all your ſhames, if I might be juſtly heard.

Prieſt. What, you are angry, methinks.

Wood. I am not angry, but I am in earneſt, to ſee your blindneſs and folly. I talked of the ſcriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by, and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hoſe. And you can as well prove it by that as by God's word.

Prieſt. Why, is there nothing true but what is written in the Bible?

Wood. St. Paul ſaith to the Galatians, chap. i. "If an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than may be proved by God's word, hold him accurſed:" and ſo do I, I tell you plainly.

Prieſt. Here is a Teſtament in my hand, if I hurl it into the fire and burn it, have I burned God's word or not? I will buy a new one for fixteen-pence.

Wood. I ſay you have burned God's word, and I believe he that will burn a Teſtament willingly, would burn God himſelf, if he were here, if he could; for he and his word are one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all ſuch joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Then the biſhop began to cloak the prieſt's folly, and ſaid, Why, if my counting-houſe were full of books, and if my houſe ſhould chance to be on fire, and be burned, was God's word burned?

Wood. No, my lord, becauſe they were burned againſt your will: but yet if you ſhould burn them willingly, or think it well, you burn God's word as well as he. For he that is not ſorry for a ſhrewd turn, doth allow it to be good.

Chich. Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. "We have an altar, whereof you may not eat:" What meaneth St. Paul thereby?

Wood. There is no man ſo fooliſh to eat ſtones, I ſuppoſe.

Chich. What mockers and ſcorners be you, to ſay, no man will be ſo fooliſh to eat ſtones? it is a plain mock.

Wood. Why, my lord, you ſaid I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor underſtanding: wherefore it becomes you to make things more plain to me, and not to aſk me ſuch dark queſtions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much.

Chich. I dare ſay you know what it meaneth well enough. The greateſt fool in my houſe will underſtand my meaning better than you do.

There ſtood ſome of his men at a diſtance, talking together by a window. He called one by his name.

Chich. Come hither, I ſay to thee thou ſhalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?

Chich. Man. Forſooth, my lord, you would not have me eat of this table; laying his hand thereon.

With this anſwer he made all them in the houſe fall a laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burſt out with laughter, and ſaid—

He hath expounded the matter almoſt as well as I.

Chich. He meaneth well enough, if you would underſtand him.

Anſwer me again, to make it more plain, I ſay to thee thou ſhalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?

Chich. Man. Forſooth, you would not have me eat this table.

Theſe words made them all laugh. Wherewith the biſhop was almoſt angry, becauſe the anſwer proved no better, and ſaid—

He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is ſet upon this table. How ſayeſt thou, doſt thou not mean ſo?

Chich. Man. Yes, forſooth, my lord, that was my meaning indeed.

Wood. Yea, my lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can ſay ſo too; and ſo could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had ſaid, Paul meant that no man ſhould eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the prieſts.

Chich. Yea, I perceive you underſtand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you like to cavil with me.

Wood. Why, my lord, do you think I underſtand ſuch dark places of the ſcripture without learning? You ſaid, even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I anſwered you as you judged of me.

Chich. Well, let this matter paſs, and let us turn to the principal again. How ſay you by the ſacrament of the altar?

Wood. You mean the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chich. I mean the ſacrament of the altar, and ſo I ſay.

Wood. You mean Chriſt to be the altar, do you not?

Chich. I mean the ſacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it ſo ſtrange to you?

Wood. It is ſtrange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of ſtone.

Chich. It is that altar that I mean.

Wood. I underſtand not the altar ſo.

Chich. No, I think ſo indeed: and that is the cauſe that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you underſtand the altar then?

Wood. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will ſhew you how I underſtand the altar, and where it is.

Chich. Yes, you ſhall have leave to ſay your mind as much as you will.

Wood. It is written, Matt. xviii. "That wherefoever two or three be gathered together in Chriſt's name, there is he in the midſt of them; and whatſoever they aſk the Father upon earth, it ſhall be granted them in heaven." Agreeing to the 5th of Matthew, ſaying, "When thou comeſt to offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift." The prieſts would have interrupted me, but the biſhop bade them let me alone, for (ſaid he) you ſhall hear a pretty concluſion anon.

I pray you let me make an end, quoth I, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In theſe two places of ſcripture, I prove that Chriſt is the true altar, whereon every Chriſtian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. Firſt, whereſoever the people are gathered together in Chriſt's name, there is he in the midſt; and where he is, there is the altar, ſo that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity; if not, we muſt leave there our offering, and go firſt and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and ſo forth, and then come and offer our gift. Some will ſay, How ſhall I agree with mine adverſary, when he is an hundred miles off? May I not pray till I have ſpoken with him? To all ſuch I anſwer, If thou doſt preſume to pray among the faithful, wiſhing evil to any man, woman or child, thou aſkeſt vengeance upon thyſelf. No ſuch aſketh any thing elſe of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thine adverſary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word. Say in thy heart, without diſſimulation, that thou aſkeſt God and the world forgiveneſs from thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all ſuch may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer, on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I ſhewed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I underſtand it.

Chich. Do you underſtand the offering and the altar ſo? I never heard any man underſtand it ſo, no not Luther, the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an heretic, I think he underſtood it not ſo indeed, but I am ſure all chriſtians ought to underſtand it ſo.

Chich. O what vain-glory is in you, as though you underſtood all things, and other men nothing? Hear me; I will ſhew you the true underſtanding both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We have an altar (ſaid Paul, Heb. xiii.) "that ye may not eat of." Meaning, that no man might eat of that which was offered on the altar, but the prieſt. For in Paul's time all the living that the prieſt had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing againſt their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and went and were reconciled to their brother: and they came again and offered their gift, and the prieſt had it. This is the true underſtanding of the place that you have rehearſed; wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My lord, that was the uſe in the old law. Chriſt was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Paul's words, that ſacrifice was offered in Paul's time: yet that maketh not that it was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it ſeemeth to me that you be deceived.

Chich. Who ſhall be judges between us in this matter?

Wood. The 12th of John declareth who ſhall be judge in the laſt day.

Chich. You mean the word ſhall judge the word, how can that be?

Wood. St. Peter ſaith, "The ſcripture hath no private interpretation;" but one ſcripture muſt be underſtood by another.

Chich. You will underſtand it one way, and I will underſtand it another; and who ſhall be judge between us then?

Wood. The true church of God is able to diſcuſs all doubts: to whom I refer it.

Chich. I am glad you ſay ſo, if you mean ſo indeed.

Wood. My lord, I never meant otherwiſe.

Chich. The church of God doth allow the ſacrament of the altar.

Wood. What do you now offer upon the altar?

Chich. We offer up, in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, the body of Chriſt, to pacify the wrath of God the Father; and therewith they all put off their caps to the abominable idol.

Wood. St. Paul ſaith to the Hebrews, in the 10th chapter, "We are ſanctified by offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt upon the croſs once for all:" and all prieſts are daily miniſtering, and oftentimes offering one manner of offering, which can never take away ſins; and that is the offering that you uſe to offer. As far as I can ſee, you be prieſts after the order of Aaron, that offered up ſacrifice for their own ſins, and the ſins of the people.

Chich. Nay, Aaron's ſacrifice was with blood, which ſignifieth the death of Chriſt, the which was ended upon the croſs by his blood-ſhedding; but we are prieſts after the order of Melchiſedek, which offereth bread to the king in remembrance, and ſignifieth the giving of Chriſt's body in bread and wine at the laſt ſupper, which he gave to his diſciples, and commanded it to be uſed to the end of the world. This is the ſacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Wood. I think you have made the matter plain to me, that as Chriſt was the end of all ſacrifices, ſo was he the beginning of the ſacraments, willing them to be uſed in remembrance of him, to the world's end.

Chich. What in remembrance of him, and not himſelf, as his word ſaith, "Take, eat, this is my body;" it is not the ſign only, but the thing itſelf. How ſay you? is it not his body, after the words are ſpoken by the prieſt? How ſay you? Go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

Wood. My lord, if you will anſwer me to one ſacrament, I will anſwer you to another.

Chich. Yes, I am well content with that.

Wood. If you ſay the words of baptiſm over the water, and there be no child there, is there true baptiſm?

Chich. No, there muſt be the water, the word and the child, and then it is baptiſm.

Wood. Very well. Then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized.

Chich. No: the child muſt be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, or elſe it is not truly baptized.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the ſacraments?

Chich. No.

Wood. Now, my lord, I will anſwer to you, if you pleaſe.

Chich. Well, how ſay you, "Take, eat, this is my body;" is it not Chriſt's body, as ſoon as the words be ſaid?

Wood. My lord, I will anſwer you by your own words, which is true: the water, the word, and the child; all theſe together make baptiſm: the bread, wine, and the word, make the ſacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Chriſt's body, but to the faithful receiver. For he ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body." He called it not his body before eating, but after. St. Auguſtine ſaith, Believe and thou haſt eaten. And St. John ſaith, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him:" ſo it is impoſſible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith.

Prieſt. Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your ſaying. I pray you what did Judas eat?

Wood. Judas did eat the ſacrament of Chriſt, and the devil withal.

Prieſt. He eat the body of Chriſt unworthily, as St. Paul ſaith.

Wood. Nay, St. Paul ſaith no ſuch thing. He ſpeaketh not of eating his body unworthily, but of the ſacrament unworthily. For he ſaith, "Whoſoever eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." If Judas had eat Chriſt's body, it muſt needs follow, that Judas is ſaved. For Chriſt ſaith, in the 6th of John, "Whoſoever eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up again at the laſt day."

Prieſt. My lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind.

Chich. I ſee it is but folly to talk with you; it is but loſt labour. How ſay you? do you not believe that after the words be ſaid, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the real body of Chriſt? Make me a plain anſwer, for I will talk no more with you.

Wood. I will make you a direct anſwer, how I believe of the true ſacrament. I do believe, that if I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt truly miniſtered, believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that I ſhall be ſaved from my ſins by his blood-ſhedding, and ſo receive the ſacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith: this I believe.

Chich. Why, then it is no body without faith; God's word is of no force, as you count it.

Wood. My lord, I have told you my mind without diſſimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the ſcriptures: and if you will do ſo, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you ſhall not ſay nay to that I have ſaid.

Then they made a great laughing, and ſaid, This is an heretic indeed; it is time he were burned. Which words moved my ſpirit, and I ſaid to them, Judge not, leſt you be judged. For as you judge me, you ſhall be judged yourſelves. What you call hereſy, I ſerve God truly with, as you all ſhall well know, when you ſhall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and ſhall be compelled to ſay for pain, This was the man that we jeſted on, and whoſe talk we thought fooliſhneſs, and his end to be without honour: but now we may ſee how he is counted among the ſaints of God, and we are puniſhed. Theſe words you ſhall ſay, being in hell, if you repent not with ſpeed, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counſel.

Prieſt. What, you are angry, methinks. Now I will ſay more to you than I thought to have done. You were at Baxill a twelvemonth ago, and ſent for the parſon, and talked with him in the church-yard, and would not go into the church; for you ſaid it was the idol's temple. Yea, I was with mine old lord, when he came to the King's-Bench to you, and you ſaid many ſtout words to him.

Wood. That I ſaid, I ſaid: and where you ſaid I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and ſpeak out of the Spirit of God with cheerfulneſs.

Prieſt. The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough! think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Wood. I believe ſurely that I have the Spirit of God, I praiſe God for it; and you are deceivers, mockers, and ſcorners before God, and are the children of hell, all the ſort of you, as far as I can ſee. And therewith came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, ſpeaking to the biſhop in Latin, ſaying at length:

Story. I can ſay nothing to him, but he is an heretic. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reaſon in him.

Wood. Judge not, leſt you be judged: for as you judge, you ſhall be judged yourſelf.

Story. What, be you a preaching? you ſhall preach at a ſtake ſhortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourſelf no more with him.

With theſe words, one brought word that the abbot of Weſtminſter was come to dine with the biſhop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was running away with ſpeed to him.

Then ſaid Dr. Story to my keeper, Carry him to the Marſhalſea again, keep him cloſe, and let nobody come to ſpeak with him.

And ſo they departed. Then one of the prieſts began to flatter me, and ſaid, For God's ſake remember yourſelf. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the ſcriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were a great pity you ſhould do amiſs.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to ſay my wit is good, and that I have read the ſcriptures well; and but even now you ſaid I was an heretic, and deſpiſed me. If I be an heretic, I can have no good wit, as you have confeſſed. But I think your own conſcience doth accuſe you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will.

Prieſt. I call it a good wit, becauſe you are expert in all queſtions.

Wood. You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with God's word. Then one cried, Away, away, here come ſtrangers. So we departed, and I came again to the Marſhalſea with my keeper.

The Third Examination *of* Mr. WOODMAN, *(copied with his own Hand) before* Dr. LANGDALE, Chaplain *to my* Lord MONTAGUE, *and* Mr. JAMES GAGE, *at my* Lord MONTAGUE's Houſe, *near* St. Mary Overy's, *in* Southwark, May 12, 1557.

THE 12th of May the marſhal came to the Marſhalſea, and ſent for me to ſpeak with him. When I came before him and had done my duty, he aſked my name, and what countryman I was; I informed him both. Then he aſked me when I was abroad in the city. To whom I anſwered, If it ſhall pleaſe your maſterſhip, I was abroad in the city on Monday was ſeven-night.

Marſhal. What took you abroad?

Wood. The biſhop of Chicheſter ſent for me to talk with me at his houſe, near St. Nicholas's Shambles.

Marſhal. Were you abroad no otherwiſe than ſo?

Wood. No, forſooth: I was never abroad ſince I was ſent hither, but then. For I have nothing to do abroad, unleſs they ſend for me.

Marſhal. This is a marvellous matter. I promiſe you I was not ſo rebuked theſe ſeven years, as I was for you within theſe three days. It is reported that you were abroad in the city at certain taverns, and ſpake ſeditious words both in the taverns and ſtreets as you went.

Wood. Sir, the truth is, I was in never a houſe or tavern while I was abroad, but in the biſhop's houſe, as my keeper can, and will (I am ſure) teſtify: nor did I ever talk with any man in the ſtreets as I came, but with my keeper, except one man indeed, of the pariſh of Framfield, in Suſſex, where Mr. James Gage dwelleth. His name is Robert Smith, being one of my greateſt enemies; who ſtood in a wain as we came by, and was unlading of cheeſe but a little way from the Marſhalſea. Indeed I bade him God ſpeed, and aſked him how he did: and he ſaid, well, he thanked me. And he aſked me how I did; and I ſaid, well, I praiſe God; and that was all the talk that we had. And theſe words were ſpoken as I came by him: I promiſe you, ſir, I ſtood not ſtill while I ſpake them, as my keeper can tell: and I think theſe words were not ſeditious words, but might be ſpoken well enough, I think, or elſe it were very ſtrait.

Marſh. Then it is to be thought, that that man reported otherwiſe than it was. I am glad it is as you ſay. Well, make you ready: for you muſt go forth ſtraitway, where you ſhall be examined of that and of other things, where you ſhall anſwer for yourſelf. Go, make haſte, for I will tarry till you be ready,

So I departed, and went to my fellow-priſoners, and took my leave of them, deſiring them to pray for me, for I expected to ſee them no more. I did ſuppoſe I ſhould have gone before the council, becauſe the marſhal ſaid, he would tarry for me himſelf: and eſpecially becauſe he ſaid, it was reported that I had ſpoken ſeditious words, I imagined they had contrived falſe things againſt me to bring me to my end. I remembered what Chriſt ſaid, "The ſervant is not above his lord." Seeing the Jews brought falſe witneſs againſt Chriſt, I thought they would do much more, or at leaſt do ſo to me, if God would ſuffer them, which made me think the worſt. But I was ſure that all the world could not juſtly accuſe me of any ſuch thing, which made me merry and joyful, being confident withal, that they could do no more againſt me than God would permit. I took my leave of my fellow-priſoners, and went to the marſhal in the porter's lodge, and he delivered me to one of his own men, and one of my lord Montague's men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my lord Montague's Place, in Southwark, not far from St. Mary Overy's, and brought me into a chamber in my lord Montague's houſe; and there was one Dr. Langdale, chaplain to my lord. My keepers ſaid to the doctor, This is the man that we went for.

Lang. Is your name Woodman?

Wood. Yea, forſooth, that is my name.

Then he began with a great circumſtance, and ſaid, I am ſorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but ſtand ſo much in your own conceit, diſpleaſing your father and others, judging that all the realm doth evil, ſaving a few that do as you do: what think you of them that died long ago, your grandfather, with their fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all others that uſe the ſame as they did throughout all Chriſtendom, unleſs it be in Germany, and here in England a few years, and in Denmark; and yet they are returned again. Thus we are ſure this is the truth, and I would you ſhould do well. Your father is an honeſt man, and one of my pariſh, and hath wept to me divers times becauſe you would not be ruled: and he loveth you well, and ſo doth all the country, both rich and poor, if it were not for thoſe evil opinions that you hold.

Wood. I pray you give me leave to ſpeak a few words to you.

Lang. Yes, ſay your mind.

Wood. You have told a great long tale, as it were againſt me (as you think), ſaying, I hold this and that; I judge my father and my grandfather, and almoſt all the world, except a few of our ſect. But I judge no man. The 12th of John declareth, who it is that judgeth, and ſhall judge in the laſt day. The father ſhall not bear the ſon's offences, nor the ſon the father's offences: but that ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die, as ſaith the prophet. And again, We may not follow a multitude to do evil, as ſaith the prophet: for the moſt go the wrong way. And Chriſt ſaith in the 12th of Luke, that his flock is a little flock. Here are places enough to diſcharge me, although I do not as the moſt do. But can any man ſay that I do not as I ought to do? where are my accuſers?

Lang. What, you be full of ſcriptures methinks, and call your accuſers as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me, for I mean no more hurt to you than I do to myſelf, I take God to be my record.

Wood. I cannot tell; it is hard truſting to fair words. When a man cannot truſt his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Chriſt towards them that he never ſaw before, ſaying, "Be as wiſe as ſerpents, and as innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you." And I ſuſpect you, becauſe you blame me for anſwering with the ſcriptures. I doubt that you would take advantage of me, if I ſhould ſpeak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, becauſe I have been deceived already by them I truſted moſt. So blame me not, though I anſwer circumſpectly. It ſhall not be ſaid, by God's help, that I will run wilfully into my enemy's hands, and yet I praiſe God my life is not dear to myſelf, but it is dear with God: wherefore I will do the uttermoſt that I can to keep it.

Lang. You are afraid where no fear is, for I was deſired by maſter Sheriff and his brother, and other friends, to talk with you, and they told me that you were deſirous to talk with me, and now you make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were ſent to priſon for nothing: for you call for your accuſers, as though there were no man to accuſe you. But if there were no man to accuſe you, your own hand-writing did accuſe you enough, that you ſet upon the church-door (if you remember it), and other letters that you let fall abroad, at divers places. Wherefore you need not call for your accuſers. Your own hand will accuſe you, I warrant you; it is kept ſafe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were ſo much againſt me.

Wood. I will not deny my own hand; for it cannot eaſily be counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the prieſt, and others of the pariſh, declaring their folly and preſumption, to come into my houſe without my love or leave, and take out my child, and uſe it at their pleaſure: which moved me to write my mind unto them: and becauſe I could not tell how to convey it to them, I ſet it on the church door: which letter my lord of Chicheſter hath; for he ſhewed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very ſcriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will anſwer to it by the help of God, to all their ſhames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you ſaid I did, neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honeſt neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will anſwer them with Chriſt's words, in Matthew xviii. Woe unto themſelves, becauſe they gave me the occaſion.

And whereas you ſaid, I was deſirous to ſpeak with you, and that maſter Sheriff and his brother, and other of my friends, willed you to talk with me, and that I act now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were ſent to priſon for nothing: the truth is, I know no more why I am ſent to priſon, than the leaſt child in this town knoweth. And as for me, I deſired not maſter Sheriff to ſpeak with you; but indeed he deſired me that I would ſpeak with you, and utter my faith to you. For he ſuppoſed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I refuſed to talk with you at the firſt. For I remembered not that you were the parſon at Baxted: and I ſaid to him, I would not utter my faith to any but to the biſhop. I ſaid, he is my ordinary, and I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St. Peter, in the firſt epiſtle, chap. iii. to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath authority: wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore ſend me to him if you will, or elſe there ſhall no man know my faith, I tell you plainly.

Theſe words made the ſheriff angry, and he went his way, and when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you that he would have me to talk with; and then I remembered that I had made the promiſe to my father and Goodman Day, of Veſield, not paſt a fortnight before I was taken, that whenſoever you came into the country, I would ſpeak with you by God's help, becauſe they praiſed you ſo much, that you were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

So all theſe things called to remembrance, I deſired my keeper, which was the ſheriff's man, to tell his maſter that I would fain ſpeak with him; for I had remembered things that were not in my mind before, when I ſpake to him. So he went to his maſter, and ſhewed him the matter, and he came to me; and then I told him my mind, and what promiſe I had made; and he ſaid he would ſend for you on the morrow, as he did, and the meſſenger brought word you could not come; you preached before the queen, he ſaid. Whereupon the ſheriff came up himſelf, and ſpoke to biſhop Chriſtopherſon, that he ſhould come down, but he was ſick. So when he came home again, he ſent me to the biſhop, and I have talked with him twice already, and I am ſure he can find no fault in me, if he ſay juſtly; and yet I know not wherefore I was ſent to priſon; for I was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that I had baptized children, the which I never did, as God knoweth; wherefore I had wrong to be thus handled.

Lang. Indeed it hath been reported, that you have chriſtened children; and that you chriſtened your own child; but ſince I heard ſay, you would not have the child chriſtened, which is a damnable way, if you deny baptiſm? and they ſaid, your child was not chriſtened in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chiefeſt of the pariſh were obliged to fetch it out of your houſe againſt your will. So you wrote railing words againſt the prieſt and them for their good will: the which declareth that you allow not the baptizing of children. And if the child had died, it had been damned, becauſe it was not chriſtened, and you ſhould have been damned, becauſe you were the hindrance thereof.

Wood. What abominable lies have you told? Be you not aſhamed to ſpeak ſuch words as you have? Firſt you ſay, I chriſtened my own child, and by and by you ſay, I denied baptizing of children, and that my child was a fortnight or three weeks old before it was baptized. What abominable lies be theſe? I neither baptized my child myſelf, neither held againſt the baptizing of it, but did moſt gladly allow it; for it was baptized as ſoon as it was born, and I was glad thereof; therefore you are to blame to report ſuch things of me.

Lang. I pray you, who baptized it? ſome unthrift of your providing.

Wood. Nay, ſurely, the midwife baptized it.

Lang. But it was your mind that it ſhould be ſo.

Wood. Nay ſure, I was not nigh home by almoſt twenty miles, nor heard that my wife was brought to bed till four days after the child was chriſtened. But it was not like to live, ſo the midwife baptized it.

Lang. Would you have had it to church to have been chriſtened, if it had not been chriſtened?

Wood. That is no matter what I would have done. I am ſure you cannot deny but it is ſufficiently done, if the midwife do it, and I hold not againſt the doing of it, neither did I it myſelf, as you ſaid I did.

Lang. Wherefore were you diſpleaſed with them that carried it to church?

Wood. Firſt tell me whether the child were not truly baptized by the midwife?

Lang. Yes, it was truly baptized, if ſhe baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Wood. Yes, that I am ſure ſhe did, and you grant that was ſufficient: and the cauſe that I blamed them was, becauſe they did more to it than need was, as you ſay. Yea, they fetched it out of the houſe, without my leave; which was not well done.

Lang. They had it to church, to confirm what was done.

Wood. Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. Let that matter paſs. But I would you ſhould not ſay, that I hold againſt baptizing of children; for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be moſt neceſſary, if it be truly uſed. But methought you ſpake words even now that were unfit to be ſpoken: if a child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward ſign of baptiſm?

Lang. Yea, that they be.

Wood. How prove you that?

Lang. "Go, ſaith Chriſt, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, and he that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved: and he that believeth not, ſhall be damned." Theſe be the words of Chriſt, which are my warrant.

Wood. Then, by your ſaying, baptiſm bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in water ſhall be ſaved. Shall they?

Lang. Yea, that they ſhall; if they die before they come to diſcretion, they ſhall all of them be ſaved; and all that be not baptized, ſhall be damned every one of them.

Wood. Then my ſpirit was moved with him to reprove him ſharply, becauſe I had manifeſt ſcriptures freſh in my mind againſt his ſaying. Then ſaid I—

O Lord God! how dare you ſpeak ſuch blaſphemy againſt God and his word, as you do? How dare you take upon you to preach and teach the people, and underſtand not what you ſay? I proteſt before God you underſtand not the ſcriptures, but as far as natural reaſon can comprehend. For if you did, you would be aſhamed to ſpeak as you do.

Lang. Wherein have I ſpoken amiſs? take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you deſpair: I dare ſay you cannot tell what you ſay. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?

Wood. Becauſe you blaſpheme God; and as for deſpairing, take heed to yourſelf. For I cannot ſee but you be out of your wits already; and as for me, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and what you have ſaid; which ſhall turn to your ſhame, if you will talk by the ſcriptures with me.

So when he perceived that I ſpake in earneſt, and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his fleſh to tremble and quake. And I ſaid—

Prove your ſayings true, if you can; for I will prove them falſe, with God's help. You ſaid, All children, or others, that be not baptized with water, ſhall be damned. I dare not ſay ſo for all the good in the world. And you brought in Chriſt's ſaying as a warrant. In Mark xvi. it is written, "Whoſo believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved;" which words are true: "and whoſo believeth not, ſhall be damned." Which words be true alſo. He ſays, "He that believeth not, ſhall be damned." Yea, St. John ſaith, "He that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he believeth not." But neither of theſe two ſcriptures, nor any other in all the New Teſtament, ſaith, That he that is not baptized ſhall be damned, or is damned already; but if he believe not, he ſhall be damned, and is damned already, as aforeſaid. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge that I was an Anabaptiſt. But I would give him no place to ſpeak, but ſaid—

Let me make an end, and then ſay what you can. You ſhall have as much to do, with God's help, in this matter, as ever you had to anſwer a thing in your life. You know, I am ſure, it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a man's mouth, nor is it the order of reaſoning, as you know that better than I can tell you. Then Dr. Langdale bade me ſay on.

Wood. My ſaying was, that thoſe that believe not, ſhall be damned, and are damned already. But I dare not ſay for all the goods under heaven, that all thoſe that receive no material baptiſm by water ſhall be damned, as you have ſaid: but I would you ſhould not gather of theſe words, that I deny baptiſm, as you were about to accuſe me of, before I had half told out my tale. I would not have you, nor any man ſo raſh in judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it ſeem to the ſimple, that the outward waſhing of water were the cauſe of faith.

Lang. Why, is it not ſo? Will you deny it? How ſay you? I ſay, the child hath no faith before it is baptized; therefore, the baptizing bringeth faith. What ſay you to it? Make me a plain anſwer to this queſtion.

Wood. Now I perceive you go about nothing elſe, but to take advantage of my words. But, by God's help, I will anſwer you ſo, that you ſhall well ſee your ſayings untrue. And yet I will not ſpeak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghoſt, out of the mouth of the prophets and apoſtles; and then aſk them whether they will deny it.

You ſaid, that faith cometh by baptiſm, had by the uſe of material water. I muſt be ſo bold to aſk you where Jacob was baptized before he had faith. St. Paul ſaith in the 9th chapter to the Romans, "Before ever the children were born, before ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpoſe of God, which is by election, might ſtand, not by the reaſon of works, but by the grace of the Caller, the elder ſhall ſerve the younger. Jacob have I loved, and Eſau have I hated." How think you, had this child faith before he were born, or no? Anſwer to this, if you can.

Lang. What, you ſpeak of the old law. Jacob was not chriſtened, but circumciſed. I ſpeak of baptiſm, and you are gone from baptizing to the time of circumciſion; anſwer me to the baptizing. Remember, by your talk, you deny original ſin and free-will, by the words that you brought in of St. Paul.

For if children can be ſaved without baptiſm, then it muſt needs follow, that children have no original ſin, which is put away in baptizing. But I think you know not what original ſin is, nor free-will neither.

Wood. Yes, I praiſe God, I think I can tell them all better than you can. Firſt, I pray you what free-will hath man to do good of himſelf? Tell me this firſt, and then I will anſwer to all other queſtions that you have objected againſt me.

Lang. I ſay that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall.

Wood. Pray, how prove you that?

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as ſin entered into the world, and by the means of one that ſinned all men became ſinners, which was by Adam; ſo by the obedience of one man, righteouſneſs came upon all men that had ſinned, and ſet them as free as they were before their fall, which was by Jeſus Chriſt, Rom. v.

Wood. O Lord, what an overthrow have you given yourſelf here in original ſin, and cannot ſee it! For, in proving that we have free-will, you have quite denied original ſin. For you have declared that we be ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall; and I am ſure that Adam had no original ſin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the ſting of it, God making him anſwer, and ſaying, "My grace is ſufficient for thee."

Theſe words, with divers others, prove original ſin in us; but not that it ſhall hurt God's elect people, but that his grace is ſufficient for all his. But you ſay in one place, it is not without baptiſm; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Chriſt; and in very deed you have ſpoken truer in the matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Chriſt are baptized in the blood of Chriſt that he ſhed on the croſs, and in the water that he ſweat for pain, and the putting away of our ſins at his death. And yet I ſay with David, Pſ. li. "In ſin was I born, and in ſin hath my mother conceived me:" but in no ſuch ſin that ſhall be imputed, becauſe I am born of God by faith, as St. John ſaith, chap. iii. Therefore I am bleſſed, as ſaith the prophet, Pſ. xxiii. "Becauſe the Lord imputeth not my ſin," and not becauſe I have no ſin; but becauſe God hath not imputed my ſins. Not of our own deſerving, but of his free mercy he hath ſaved us. Where is now your boaſted free will that you ſpeak of? If we have free will, then our ſalvation cometh of our own ſelves, and not of God; which is great blaſphemy againſt God and his word.

And St. James ſaith, chap. i. "Every good and perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableneſs, neither is he changed into darkneſs. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it liſteth, and we hear the ſound thereof;" as likewiſe ſaith St. John, chap. iii. "but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: even ſo is it with every one that is born of God." For St. Paul ſaith, Phil. ii. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleaſure." Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and alighteth upon whom it pleaſeth God, and that he worketh in us both to will and to do, methinks all the reſt of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unleſs it be wickedneſs. So methinks here be places enough to prove that a man hath no free will to do good of himſelf, with an hundred places more that I could recite, if time did ſerve. And as for original ſin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man; which you cannot deny, unleſs you deny the word of God. Now, if you will ſuffer me, I will prove my ſaying of Jacob and Eſau, that I brought in to prove that faith was before baptiſm, and you refuſed it, becauſe (you ſaid) Jacob was not baptized. If you will give me leave, you ſhall hear what I can ſay therein; for I ſuppoſe you think my talk long. This I ſaid, becauſe I perceived he was much offended at my ſayings.

Lang. Say what you can; for what I have ſaid to you is ineffectual. I was deſired to ſend for you, to teach you, but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but to anſwer ſuch things as you ſhall lay to my charge: and I ſpeak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghoſt, written by the prophets and apoſtles. Will you give me leave to anſwer briefly in this matter, that you may report to others the opinions I hold? And he ſaid he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have taken advantage of my words.

Firſt, if you remember, you ſaid, that if my child had died without baptiſm, if I had been the cauſe that it had not been baptized, the child ſhould have been damned, and I too. How ſay you?

Lang. Yea, that you ſhould.

Wood. That is moſt untrue. For the prophet ſaith, "The father ſhall not bear the child's offences, nor the child the father's: but the ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die." What could the child have done withal, if it had died without baptiſm? What ſay you to this? And I am ſure, that which I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before baptiſm, is not diſagreeable to the word. For circumciſion is a figure of baptiſm. And that I may bring to prove baptiſm by, as well as Peter did: for he brought in Noah's flood, which was a long time before Jacob and Eſau, to prove baptiſm, ſaying, "While the ark was preparing, wherein few (that is to ſay eight ſouls) were ſaved by water, like as baptiſm now alſo ſaveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but there is a good conſcience conſenting to God."

Here Peter proveth, that water had not ſaved Noah and the other ſeven, no more than it ſaved all the reſt, if it had not been for their faith, which faith now ſaveth us; not in putting away the filthy ſoil of the fleſh, by the waſhing of the water, but by a good conſcience conſenting unto God.

But you ſaid, If they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to years of diſcretion, they are all ſaved; which St. Peter is clean againſt, unleſs you grant that children have faith before they are baptized.

Now I aſk you what conſent of conſcience the children have, being infants. For you ſay, they believe not before they are baptized; therefore, they conſent not to be baptized, becauſe they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none ſhall be ſaved, if they be baptized. I would know how you can anſwer this.

Lang. You are the moſt perverſe man I ever knew. You know not what you ſay. The children are baptized in their godfather's and godmother's faith, and that is the good conſcience that St. Peter ſpeaketh of: and the chriſtening is the keeping of the law that St. Peter ſpeaketh of, ſaying, Neither is circumciſion any thing worth, nor uncircumciſion any thing worth, but keeping of the law is all together. Like as the circumciſion was the keeping of the old law, ſo is baptiſm the keeping of the new law.

Wood. Ah, I thought if you would talk with me, you would bring in the old law to maintain your ſayings by, (for all that you refuſed it) when I brought it in. But yet it ſerveth not for your purpoſe, ſo much as you think; for here you have confeſſed, that neither circumciſion availeth, nor uncircumciſion; which you have coupled with baptiſm, proving that neither of them availeth, but keeping of the law is all together: which law is kept (you ſay) by the outward ſigns; which is not ſo: for Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteouſneſs, and this was before he was circumciſed. So the children believe before they be either circumciſed or baptized, according to my firſt ſaying of Jacob and Eſau, "Jacob I loved, but Eſau I hated." Theſe words declare, that Jacob had faith in his mother's womb: and John Baptiſt was ſanctified in his mother's womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteouſneſs: and I am ſure, if they had died before they had either received circumciſion or baptiſm as concerning the outward deed, they ſhould have been ſaved. For God's gifts and callings are ſuch, that he cannot repent of them. But, by your ſaying, he doth both repent and change. For you ſay, keeping of the outward law is all together; but a bad excuſe is as good as none at all. And where you ſaid, the children are baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, they being all unbelievers, in what faith is that child baptized then? In none at all, by your own ſaying. Which words made him ſtamp and ſtare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very few believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment againſt the people. Poſſibly you think there be none that believe well, unleſs they be of your mind. Then indeed Chriſt's flock was a very little flock.

Wood. Indeed theſe are Chriſt's words in Luke xii. which we may ſee to be very true. Yea, you ſaid, if there were not one amongſt three, there were very few. But there is not one amongſt three hundred, for any thing that I can ſee. For if there were, there would not be ſo many that would ſeek their neighbour's goods and lives as there be.

Lang. Is the flock of Chriſt ſuch a little flock as you ſpeak of? You may call it a great flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

Wood. A pretty queſtion, I think, it is that you aſk me: as though I did make myſelf equal with God. No, no, you ſhall catch no ſuch advantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as near as I can.

Lang. Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, ſeeing you are ſo cunning.

Wood. You ſhall ſee my judgment in it by and by. Firſt, the prophet ſaith, "Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they muſt go the wrong way." For the moſt go the wrong way. This is one point to know them.

Then Chriſt ſaith in Matt. vii. "Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leadeth unto deſtruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and ſtraight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." And in Luke xii. it is written (which words were ſpoken of Chriſt), "Come, you little flock, it is my Father's will to give you a kingdom." The third point is this, in Mark iii. and Matt. ii. "You (ſaith Chriſt) ſhall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruit:" ſo by the fruits I know them: for every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, muſt be hewn down, and caſt into the fire (into hell I think Chriſt meant), and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the people who ſhall be ſaved make but a ſmall company in compariſon with the reſt. But if that be not enough, for the proof thereof, I have twenty more ways to prove it by, and you were never the nearer your purpoſe.

Lang. What a naughty man are you! you would make the moſt patient man in the world angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with mockery, deſpiſing and judging of men. It is time ſuch a fellow were apprehended indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I think he is bleſſed of God that took you; for you are not fit to be in a common-wealth.

With divers ſuch like words that I cannot recite, they came out ſo thick, with ſuch ſtamping, as though he had been out of his wits. I held my peace until he had made an end, and then I ſpake.

Wherein have I ſaid amiſs? or have I not anſwered you unto every queſtion that you demanded of me? what fault can you find in one word that I have ſaid? I dare ſay you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus againſt me, having no cauſe ſo to do.

Lang. No, no, you have not anſwered me to original ſin, you deny original ſin.

With theſe words Mr. James Gage came in; and I think he ſtood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. Langdale ſaw him: for his face was toward the door, and my face was from it.

Gage. Ah, Woodman, I think Mr. Doctor and you cannot agree.

Wood. Yes, ſir, I think we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt, ſir, he is the naughtieſt man I ever talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. Woodman, leave that pride. Do not truſt too much to your own wit. Hearken to this man, this is a learned man. He is known to be learned; or he would not be allowed to preach before the queen's majeſty: and I dare ſay he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will do himſelf: and I dare ſay he will not go to the devil to bring you there. How ſay you, Mr. Doctor? You would think us mad, if we would hurt ourſelves to hurt you. No, I promiſe you, my brother, neither I, nor any gentleman in the country, I think of my conſcience, but would you ſhould do as well as their own ſouls and bodies, as a great many of them have ſaid to thy face, whilſt thou waſt at my brother's, and which you cannot deny.

Wood. I can ſay no otherwiſe but that I was gently treated at your brother's, both with meat and drink, and gentle words, both by you and him, and divers other gentlemen: and I am ſure neither you nor they can ſay, that you found me unreaſonable at any time. For I ſaid I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me, and ſo I am, God knoweth: and here, Mr. Doctor, I think, can ſay no otherwiſe; for I dare ſay he can find no fault in the talk that we have had.

Lang. No, marry, I can find nothing elſe in you. I promiſe you, Mr. Gage, if you had been here, you would have ſaid ſo yourſelf. He took me up indeed, and ſaid, he wondered how I durſt preach. For he ſaid, I underſtood not the ſcripture, but as far as natural reaſon comprehended: as though he underſtood all, and I nothing. With many other ſuch like words he made a great complaint to him of me, and ſaid to Mr. James Gage, he would make you believe I could find no fault in him. Yes, I underſtand, he denies original ſin.

Gage. Doth he ſo? by St. Mary that is a great matter: Woodman, leave your pride. That pride will come to nought. Can you live without ſin?

Wood. Sir, now I perceive he will ſoon belie me behind my back, when he will not ſtick to lie before my face.

He ſaith, I denied original ſin; and it was he himſelf, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For, as he went about to prove that man had free will, he ſaid, we were ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall: which proves plainly, that we have no original ſin: and I took him withal, and ſaid, Had Adam original ſin before his fall? and then he could not tell what to ſay, but cavilled with words, and ſaid he meant not ſo: and therefore I marvel he is not aſhamed to tell ſuch lies to my face. Theſe words made them both aſtoniſhed.

Gage. Mr. Doctor, he ſaid even now you could find no fault in all his talk. Aſk him one queſtion, and you will find fault enough. I pray you aſk him, how he believeth in the ſacrament of the altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof.

Wood. Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by God's help.

Lang. Well, how ſay you to the ſacrament of the altar?

Wood. I ſay, I know no ſuch ſacrament, unleſs Chriſt be the altar you mean.

Gage. Lo! I told you you ſhould ſoon find fault in him, if you came to the point with him. You ſhould have begun with that firſt, and not have talked with him about other things. What, know you not the ſacrament of the altar?

Wood. No ſure, I know no ſuch, unleſs Chriſt be the altar that you mean; for Chriſt is the altar of all goodneſs. And if you mean Chriſt to be the altar of the ſacrament you ſpeak of, you ſhall ſoon hear my mind and belief therein.

Lang. Well, we mean Chriſt to be the altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almoſt dinner-time.

Gage. I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner.

Wood. Yes, you ſhall ſoon hear my mind therein, by God's help. I do believe, that whenſoever I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, being truly miniſtered according to his inſtitution, I believing that Chriſt was born of the virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on the croſs, and ſhed his blood for the remiſſion of my ſins, and ſo take and eat the ſacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and man, myſtically by faith. This is my belief of the ſacrament, which no man is able to diſprove.

Gage. By St. Mary I can find no fault in this. How ſay you, Mr. Doctor?

Lang. Sir, you ſee not ſo much as I do. For he goeth craftily to work, I tell you as I have heard. For though he hath granted, that the faithful receiver receiveth the body of Chriſt, God and man, yet he hath not granted that it is the body of Chriſt before it be received, as you ſhall ſee by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How ſay you? Is it the body of Chriſt as ſoon as the words be ſpoken by the prieſt, or not? for theſe words will try him more than all the reſt.

Wood. Doth the word ſay that it is his body before it is received? If it do, I will ſay ſo too.

Gage. Why then we ſhall agree well enough, if you will be tried by the word.

Wood. Yes indeed, that I will; God forbid elſe.

Gage. Why, the word ſaith it is his body before it is eaten.

Wood. Thoſe words would I fain hear; but I am ſure they be not in the Bible.

Lang. No? That you ſhall ſee preſently (ſays he to Mr. Gage), and then turned to the 22d of Luke, and there he read, "When ſupper was done, Chriſt took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to his diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my body:" Then they ſpake both at once, Here he ſaith it is his body.

Wood. Mr. Gage, I do not deny that he called it his body, but not before eating, as I ſaid before; wherefore I pray you mark the words. Chriſt ſaid, "Take, eat:" I pray you, ſir, mark theſe words that he ſaid, "Take and eat," and then he ſaid, "it was his body." So you ſee, eating goeth before. For he ſaid, "Eat, this is my body." So according to the very word, I do believe it is his body. Which words made them both aſtoniſhed.

Lang. Why, then, by your ſaying, Judas eat not the body of Chriſt. How ſay you, did he not?

Wood. Nay, I aſk you. Did he?

Lang. I aſk you.

Wood. And I aſk you.

Lang. And I aſk you.

Wood. Marry, I aſk you: and I bid you anſwer if you dare for your life; for whatſoever you anſwer, unleſs you ſay as I have ſaid, you will damn your own ſoul. For, Mr. Gage, I proteſt before God, I would you ſhould do as well as my own ſoul and body; and it grieveth me to ſee how you be deceived with them; they be deceivers all of them. He cannot anſwer to this, but either he muſt prove Judas to be ſaved, or elſe he muſt prove that it is no body before it be received in faith, as you ſhall well perceive, by God's help, if he dare anſwer the queſtion.

Gage. Yes, I dare ſay he dareth. What, you need not to threaten him ſo.

Wood. Then let him anſwer if he can.

Then he ſaid he knew what I would ſay to him; therefore he was much in doubt to anſwer the queſtion.

Lang. Mr. Gage, I will tell you in your ear what are the words he will anſwer me with, before I ſpeak to him.

Then he told Mr. Gage a tale in his ear, and ſaid, I have told Mr. Gage what you will ſay.

Gage. Yea, and I will ſpeak the truth for both parties.

Wood. Well, how ſay you? Did Judas eat the body of Chriſt, or not?

Lang. Yes, I ſay Judas did eat the body of Chriſt.

Wood. Then it muſt needs follow, that Judas hath everlaſting life: for Chriſt ſaith in John vi. "Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day." If Judas did eat Chriſt's body, I am ſure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, and then is Judas ſaved by Chriſt's own words. Therefore now you are compelled to ſay that it was not Chriſt's body, or elſe that Judas is ſaved.

Gage. Surely theſe be the very words that Maſter Doctor told me in mine ear that you would ſay to him.

Wood. Well, let us ſee how well he can avoid this argument.

Lang. Judas is damned, and yet he eat the body of Chriſt; but he eat it unworthily: and therefore he is damned.

Wood. Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Chriſt unworthily?

Lang. They be St. Paul's Words, 1 Cor xi.

Wood. Maſter Gage, I deſire you for God's ſake wark well the words that I ſay. If St. Paul ſpeak any ſuch words there, or in any other place; if there be any ſuch words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any man eat the body of Chriſt unworthily, then ſay I am the falſeſt man you ever heard ſpeak. But indeed, theſe are the words of St. Paul, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he maketh no difference of the Lord's body;" that is, becauſe he preſumeth to eat the Lord's body without faith, making no difference between the ſacrament and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul's meaning, and not that any man doth or can eat the body of Chriſt unworthily. For whoſoever eateth the body of Chriſt, hath everlaſting life, as is aforeſaid in John vi. with theſe words one came for them to dinner in all haſte.

Gage. I am ſorry, I would fain hear more of this talk, but we can have it another day well enough.

Lang. Nay, maſter Gage, I will never talk with him any more; for he is the moſt unreaſonable man that ever I talked with in all my life.

Then Mr. Gage put off his cap, and deſired him that he would not refuſe to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For, he ſaid, we will ſeek all the means poſſible to make him an honeſt man, and to keep him from burning, if we could: for if it had not been for me and my brother, he had been burnt before this.

Lang. Sir, for your ſake, and for my maſter your brother's ſake, and for his father's ſake, and other of his friends ſakes, that have ſpoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the beſt to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth.

Gage. Woodman, you hear what maſter Doctor ſaith: when will you come again?

Wood. Even when you will ſend for me. For I am a priſoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I ſhould deſire to come, it will coſt me money, and I have none to give: but if you ſend for me, it will coſt me none.

Gage. Well, I will ſend for you on Friday or Saturday at fartheſt, for to-morrow I muſt ride out of town; and I would fain hear your talk.

Wood. Sir, I would be very glad you ſhould hear our talk always, and I truſt in God you ſhall hear me ſay nothing, but the word of God ſhall warrant.

So Mr. Gage took his leave, and went away to his lodging, which was right in my way to the priſon; and when he came without my lord Montague's gates, there we met with one Hood, of Burſted, a ſmith.

Then ſaid Mr. Gage, Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hood had brought me in remembrance of as ſoon as I ſaw him; for he heard when the tale was told me. Hood, did you not hear when Smith, of Framfield, told me that he ſaw Woodman abroad in the city at liberty.

Hood. Yea forſooth, that I did.

Gage. Yea ſurely, and I was very glad, for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwiſe afterwards again, that you had leave of the keeper to go abroad and ſpeak openly in the ſtreets as you went up and down.

Wood. Indeed ſo the marſhal told me to-day. But indeed I was never abroad ſince I came to priſon, but when I was ſent for; and indeed the ſame time I was abroad with my keeper, coming from the biſhop, and as I was coming, even not far from the Marſhalſea, I ſaw goodman Smith ſtand in a wain unloading of cheeſe, and I aſked him how he did, even as I went by, and never ſtaid for the matter, and thereupon it did ariſe. So I departed from them, with my keeper, to the Marſhalſea again, where now I am merry, I praiſe God, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

The Fourth Examination *of* RICHARD WOODMAN, *before the* Biſhop *of* Wincheſter, *the* Biſhop *of* Rocheſter, *and a certain* Doctor, *with divers other* Prieſts *and* Gentlemen, May 25, 1557.

Wood. I Was brought from the Marſhalſea to the ſaid biſhops and prieſts, ſitting in St.

George's church, in Southwark, by one of the marſhal's men, and one of the ſheriff's men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then ſaid the biſhop of Wincheſter,

What is your name?

Wood. My name is Richard Woodman.

Winch. Ah, Woodman! you were taken and apprehended for hereſy about three years ago, and were ſent to the King's-Bench priſon, and there remained a long time. Mine old lord of Chicheſter, being a learned famous man, well known in this realm, and almoſt through all Chriſtendom, I think came to priſon to you, and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, perſuading you many times (becauſe he was your ordinary) to pluck you from your hereſies that you held, but he could by no means reform you.

Then you were delivered to the commiſſioners, and they could do no good with you neither. Then they ſent you unto my lord of London. He calling you before him divers times, means were uſed by your friends, that you might be releaſed. My lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honeſt man, becauſe he had heard ſo of you in times paſt, yea and of yourſelf promiſing him that you would go home and recant the hereſies which you held, delivered you; ſending alſo a letter of your recantation to the commiſſary, that he ſhould ſee it done. But as ſoon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever, and would never fulfil your promiſe, but have hid yourſelf in the woods, buſhes, dens, and caves, and thus have you continued ever ſince, till it was now of late. Then the ſheriff of that county (being a worſhipful man) hearing thereof, ſent certain of his men, took you in a wood, and carried you to his houſe. I cannot tell his name. What is your ſheriff's name?

Wood. His name is ſir Edward Gage.

Biſhop. Well, you were apprehended for hereſy, and being at maſter Gage's three weeks or more, you were gently treated there; he and other gentlemen perſuading you divers times, little prevailed.

Then you appealed to the biſhop of Chicheſter that now is. The ſheriff, like a worſhipful man, ſent you to him, and he hath reaſoned with you, and others alſo, and can do no good with you, ſo we have ſent for you.

Wood. Then I ſpake to him, for I thought he would be long before he made an end. I thought he was a year in telling thoſe lies againſt me already. Yea, I kept ſilence from good words, but it was great pain and grief to me, as David ſaid. At length the fire was ſo kindled in my heart, that I could not chuſe but ſpeak with my tongue; for I feared leſt any of the company ſhould have departed before I had anſwered to his lies, and ſo the goſpel ſlandered by long ſilence. So I ſaid, My lord, I pray you let me now anſwer for myſelf, for it is time.

Biſhop. I permit you to anſwer to theſe things that I have ſaid.

Wood. I thank God for that, and I think myſelf happy (as Paul ſaid when he was brought before king Agrippa) that I may this day anſwer for myſelf. My lord, I promiſe you there is never a word of your ſaying true that you have alledged againſt me.

Biſhop. I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never ſaw you before this day; but I am ſure it is not all lies that I have ſaid, as you report.

Wood. Yes, my lord, there is never a true word in all that you have ſaid. And further, where you ſaid you never ſaw me before this day, you have both heard me and ſeen me before this day, I dare ſay.

Biſhop. I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you played the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I ſaw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the ſheriff's men?

Wood. No, I was taken near my own houſe, I being in my houſe when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Biſhop. Were you not three weeks at the ſheriff's?

Wood. Yes that I was, juſt a month, and was gently treated by him; I can ſay no otherwiſe; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words.

Biſhop. It is not all lies then, as it chance. For I ſpake but of three weeks, and you confeſs a month yourſelf.

Wood. Yet your tale is never the truer for that: for you ſaid, I was there three weeks for hereſy, which is not ſo: for I was not apprehended for hereſy at the firſt, neither did my old lord of Chicheſter reaſon with me, to pull me from hereſy, as you ſaid; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I ſent to the commiſſioners, nor to the biſhop of London for hereſy, neither was I delivered to him for any ſuch thing, nor promiſed him to recant, as you ſaid I did. Wherefore I marvel that you are not aſhamed to tell ſo many lies, being a biſhop, that ſhould be an example to others.

Biſhop. Lo, what an arrogant heretic he is. He will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

Wood. My lord, judge not leſt you be judged yourſelf: for as you have judged me, you ſhall be judged, if you repent not; and if I have ſet my hand to any recantation, let it be ſeen to my ſhame before this audience; for I will never deny my own hand by God's help.

Biſhop. It is not here now, but I think it may be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

Wood. By my lord of London; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter for which I was ſent to priſon. For it was upon the breach of a ſtatute, as maſter Sheriff here can tell. For he was ſheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was toſſed up and down from ſeſſions to ſeſſions; and becauſe I would not conſent that I had offended therein, they ſent me to priſon again.

Then my lord of Chicheſter being my ordinary, and I being his tenant, came to me, to perſuade me to conſent to them, and to find myſelf in fault, when I was in none: to which I would not agree; but I deſired that he would ſee me releaſed of my wrong: but he ſaid he could not; but willed me or my friends to ſpeak to the commiſſioners for me, becauſe it was a temporal matter: and when I came before them, they ſent me to my lord of London, who was certified by the hands of almoſt thirty men, both eſquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chief in the county where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter I was ſent to priſon for: whereupon he delivered me, not requiring me to recant hereſies, for I held none (as God knoweth), neither do I now: nor do I know for what I was ſent to priſon, no more than any man here; for I was taken away from my work.

Biſhop. No? Why then did you appeal to my lord of Chicheſter, if it were not for hereſy?

Wood. Becauſe there was laid to my charge that I had baptized children, and married folks, which I never did, for I was no where miniſter. Wherefore I appealed to my ordinary, to clear myſelf thereof, which I have done. Wherefore if any man have any thing againſt me, let him ſpeak: for I came not hither to accuſe myſelf, neither will I.

Biſhop. Maſter Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of ſtatute he was ſent to priſon firſt?

Sheriff. Yea, my lord, that I can.

Wood. My lord, if you will give me leave, I will ſhew you the whole matter.

Biſhop. Nay, maſter Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter, ſeeing you know it.

Sheriff. My lord, it was for ſpeaking to a curate in the pulpit, as I remember.

Biſhop. Ah, like enough, he would not ſtick to reprove a curate. For did you not ſee how he faſhioned himſelf to ſpeak to me in the pulpit on Sunday? He played the impudent fellow with me; ſo it is no great wonder that he played that part with another.

Wood. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am ſure. For we ſpake for no other cauſe, but to purge ourſelves of thoſe hereſies that you laid to our charge. For theſe were your words; Good people, theſe men that be brought before us, being here, deny Chriſt to be God, and the Holy Ghoſt to be God (pointing to us with your left hand) which might ſeem to the whole audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear ourſelves thereof we ſpake, and ſaid we held no ſuch thing. And you ſaid you would cut out our tongues. But I am ſure you have no ſuch law.

Biſhop. Yes that we have, if you blaſpheme, and as it chanced, I found ſuch amongſt you.

Wood. Indeed after we ſpake, you declared who they were, but not before: for you ſpake generally. Wherefore we blaſphemed not, but purged ourſelves.

Biſhop. But I pray you, how can you purge yourſelf for ſpeaking to the curate, that it is not hereſy?

Wood. Forſooth theſe be the words of the ſtatute; Whoſoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter ſeſſions, there (being ſorry for the ſame) to be releaſed upon his good behaviour one whole year. But I had not ſo offended, as it was well proved; for he that I ſpoke to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own law; and therefore I brake not the ſtatute, though I ſpake to him.

Biſhop. I am glad I perceive this man ſpeaketh againſt prieſts' marriages; he is not contented with prieſts that have wives. He is an honeſter man than I took him for, maſter Sheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not prieſts' marriages.

Wood. Then I would have anſwered to his ſaying, but he would in no wiſe hear me, but bade the ſheriff have me away. So the ſheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me ſpeak, but going out of the chancel door, I ſaid, I would ſhew him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but ſeeing he will not, if he will let me go ſo, they ſhall ſee whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was ſent to the Marſhalſea again, where I now am merry, I praiſe God therefore, as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the biſhop ſaid when I was gone, that they would take me whilſt I was ſomewhat good. Which words ſeemed to many of the people that were there, that I ſpake againſt prieſts' marriages, but I did not, but did only anſwer to ſuch queſtions as he aſked me, as you ſhall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were theſe:

How can you purge yourſelf from hereſy, for talking to the curate in the pulpit, and not offend the ſtatute? ſaid the biſhop; meaning thereby, I think, to have advantage of my words; but it was not God's will that he ſhould at that time. For I anſwered him by the words of the ſtatute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is) Whoſoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment. But I prove that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own law) becauſe he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no prieſt may ſay maſs, nor preach with the maſs, but he muſt firſt be ſeparated from his wife. That is, becauſe honeſt marriages be good and commendable, and their's naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now I give you all to underſtand, that I did not reprove this prieſt becauſe he had a wife, but becauſe he taught falſe doctrine, which grieved my ſoul, becauſe he had been a fervent preacher againſt the maſs, and all the idolatry thereof ſeven years before, and then came and held with it again; for which cauſe I reproved him in the pulpit; and the words that I ſpake to him are written in divers of my examinations at my firſt impriſonment. But in very deed, I knew not of the ſtatute when I reproved him. But becauſe I was ſent to priſon upon the breach of it, I bought a ſtatute book, and when I had peruſed it, I perceived I had not offended by their own law; and therefore ſtill when I was called to anſwer, I anſwered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in priſon a year and almoſt three quarters before I was releaſed. I was at mine anſwer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow biſhops and prieſts' marriages, let them look in my firſt examination before the biſhop of Chicheſter that now is, during this my impriſonment, and there they will find what I have ſaid on the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that ſame day: but we may all ſee that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is fully come, I truſt in God I ſhall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preſerver, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore, Amen.

The Fifth Examination *of* Mr. RICHARD WOODMAN, *before the* Biſhop *of* Wincheſter, *the* Archdeacon *of* Canterbury, Dr. LANGDALE, *a fat* Prieſt, *and others whoſe Names I know not, at* St. Mary Overy's Church, *in* Southwark, June 15, 1557.

Winch. WOODMAN, you was before us the laſt day, and would not be known in any wiſe that you were ſent to priſon for hereſy, and called for your accuſers, and ſtood ſtoutly in defending of yourſelf, and on your departing I had thought you had ſpoke againſt prieſts' marriages, thinking by your words we ſhould have found you an honeſt man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told ſuch a fair tale for yourſelf, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge: for you ſaid it was all lies that I told againſt you; but ſince I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to ſhew. By which I have proved, that you reproved not the prieſt for lacking of authority, and becauſe he had not put away his wife, but becauſe you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reproved him becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary ſince.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of authority, or becauſe I liked not his preaching, but I told you wherefore I was firſt ſent to priſon. For you ſaid it was for hereſy, and made a long tale againſt me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your ſayings true, but were all lies, as they were indeed. For I never was ſent to priſon for hereſy, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heaven and earth to witneſs; but I told you I was ſent to priſon upon the breach of a ſtatute, which was for ſpeaking to a prieſt in the pulpit, and for that cauſe the juſtices of that country thought that I had offended the ſtatute, and called me before them, and would have had me bound to my good behaviour, and becauſe I refuſed it they ſent me to priſon. And theſe be the words of the ſtatute, as I told you the laſt day: "If any man do interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that then every party that ſo offendeth, ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter-ſeſſions, and there being ſorry for the ſame, and alſo bound for his good behaviour one whole year, to be releaſed, or elſe to return to priſon again."

And when I was in priſon I bought a ſtatute book, which when I had peruſed over, I found by the words thereof that I had not offended, becauſe he was not lawfully authorized, as the biſhop of London was certified by the hands of almoſt thirty of the chief men in the country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the ſtatute took not place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my lord of London, ſeeing me have ſo much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and releaſed me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the ſheriff take me away; you ſaid you were glad I held againſt prieſts' marriages, becauſe I anſwered to the queſtion you aſked me.

Fat Prieſt. My lord, do you not hear what he ſaith by my lord of London? He ſaith he is a good man in that he releaſed him, but he meaneth that he is good in nothing elſe.

Wood. What? can you tell what I mean? let every man ſay as he findeth; he did juſtly to me in that matter. I ſay, if he be not good in any thing elſe, as you ſay, he ſhall anſwer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other matters.

Biſhop. Well, how ſay you? How liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us.

Wood. That is no matter how I liked it. Howſoever I liked it, I offended not the ſtatute. Wherefore you have nothing to ſay to me for that, I am ſure.

Biſhop. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand-writing. I am ſure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handy-work indeed, which by God's help I will never deny, nor ever yet did.

Biſhop. And here is good gear, I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it: theſe be the words before the commiſſioners. How ſay you? Do not you believe as ſoon as the words are ſpoken by the prieſt, that there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but only the very body of Chriſt, both fleſh and blood, as he was born of the virgin Mary? Theſe were the words of the commiſſioners.

And then thou ſaidſt, thou durſt not ſay otherwiſe than the ſcripture ſaith. I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the body of Chriſt before it is received by faith, bringing in the 22d of Luke, ſaying, Chriſt ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body." So I cannot prove it is his body before it be eaten. Then ſaid the commiſſioners, Did not Judas eat Chriſt's body? And if you can prove that Judas is ſaved (ſaid you), I muſt grant that he eat his body. For Chriſt ſaith in the 6th of John, "Whoſo eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raiſe him up at the laſt day;" which words prove, ſaid you, that if Judas eat the body of Chriſt, he muſt needs be ſaved. How ſay you now? Did Judas eat the body of Chriſt, or not?

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his dioceſe, to condemn me with. Though I ſhould confound him ever ſo much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I anſwered and ſaid:

I will anſwer you to no ſuch thing, for I am none of your dioceſe; wherefore I will not anſwer to you.

Biſhop. Thou art within my dioceſe, and thou haſt offended within my dioceſe; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

Wood. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your dioceſe, I have not offended in your dioceſe; if I have, ſhew me wherein.

Biſhop. Why here is thy own hand-writing, which thou affirmedſt in my dioceſe.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but that does not prove that I have offended in your dioceſe; for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the commiſſioners and me, with which you have nothing to do.

Biſhop. No, hold him a book, and thou ſhalt ſwear whether thou holdeſt now or not, and whether thou didſt not write it in my dioceſe, as I think thou didſt; lay thy hand on the book.

Wood. I will not be ſworn for you; for I am not of your dioceſe; and therefore you have nothing to do with me: and as for the writing of the ſame, I never wrote a word of it in your dioceſe.

Lang. No, did you not? my lord, let me ſee; I will find where he wrote it.

Then he took it and looked on it, and preſently he found that I was ſent for out of the King's Bench to come before the commiſſioners.

Lang. My lord, here you may ſee it was in the King's Bench, which is in your dioceſe.

Wood. Although I was fetched out of the King's Bench, that does not prove I wrote it there; nor did I, I aſſure you.

The Fat Prieſt. Where did you write it then?

Wood. Nay, I owe you not ſo much ſervice as to tell you; find it out as well as you can: for I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Biſhop. It is no matter where it was written, it is here, and he does not deny writing it. You ſhall hear more of it. Here the commiſſioners aſked you, whether Judas did eat any more than bare bread.

Whereupon they ſent you away back to the King's Bench again, and aſked you nothing more, for which cauſe (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conſcience. For you had thought they would have ſent a diſcharge to the King's Bench, and ſo let me go (ſaid you) and regiſter my name in their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the body of Chriſt, and ſo the goſpel ſhould have been ſlandered by me. For which cauſe I was in ſuch caſe, I could ſcarcely eat, drink, or ſleep for that ſpace, as all my fellow-priſoners can teſtify. If all you, I ſay, that go to the church of Satan, and there hear the deteſtable doctrine that they ſpit and ſpew out in their churches and pulpits, to the great diſhonour of God; if all you, I ſay, that come there, had ſuch a hell burning in your conſcience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my conſcience more plainly, I dare ſay you would come there no more. All this is your writing; is it not? What ſay you?

Wood. I do not deny but it was mine own deed.

Biſhop. And I pray you where is there ſuch ſpitting and ſpewing out falſe doctrine as you ſpeak of?

Wood. In the ſynagogue of Satan, where God is diſhonoured with falſe doctrine.

Biſhop. And I pray you, where is one of them?

Wood. Nay, that judge yourſelf; I came not hither to be a judge.

Biſhop. Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas (your maſter) eat more than bread, but yet he eat not the body of Chriſt, as you have declared by your words. For you had a hell burning in your conſcience, becauſe you were in doubt, that the commiſſioners underſtood by your words, that Judas had eaten the body of Chriſt, becauſe you ſaid, he eat more than bare bread. Therefore thou hadſt a great many devils in thee: for in hell be many devils: and therefore the devil and Judas is thy maſter, by thine own words.

Wood. Nay, I defy Judas, the devil, and his ſervants; for they be your maſters, and you ſerve them, for any thing that I can ſee, I tell you truth.

Biſhop. Nay, they be thy maſters. For the devil is maſter where hell is, and thou ſaidſt thou hadſt a burning hell in thee. I pray you tell me how you can avoid it, but that the devil was in thee by thine own ſaying?

Wood. The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God towards me, to call me to repentance, that I ſhould not offend God and his people in leaving things ſo dark, as I left that. For which cauſe my conſcience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the ſting of it, when I have broken the commandments of God by any means, as all God's people do, I dare ſay; and it is the loving kindneſs of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your conſcience is never troubled, how wickedly ſoever you do. For if it were, it ſhould not be ſo ſtrange to you as you make it, which plainly proves whoſe ſervant you be.

Biſhop. What a naughty fellow is this? This is ſuch a perverſe villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him ſwear to anſwer directly to ſuch things as I will demand of him; and if he will not anſwer, I will condemn him.

Wood. Call you me a fellow? I am ſuch a fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to hell, if you conſent to the ſhedding of my blood, and you ſhall have blood to drink, as St. John ſaith in his Revelation, chap. ix. and being in hell, you ſhall be compelled to ſay for pain of conſcience, This is the man that we have had in deriſion, and thought his life madneſs, and his end to be without honour; but now we may ſee how he is counted among the ſaints of God, and we are puniſhed. This ſhall you ſee in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you ſhall find in the fifth chapter of the Book of Wiſdom; and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counſel.

Biſhop. Wiſdom! what ſpeakeſt thou of wiſdom? thou never hadſt it; for thou art as great a fool as ever I heard ſpeak.

Wood. Do you not know, that the fooliſh things of this world muſt confound the wiſe things? Wherefore it doth not grieve me that you call me a fool.

Biſhop. Nay, thou art none of thoſe fools; thou art an obſtinate fool, and an heretic. Lay thy hand on the book, and anſwer to ſuch things as I will lay againſt thee.

Wood. I will lay hold of the book for none of you all. You are not my biſhop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Biſhop. I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare ſay; for he will not obey their laws. Let me ſee the king's commiſſion. I will ſee whether he will obey that, or not.

Wood. I would you loved the king and queen's majeſty no worſe than I do, if it pleaſed God: you would not do then as you do now.

Biſhop. Hold him a book, he is a rank heretic. Thou ſhalt anſwer to ſuch things as I will demand of thee.

Wood. I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to priſon, no more than any man here can tell, and therewith I looked round about on the people, and ſaid to the biſhop, If you have any juſt cauſe againſt me worthy of death, lay it againſt me, and let me have it; for I refuſe not to die (I praiſe God) for the truth's ſake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cauſe, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to ſee them kept, and other poor people that I would ſet to work by the help of God. I have ſet to work an hundred perſons before this, all the year together, and was unjuſtly taken from them; but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will.

Biſhop. Do you not ſee how he looketh about for help? but I would not ſee any man ſhew thee a chearful countenance, and eſpecially you that be of my dioceſe. If any of you bid God ſtrengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or ſhew him a chearful countenance, you ſhall be excommunicated, and ſhall not be received in again, till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it.

Wood. I look for no help of men, for God is on my ſide, I praiſe him for it; and therefore I need not to care who be againſt me, neither do I care.

Then they cried, Away with him, and bring us another. So I was carried again to the Marſhalſea, where I am now merry (I praiſe God therefore) as a ſheep appointed to be ſlain. But for want of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefeſt of it.

The Sixth and laſt Examination *of* RICHARD WOODMAN, *written with his own* Hand.

BE it known unto all men by this preſent writing, that I Richard Woodman, ſometime of the pariſh of Warbleton, in the county of Suſſex, was condemned for God's everlaſting truth, July 16, 1557, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, there ſitting with him the ſame time the biſhop of Chicheſter, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Mr. Roper, with a fat-headed prieſt, I cannot tell his name. All theſe conſented to the ſhedding of my blood, upon this occaſion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the ſacrament with a ſop and the devil withal; and becauſe I would not be ſworn upon a book, to anſwer directly to ſuch articles as he would declare to me; and becauſe I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of conſecration, and that the body of Chriſt could not be received of any but of the faithful: for theſe articles I was condemned, as hereafter ſhall follow more at large, by the help of God.

Firſt, the biſhop ſaid when I came before him:

Biſhop. You were before us on Monday laſt, and there you affirmed certain hereſies. How ſay you now? Do you hold them ſtill, or will you revoke them?

Wood. I held no hereſies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

Biſhop. No? Did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? Which is an hereſy, unleſs you tell what more than bread.

Wood. Is it hereſy, to ſay Judas received no more than bread? I ſaid he received more than bare bread, for he received the ſame ſacrament that was prepared to ſhew forth the Lord's death, and becauſe he preſumed to eat without faith, he eat the devil withal, as the words of Chriſt declare; after he eat the ſop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.

Biſhop. Hold him a book, I would have you anſwer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Chriſt or no.

Wood. I will anſwer no more, for I am not of your dioceſe; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

Biſhop. No? You be in my dioceſe, and you are of my dioceſe, becauſe you have offended in my dioceſe.

Wood. I am not of your dioceſe, although I am in your dioceſe; and I was brought into your dioceſe againſt my will: and I have not offended in your dioceſe; if I have, tell me wherein.

Biſhop. Here is your own hand-writing, which is hereſy. Theſe be the words, "I cannot find (ſay you) that it is the body of Chriſt to any, before it is received in faith." How ſay you? Is not this your own hand-writing?

Wood. Yea, I do not deny but it is my own hand-writing: but when, or where was it written, or where were the words ſpoken?

Biſhop. Before the commiſſioners, and here is one of them; Maſter Roper, the words were ſpoken before you, were they not?

Roper. Yes indeed they were. Woodman, I am ſure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you ſpake them.

Wood. No, ſir, indeed I will not deny but that I ſpake them, and am glad that you have ſeen it. For you may ſee by that whether I lie, or not.

Roper. Indeed the words be written word for word as you ſpake them.

Biſhop. Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How ſay you now? Will you be ſorry for it, and become an honeſt man?

Wood. My lord, I truſt no man can ſay, but that I am an honeſt man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my lord of London diſcharged me of all matters that were laid againſt me, when I was releaſed by him.

Biſhop. You were releaſed, and it might happen, it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, becauſe you are ſuſpected to be an heretic: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon ſuſpicion.

Wood. Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render an account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented ſo to do, if it pleaſe my biſhop to hear me.

Chich. Yes, I pray you let us hear it.

Wood. I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in all things viſible and inviſible, and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, very God and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true catholic church, and all the ſacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered an account of my hope that I have of my ſalvation.

Biſhop. And how believe you in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? And with that they all put off their caps.

Wood. I pray you be contented, for I will not anſwer to any more queſtions; for I perceive you go about to ſhed my blood.

Biſhop. No, hold him a book. If he refuſe to ſwear, he is an Anabaptiſt, and ſhall be excommunicated.

Wood. I will not ſwear for you, excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to take an oath; for you laid hereſies to my charge in yonder pulpit, which you are not able to prove; wherefore you are not meet to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your dioceſe, nor will have any thing to do with you.

Biſhop. I will have to do with thee, and I ſay thou art a ſtrong heretic.

Wood. Yea, all truth is hereſy with you; but I am content to ſhew you my mind, how I believe on the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, without flattering. For that you look for, I am ſure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myſelf of it. I will not meddle with any other man's belief on it.

Harpsfield. Why? I am ſure all men's faith ought to be alike.

Wood. Yea, I grant you ſo, that all true chriſtians' faith ought to be alike. But I will anſwer for myſelf.

Harpsfield. Well, let us hear what you have to ſay to it.

Wood. I do believe, that when I come to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, if it be truly miniſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, I coming in faith, as I truſt in God I will, whenſoever I come to receive it, I believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he ſuffered death for the remiſſion of my ſins, and that I ſhall be ſaved by his death and blood-ſhedding, and ſo receive the ſacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Chriſt, God and Man, myſtically by faith, this is my belief on the ſacrament.

Then they ſpake all at once, ſaying, Myſtically by faith!

Fat Prieſt. What a fool art thou, Myſtically by faith! thou canſt not tell what myſtical is.

Wood. If I be a fool, ſo take me: but God hath choſen ſuch fools of this world to confound ſuch wiſe things as you are.

Fat Prieſt. I pray thee, what is myſtically?

Wood. I take myſtically to be the faith that is in us, that the world ſeeth not, but God only.

Biſhop. He cannot tell what he ſaith. Anſwer to the ſacrament of the altar, whether it be the body of Chriſt before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Chriſt to whomſoever receiveth it? Tell me, or elſe I will excommunicate thee.

Wood. I have ſaid as much as I will ſay; excommunicate me if you will. I am not of your dioceſe. The biſhop of Chicheſter is mine ordinary. Let him do it if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.

Chich. I am not conſecrated yet; I told you ſo when you was with me.

Wood. No indeed, your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it now happeneth; meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and ſaid I was out of my wits, becauſe I ſpake fervently to every man's queſtion; all which I cannot remember, but I ſaid:

So Feſtus ſaid to Paul, when he ſpake the words of ſoberneſs and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourſelves. You will go to hell all the ſort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with ſpeed.

Wood. Then my keeper, and the ſheriff's deputy, Fuller, rebuked me, becauſe I ſpake ſo ſharply to them. And I ſaid, I pray you let me alone; I muſt anſwer for my life.

Then there was much ado that I ſhould keep ſilence, and ſo I held my peace. Then ſpake the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, ſaying, We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to ſave thy ſoul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

Wood. To ſave my ſoul? nay, you cannot ſave my ſoul. My ſoul is ſaved already, I praiſe God. There can no man ſave my ſoul, but Jeſus Chriſt; and he it is that hath ſaved my ſoul before the foundation of the world was laid.

Fat Prieſt. What an hereſy is that, my lord! here is an hereſy. He ſaith his ſoul was ſaved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy ſoul ſaved before it was?

Wood. Yes, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay, and I ſay the truth. Look in the firſt of the Epheſians, and there you will find it, where Paul ſaith, chap. i. "Bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly things, by Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us in himſelf, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him through love, and thereto were we predeſtinated." Theſe are the words of Paul, and I believe they be moſt true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jeſus Chriſt, that ſaveth, and not you or any man elſe.

Fat Prieſt. What! Faith without works! St. James ſaith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Wood. I would not have you think that I diſallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourſelves, but it is the gift of God, as ſaith St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. ii. "It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, even of his good pleaſure."

Biſhop. Make an end; anſwer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to anſwer to ſuch articles as he will lay to you: and I pray you refuſe it not; for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we deſire you to ſhew yourſelf a ſubject in this matter.

Then they all ſpoke, and ſaid, Lo, my lord deſireth you gently to anſwer unto him, and ſo we do all. For if you refuſe to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my lord cardinal may put whom he will in the biſhop's office, until he is conſecrated.

Wood. I know not ſo much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it (if I can prove it to be as you ſay) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he ſhall demand of me, without any flattering.

Prieſt. My lord and we all, tell thee it is true; and therefore anſwer to him.

Wood. I will believe none of you all, for you are turn-coats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as St. James ſaith; you be neither hot nor cold, as St. John ſaith, therefore God will ſpew you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth.

Biſhop. What, be we turn-coats and changelings? what meaneſt thou by that?

Wood. I mean, that in king Edward's time you taught the doctrine that was ſet forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turn-coats and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the moſt part of them to quake.

Biſhop. Nay, not all as it chanced.

Wood. No? I pray where were you then?

Biſhop. I was in the Tower, as the lieutenant will bear me record.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore, I dare ſay, it was for ſome other matter.

Then they all took heart of grace, and ſaid, My lord, he comes to examine you, we think: if he will not anſwer to the articles, you had beſt excommunicate him.

Biſhop. He is the naughtieſt varlet of an heretic that ever I knew. I will read the ſentence againſt him.

Then they ſpake all at once, and I anſwered them as faſt as I could. But I cannot remember all, the words came out ſo thick, I ſpared them not, I praiſe God therefore; for I ſpake freely.

Then they that ſtood by rebuked me, and ſaid; You cannot tell to whom you ſpeak.

Wood. No? think you ſo? they are but men. I am ſure I have ſpoken to as good as they are, and better than they will ever be, for any thing that I can ſee, if they repent not with ſpeed.

Biſhop. Give ear! for I will read ſentence againſt you.

Wood. Will you ſo? Wherefore will you? You have no juſt cauſe to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not: and I praiſe God, I am not afraid to die for God's ſake, if I had an hundred lives.

Biſhop. For God's ſake? Nay, for the devil's ſake. Thou ſayeſt thou art not afraid to die; no more was Judas that hanged himſelf, as thou wilt kill thyſelf wilfully, becauſe thou wilt not be ruled.

Wood. Nay, I defy the devil, Judas and all their members. And Judas' fleſh was not afraid, but his ſpirit and conſcience was afraid, and there deſpaired and hung himſelf. But I praiſe God, I feel no loathſomeneſs in my fleſh to die, but a joyſul conſcience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my fleſh is ſubdued to it, I praiſe God; and therefore I am not afraid of death.

Chich. Woodman, for God's ſake be ruled. You know what you ſaid to me at my houſe. I could ſay more, if I would.

Wood. Say what you can; the moſt fault that you found in me was, becauſe I praiſed the living God, and becauſe I ſaid, I praiſe God, and the Lord; which you ought to be aſhamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Biſhop. Well, how ſay you? will you confeſs that Judas received the body of Chriſt unworthily? Tell me plainly.

Wood. My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever eat the body of Chriſt unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of which matter I deſire all this people to be witneſs.

Prieſt. Will you ſo? Then we ſhall agree well enough: St. Paul ſaith ſo.

Wood. I pray you where ſaith he ſo? Rehearſe the words.

Prieſt. In 1 Cor. xi. St. Paul ſaith, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, becauſe he makes no difference of the Lord's body."

Wood. Do theſe words prove that Judas eat the body of Chriſt unworthily? I pray you let me ſee them. They were contented. Then ſaid I, theſe be the words even that you ſaid: Good people hearken well to them, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily:" he ſaith not, Whoſo eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily: but he ſaith, "Whoſo eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, (which is the ſacrament) eateth and drinketh his own damnation," becauſe he maketh no difference between the ſacrament which repreſenteth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people, you may all ſee they are not able to prove their ſaying true. Therefore I cannot believe them in any thing they ſay.

Biſhop. Thou art a rank heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read ſentence againſt thee.

Wood. Judge not leſt you be judged. For as you have judged me, ſuch be you yourſelf. Then he read the ſentence. Why, ſaid I, will you read ſentence againſt me, and cannot tell wherefore.

Biſhop. Thou art an heretic, and therefore thou ſhalt be excommunicated.

Wood. I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witneſs, I defy all heretics, and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you all grace to repent, if it be his will; and ſo he read forth the ſentence in Latin, but what he ſaid, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away with him. So I was carried to the Marſhalſea again, where I am, and ſhall be as long as it ſhall pleaſe God; and I praiſe God moſt heartily, that ever he hath elected, and predeſtinated me to come to ſuch high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his name's ſake; his name be praiſed therefore, for ever and ever, Amen.

And thus you have the examinations of this bleſſed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherein may appear as well the great grace and wiſdom of God in that man, as alſo the groſs ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adverſaries, eſpecially of Dr. White, biſhop of Wincheſter. Now followeth the effect of his letter.

A *godly* Letter *of* RICHARD WOODMAN, *written to* Mrs. ROBERTS, *of* Hawkhurſt.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, be multiplied plenteouſly upon you, dear ſiſter Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the croſs of Chriſt that you are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and conſolation, and to all our brethren and ſiſters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my moſt humble wiſe I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and ſiſters in thoſe parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praiſe God, looking daily to be diſſolved from our mortal bodies, according to the will of our heavenly Father, praiſing God alſo for your conſtancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have ſhewed unto God's elect people, in this troubleſome time of perſecution, which may be a ſure pledge and token of God's good will and favour towards you, and to all other that hear thereof. Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare always what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treaſure of their heart, bring forth good things.

Wherefore (dear ſiſter) it is not as many affirm in theſe days, (the more to be lamented) that ſay, God aſketh but a man's heart; which is the greateſt injury that can be deviſed againſt God and his word. For St. James ſaith; ſhew me thy faith without deeds, and I will ſhew thee my faith by my deeds; ſaying, the devils believe and tremble for fear, and yet ſhall be but devils ſtill, becauſe their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifeſt to the whole world by our deeds, and in the midſt of a crooked and perverſe nation, as St. Paul ſaith, let our light ſhine as in a dark place.

O dear hearts, now is the goſpel of God overwhelmed with many black and troubleſome clouds of perſecution, for which cauſe very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the goſpel, for fear of loſing their treaſures of this world, which are but vain, and ſhall periſh.

Let us not be like unto them who light their candle, and put it under a buſhel; but let us ſet our candle upon a candleſtick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the houſe: that is to ſay, let all the people of the houſhold of God ſee our good works, in ſuffering all things patiently that ſhall be laid upon us for the goſpel's ſake, if it be death itſelf. For Chriſt died for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps; and as he hath given his life for us, ſo ought we to give our lives for the defence of the goſpel, to the comfort of our brethren.

How is it then that ſome will ſay, that their faith is good, and yet they do all the deeds of antichriſt the devil, and be not aſhamed to alledge certain ſcriptures to maintain their wickedneſs? St. Paul ſaith, To believe with the heart juſtifieth, and to confeſs with the mouth maketh a man ſafe. Oh good God, here may all men ſee, that no man or woman can have a true faith, unleſs they have deeds alſo; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the ſea toſſed about by the wind, and can look for no good at the Lord's hands. May not a man judge all ſuch to be like thoſe which St. John ſpeaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (he ſaith) ſpue them out of his mouth? If we judge evil of ſuch, have they not given us occaſion? Had it not been better for them to have had a milſtone tied about their necks, and to have been caſt into the ſea, than they ſhould give ſuch offences to God's elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the ſynagogues of Satan; and there to receive the mark of the beaſt, in that they ſee and hear God blaſphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? And theſe do not only defile themſelves, but alſo be an occaſion to confirm the papiſts in their popery, and ſo be an occaſion of our weak brother's falling, which will be all required at their hands, and will be too heavy a burthen for them to bear, if they repent it not with ſpeed. For they that know their maſter's will, and do it not, ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes. Oh, do we not perceive that now is the acceptable time that Chriſt ſpeaketh of? Yea even now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, ſo that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit now, muſt be hewn down, and caſt into the fire.

Now is the Lord come with his fan in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will he gather into his barn, and the chaff he will burn as aforeſaid. Now is the time come that we muſt go to meet the bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are alſo bidden to the feaſt, let us make no excuſes. Yea, our maſter hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with advantage. Yea, now is the Lord come to ſee if there be any fruit upon his trees; ſo that if he come and find none, he will ſerve us as he did the wild fig-tree, that is, never fruit ſhall grow on us more; alſo, if we go to meet the bridegroom without oil in our lamps, and ſhould go to buy, we ſhould be ſerved as were the fooliſh virgins; that was, God ſaid to them, depart, I know you not. Or if we would make excuſes to come to the feaſt, others ſhall be bidden in our room; if we occupy not our talents well, they ſhall be taken from us, and given to others, and all ſuch unprofitable ſervants ſhall be caſt into priſon in hell, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Oh good God! what a ſort of fearful ſayings is here contained? What chriſtian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceive that this is the time that Chriſt ſpeaketh of, that there ſhould be father againſt ſon, and ſon againſt father, and brother againſt brother; that the brother ſhall deliver the brother to death? yea, and the wicked ſhall ſay all manner of wicked ſayings againſt us for his name's ſake? Which I have found by experience, and I praiſe God, who hath given me ſtrength to bear it. For I think there is no evil, but it hath been imagined againſt me, and that by my familiar friends, as David ſaith: but I praiſe God, they cannot prove any of their ſayings true, but go about to find fault in them that God hath choſen, becauſe they themſelves will not take up their croſs and follow Chriſt; and therefore they ſpeak evil of the thing that they know not, who ſhall give account of it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

But my truſt is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counſel of St. John, ſaying: My ſheep will hear my voice, ſtrangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye ſhould not believe them that go about to ſubvert the goſpel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well before you believe them, according to St. John's counſel in his epiſtle, ſaying: Believe not every ſpirit, but try the ſpirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will ſpeak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear ſiſter) be of good cheer, and give no credit to ſuch people, whatſoever you hear them ſay. For I have no miſtruſt by God's help, but that all the world ſhall ſee and know that my blood ſhall not be dear in mine own ſight, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to give my adverſaries leave to ſhed it. I do earneſtly believe, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he hath given me grace, and will always, to bear this eaſy yoke and light burden; which I have always found, I praiſe my Lord God.

For when I have been in priſon, wearing ſometimes bolts, ſometimes ſhackles, ſometimes lying on the bare ground, ſometimes ſitting in the ſtocks, ſometimes bound with cords, that all my body hath been ſwoln, much like to be overcome with the pain that hath been in my fleſh, ſometimes fain to lie abroad in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro, few I ſay, that durſt keep my company for fear of the rulers, ſometimes brought before the juſtices, ſheriffs, lords, doctors, and biſhops, ſometimes called dog, ſometimes devil, heretic, whoremonger, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers others ſuch like; yea, and even they that did eat of my bread, that ſhould have been moſt my friends by nature, have betrayed me: yet for all this I praiſe my Lord God that hath ſeparated me from my mother's womb, all this that happened unto me hath been eaſy, light, and moſt delectable and joyful of any treaſure that ever I poſſeſſed; for I praiſe God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their ſayings true. But that way that they call hereſy, I ſerve my Lord God, and at all times before whomſoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wiſdom, which all my adverſaries have not been able to reſiſt, I praiſe God therefore.

Wherefore (dear ſiſter) be of good comfort with all your brethren and ſiſters, and take no thought what you ſhall ſay, for it ſhall be given you the ſame hour, according to the promiſes, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God's elect ſhall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped, that this perſecution would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive God will have a further trial to root out all diſſemblers, that no man ſhould rejoice in himſelf, but he that rejoiceth ſhall rejoice in God.

Wherefore if prophecy ſhould fail, and tongues ſhould ceaſe, yet love muſt endure. For fear hath painfulneſs, but perfect love caſteth out all fear: which love I have no miſtruſt but God hath poured it upon you ſo abundantly, that nothing in the world ſhall be able to ſeparate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, ſhall be able to put you from Chriſt; but by him I truſt you ſhall enter into the new Jeruſalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the ſame eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen.

RICHARD WOODMAN.

After theſe examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the biſhops, he was (as is aforeſaid) judged by ſentence of condemnation, and ſo deprived of his life; with whom alſo were burned nine others, to wit, five men and four women, which were taken about two or three days before their judgment. The names of which being alſo before expreſſed, here again follow in this order, Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Maynard, Alexander Hoſman, his ſervant, Thomaſine Wood, his maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her ſon, Denis Burgis, Aſhdowne's wife, Grove's wife.

Theſe perſons above-named were put to death at Lewes the 22d of June.

Of which number the eight laſt were apprehended (as is ſaid) either the ſame day, or the ſecond or third day before, and ſo with the ſame Woodman and Stevens, were committed together to the fire; in which ſpace no writ could come down from London to the juſtices, for their burning. Wherefore what is to be ſaid to ſuch juſtices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found alſo of other juſtices, who without any lawful writ of diſcharge or order of law, have unlawfully and diſorderly burnt the ſervants of Chriſt (whoſe blood the law both may and alſo ought to revenge); eſpecially at Saliſbury, Canterbury, and Guernſey. But concerning theſe matters, though man's law do wink, or rather ſleep at them, yet they ſhall be ſure God's law will find ſuch murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

One Ambroſe died in Maidſtone priſon, about the ſame time.

An Account *of the* Condemnation *of* Mr. RICHARD LUSH.

IN the regiſters of Gilbert, biſhop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, of one Richard Luſh, there condemned and given to the ſecular power to be burned for the cauſe of hereſy, whoſe affirmations in the ſaid certificate are expreſſed in tenor and effect, as follows.

1. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.
2. Item, For denying auricular confeſſion to be made to the prieſt.
3. Item, For affirming only to be three ſacraments: to wit, of baptiſm, of the ſupper, and of matrimony.
4. Item, For refuſing to call the Lord's ſupper by the name of the ſacrament of the altar.
5. Item, For denying purgatory, and that prayers and alms profit not the dead body.
6. Item, That images are not to be ſuffered in the church, and that all that kneel to images of the church, be idolaters.
7. Item, That they which were burnt of late for religion, died God's ſervants and good martyrs.
8. Item, For condemning the ſingle life of prieſts, and other votaries.
9. Item, For denying the univerſal and catholic church, meaning the church of Rome.

For theſe aſſertions as they are expreſſed, he was condemned and committed to the ſheriffs, and alſo a certificate directed by the biſhop aforeſaid, to the king and queen.

A Note *concerning* JOHN HULLIER, Miniſter *and* Martyr, *who was burned at* Cambridge.

CONCERNING the ſtory of John Hullier, martyr, partly mentioned before, for the more full declaration of the death and martyrdom of that good man, becauſe the ſtory is before but rawly and imperfectly touched; for the more perfecting thereof I thought thereunto to add that which ſince hath come to my hand, as followeth.

Firſt, John Hullier was brought up at Eaton college, and after, according to the foundation of that houſe, he was elected ſcholar in king's college, where alſo not tarrying full three years of probation, before he was fellow of the college, he after ſome time was one of the ten conducts in the king's college, which was Anno 1539. Then, in proceſs of time, he came to be curate of Babram, three miles from Cambridge, and went afterwards to Lynn; where he, having divers conflicts with the papiſts, was from thence carried to Ely, to Dr. Thurlby, then biſhop there; who after divers examinations, ſent him to Cambridge Caſtle, where he remained but a while.

From thence he was conveyed to the town priſon, commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almoſt a quarter of a year, till at length he was cited to appear at great St. Mary's on Palm-Sunday eve, before divers doctors, both divines and lawyers, amongſt whom was chief Dr. Shaxton, Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgewike, Dr. Scot, and others. Where after examination, becauſe he would not recant, he was firſt condemned, the ſentence being read by Dr. Fuller.

Then conſequently he was degraded after their popiſh manner, with ſcraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he ſaid cheerfully, This is the joyfulleſt day that ever I ſaw, and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry.

In the mean time whilſt it was doing, one ſtanding by, aſked Hullier what book he had in his hand. Who anſwered, a Teſtament. Whereat this man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the ſecular powers, Braſey being mayor, who carrying him to priſon again, took from him all his books, writings, and papers.

On Maundy Thurſday coming to the ſtake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himſelf, one ſpake to him, ſaying, The Lord ſtrengthen thee. Whereat a ſerjeant, named Brieſly, ſtayed and bade him hold his tongue, or elſe he ſhould repent it.

Nevertheleſs Hullier anſwered and ſaid, Friend, I truſt that as God hath hitherto begun, ſo alſo he will ſtrengthen me, and finiſh his work upon me. I am bidden to a Maundy, whither I truſt to go, and there to be ſhortly. God hath laid the foundation, as I by his aid will end it.

Then going to a ſtool (prepared for him to ſit on) to have his hoſe plucked off, he deſired the people to pray for him again, and alſo to bear witneſs that he died in the right faith, and that he would ſeal it with his blood, certifying them, that he died in a juſt cauſe, and for the teſtimony of the verity and truth, and that Chriſt was the only rock to build upon, under whoſe banner he fought, and whoſe ſoldier he was; and while ſpeaking, he turned himſelf toward the eaſt, and exhorted the people there likewiſe.

George Boyes, Henry Barley, and one Gray, all arch-prieſts of Trinity college, Cambridge, ſtood on a bank hard by. This Boyes was one of the proctors of the univerſity that year. To whom Mr. Gray ſpake, ſaying, Hear you not, maſter proctor, what blaſphemy this fellow uttereth? Surely it is ill done to ſuffer him.

At whoſe words, this Boyes ſpake with a loud voice, Mr. Mayor, what mean you? If you ſuffer him thus to take liberty, I tell you, the council ſhall hear of it, and we take you not to be the queen's friend. He is a pernicious perſon, and may do more harm than you are aware of. Whereat ſimple Hullier, as meek as a lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no anſwer, but made himſelf ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himſelf to the ſtake, and with chains being bound, was beſet with reed and wood, ſtanding in a pitch barrel, and the fire being ſet to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earneſtly to call upon God. Nevertheleſs his friends perceiving the fire to be ill kindled, cauſed the ſerjeants to turn it, and fire it in that place where the wind might blow it in his face.

That done, there was a parcel of books which were caſt into the fire, and by chance a communion book fell between his hands, who receiving it joyfully, opened it, and read as long as the flame and ſmoak would permit him: and then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the book betwixt his arms next his heart, thanking God for ſending it: and at that time the day being very fair and hot, yet the wind was ſomewhat up, and it cauſed the fire to be fiercer, and when all the people thought he had been dead, he ſuddenly uttered theſe words; Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit, dying very meekly.

The place where he was burned, is called Jeſus Green, not far from Jeſus College. Seagar gave him certain gunpowder, but little to the purpoſe; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was ſhed for him. Which the papiſts ſeeing, cried, he was not to be prayed for, and being but a damned man, it could profit him nothing: nevertheleſs they continued praying; whereat the papiſts fell into ſuch a rage that they menaced them with terrible threatnings. His fleſh being conſumed, his bones ſtood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the people, ſome took what they could get of him, as pieces of bones. One had his heart, which was diſtributed ſo far as it would go: one took the ſcalp, and looked for the tongue, but it was conſumed, except the very root.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* SIMON MILLER *and* ELIZABETH COOPER, *who were burnt at* NORWICH.

IN the month of July next followed the martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling in the town of Lynn, a pious and zealous man in the knowledge of God and his truth, deteſting and abhorring the contrary enforced religion then ſet forth, came from Lynn to Norwich, where he ſtanding in the preſs and hearing of the people, began to aſk them, as they came out of the church from their popiſh ſervice, where he might go to have the communion. And the people marvelled at his boldneſs: one that was an evil diſpoſed papiſt, hearing the ſame, ſaid, that if he would needs go to a communion, he would bring him where he ſhould be ſped of his purpoſe. So he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich, (whoſe name was Dunning) who after a few words, and ſmall talk paſſed with his examinate, committed him to ward.

In the mean time as he was in examination, he had in his ſhoe his confeſſion, written in a paper, whereof a piece appearing above his ſhoe, was ſpied and taken out. The chancellor aſking if he would ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame faith therein contained, he conſtantly affirmed the ſame. Whereupon, as is ſaid, he was committed. Thus the ſaid Simon being in the biſhop's houſe, under cuſtody of the keeper there called maſter Felow, how it happened is not certain, whether by gentleneſs of the keeper, (who was ſomewhat gentle that way) or by leave given of the biſhop, or elſe whether he had condeſcended on purpoſe to their articles, he was diſmiſſed, and went home to his houſe at Lynn, where he continued a certain ſpace, till he had diſpoſed and ſet all things in order.

That done, he returned again to the biſhop's houſe to his priſon and keeper, till the time at length, he conſtantly abiding in his profeſſed purpoſe, and defence of God's truth, was by the ſaid biſhop and his chancellor, condemned and committed to the fire about the 13th day of July.

With this Simon Miller alſo was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper (as aforeſaid) a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's pariſh, in Norwich, where ſhe had before recanted; and being unquiet for the ſame, and greatly troubled inwardly, ſhe came into the ſaid St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popiſh ſervice, and there ſtanding in the ſame, ſaid ſhe revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily ſorry that ever ſhe did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. Theſe or ſuch like words ſhe ſpake in the church.

Then cried one Bacon of the ſaid pariſh, laying his arms abroad, ſaying, Mr. Sheriff, will you ſuffer this? and repeating the ſame, urged him to go from the church to her houſe, at whoſe knocking ſhe came down, and was taken and ſent to priſon.

The ſheriff (named Mr. Thomas Sutton) and ſhe had before been ſervants together in one houſe; and for the friendſhip he bare unto her, and more for the goſpel's ſake, he was very loth to do it, but he was enforced by thoſe other perſons before mentioned, much againſt his own conſcience, which he now earneſtly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned with Simon Miller, to be burnt at the ſtake, when the fire came to her, ſhe ſhrunk a little thereat, crying ah! When Simon Miller heard the ſame, he put his hand behind him towards her, and deſired her to be ſtrong and of good cheer; for, good ſiſter, (ſaid he) we ſhall have a joyful and ſweet ſupper. At which ſhe being, as it ſeemed, thereby ſtrengthened, ſtood as ſtill and quiet as one moſt glad to finiſh that good work, which ſhe before had ſo happily begun. And thus ſhe and her companion joyfully ended their lives, committing their ſouls into the hands of Almighty God.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of Five* Men *and Five* Women, *at* Colcheſter, *Five in the* Forenoon, *and Five in the* Afternoon.

AS it is no new thing in thoſe we call prelates and prieſts of the church, to be raiſers up of perſecution againſt Chriſt and his poor flock; ſo it is much to be marvelled, or rather lamented, that noble perſons, and men of honour and worſhip, ſhould be made ſuch miniſters, to ſerve the deſires of theſe tyrants, as is now common, as well in the ſorrowful reign of the late queen Mary, as likewiſe in this preſent ſtory is to be remarked.

And firſt thou rememberſt, gentle reader, how mention was made a little before of twenty-two, which were ſent up priſoners together from Colcheſter to London, by the earl of Oxford, the lord Darcy, Mr. Tyrrel, of St. Oſithes, and other commiſſioners and juſtices, &c. which twenty-two, as aforeſaid, through a gentle ſubmiſſion put to them, were afterwards releaſed and ſet at liberty.

In the number of theſe aforeſaid twenty-two, was one William Munt, of Muchbentley in Eſſex, huſbandman, with Alice his wife, and Roſe Allin, maid, daughter to the ſaid Alice Munt; who coming home again to their houſe at Muchbentley aforeſaid, refrained themſelves from the unſavoury ſervice of the popiſh church, and frequented the company of good men and women, who gave themſelves diligently to reading and calling upon the name of God, through Chriſt: whereby they ſo fretted the wicked prieſt of the town, called ſir Thomas Tye, and others like unto him, that laying their heads together, they made a ſupplication to the lord Darcy, in the name of the whole pariſh: the ſubſtance whereof is as followeth.

A Supplication *to the* LORD DARCY, *and by him delivered to* SIR JOHN KINGSTON, Prieſt *and* Commiſſary.

PLEASETH your honourable lordſhip to be advertiſed, that we confeſs whilſt your good lordſhip lay here in the country, the people were ſtayed in good order, to our great comfort: but ſince your lordſhip's departure, they have made digreſſion from good order in ſome places, and namely in the pariſh of Muchbentley, by reaſon of three ſeditious perſons, William Munt and his wife, and Roſe her daughter, who by their feigned ſubmiſſion (as doth appear) were diſmiſſed and ſent down from the biſhop of London; and ſince their coming home they have not only in their own perſons made manifeſt their diſobedience, in not coming to the church, nor yet obſerving other good orders, but alſo moſt maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly have ſeduced many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking alſo thoſe that frequent the church, and calling them church-owls, and blaſphemouſly calling the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers ſuch like blaſphemies. In conſideration whereof, may it pleaſe your honour, (for the love of God, and for the tender zeal your good lordſhip beareth to juſtice, and the common peace and quietneſs of the king and queen's majeſty's loving ſubjects) to award out your warrant for the ſaid William Munt, his wife, and Roſe her daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good lordſhip, we truſt the reſt will fear to offend (their ringleaders of ſedition being apprehended) the quietneſs of their obedient ſubjects,

Your daily orators, the pariſhioners of Muchbentley, Thomas Tye, prieſt; John Carter, Thomas Chandler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, Will. Harris, John Richard, and others.

This being done, the ſaid ſir Thomas Tye bethought with himſelf where the perſecuted did reſort: for in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, for a twelvemonth and more, he came not to the church, but frequented the company of godly men and women, who abſtained from the ſame, and, as they thought, he laboured to keep a good conſcience, but the ſequel ſhewed him to be a falſe brother.

Now (as I ſaid) he partly knowing the places of refuge for honeſt men, did further inquire of other men about the ſame: and being thereof ſufficiently (as he thought) inſtructed to his purpoſe, immediately about the time the ſupplication above ſpecified was exhibited to the ſaid lord Darcy, wrote a letter ſecretly to biſhop Bonner, wherein he maketh his account how he had beſtowed his time, and complained of divers honeſt men, among which was the ſaid William Munt and his company: the tenor of which letter here followeth.

A Letter *from* Sir THOMAS TYE, Prieſt, *to* Biſhop BONNER.

RIGHT honourable lord, after my bounden duty done in moſt humble wiſe, theſe ſhall be to ſignify unto your lordſhip the ſtate of our parts concerning religion. And firſt, ſince the coming down of the twenty-two rank heretics diſmiſſed from you, the deteſtable ſort of ſchiſmatics were never ſo bold ſince the king and queen's majeſty's reign, as they are now at this preſent. In Muchbentley, where your lordſhip is patron of the church, ſince William Munt, and Alice his wife, with Roſe Allin her daughter, came home, they do not only abſent themſelves from the church and ſervice of God, but do daily allure many others away from the ſame, which before did outwardly ſhew ſigns and tokens of obedience.

They aſſemble together upon the ſabbath-day in the time of divine ſervice, ſometimes in one houſe, ſometimes in another, and there keep their private conventicles and ſchools of hereſy. The jurates ſay, the lords' commiſſion is out, and they are diſcharged of their oath. The queſt-men in your archdeacon's viſitation alledged, that foraſmuch as they were once preſented and now ſent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your officers ſay, namely, Mr. Boſwel, that the council ſent them not home without a great conſideration. I pray God ſome of your officers prove not favourers of heretics. The rebels are ſtout in the town of Colcheſter.

The miniſters of the church are hem'd at in the open ſtreets, and called knaves. The bleſſed ſacrament of the altar is blaſphemed and railed upon in every houſe and tavern. Prayer and faſting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are riſe both in town and country, in as ample and large a manner, as though no honourable lords and commiſſioners had been ſent for reformation thereof. The occaſion riſeth partly by reaſon of John Love of Colcheſter Heath (a perverſe place), which John Love was twice indicted of hereſy, and thereupon fled with his wife and houſhold, and his goods ſeized within the town of Colcheſter, to the king and queen's majeſty's uſe. Neverthele ſs the ſaid John is come home again, and nothing ſaid or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the great diſcomfort of good and catholic people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and reſtoration of his church again; which thing ſhall come the ſooner to paſs, through the travail and pains of ſuch honourable lords and reverend fathers as your lordſhip is, unto whom I wiſh long life and continuance, with increaſe of much honour. From Colcheſter, December 18.

Your humble beadſman,
THOMAS TYE, Prieſt.

When this wicked prieſt had thus wrought his malice againſt the people of God, within a while after the ſtorms began to ariſe againſt thoſe poor perſecuted William Munt and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themſelves from the heat thereof. And continuing ſo a little ſpace, at laſt, the ſeventh day of March, 1557, being the firſt Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one Mr. Edmund Tyrrel (who came of the houſe of the Tyrrels which murdered king Edward V. and his brother) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, called William Samuel, dwelling in Colcheſter, and the two conſtables of Muchbentley aforeſaid, named John Baker and William Harris, with many others; and beſetting the houſe of the ſaid William Munt round about, called to them at length to open the door; which being done, Mr. Tyrrel, with ſome of the company, went into the chamber where the ſaid father Munt and his wife lay, willing them to riſe: for, ſaid he, you muſt go with us to Colcheſter-caſtle. Mother Munt hearing that, being very ſick, deſired that her daughter might fetch her ſome drink; for ſhe was (ſhe ſaid) very ill.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Roſe Allin, maid, took a ſtone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother; and as ſhe came back again through the houſe, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counſel, and advertiſe them to be good catholic people.

Roſe. Sir, they have a better inſtructor than me. For the Holy Ghoſt doth teach them, I hope, which I truſt will not ſuffer them to err.

Tyrr. Why, ſaid Mr. Tyrrel, art thou ſtill in that mind, thou naughty houſewife? marry, it is time to look upon ſuch heretics indeed.

Roſe. Sir, with what you call hereſy, do I worſhip my Lord God, I tell you truth.

Tyrr. Then I perceive you will burn, goſſip, with the reſt, for company's ſake.

Roſe. No, ſir, not for company's ſake, but for Chriſt's ſake, if ſo I be compelled, and I hope in his mercy, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyrr. So he turning to his company, ſaid, Sirs, this goſſip will burn: what do you think of her? Why truly, ſir, ſaith one, prove her, and you ſhall ſee what ſhe will do by and by.

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wriſt, and the burning candle under her hand, burning croſs-ways over the back thereof, ſo long that the very ſinews cracked aſunder. Witneſs hereof, William Chandler, then living at Muchbentley, who was there preſent and ſaw it. Alſo Mrs. Bright of Rumford, with Ann Starkey, her maid, to whom Roſe Allin alſo declared the ſame, and the ſaid Mrs. Bright alſo miniſtered ſalve for the curing thereof, as ſhe lay in her houſe at Rumford, going up towards London with other priſoners.

In which time of his tyrrany, he ſaid often to her, Why, whore, wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore, wilt thou not cry? To which ſhe always anſwered, that ſhe thanked God ſhe had no cauſe, but rather to rejoice. But, ſhe ſaid, he had more cauſe to weep than ſhe, if he conſidered the matter well. In the end, when the ſinews (as I ſaid) brake, that all the houſe heard them, he then thruſt her violently from him, ſaying, A ſtrong whore, thou ſhameleſs beaſt; thou beaſtly whore, &c. with ſuch like vile words. But ſhe quietly ſuffering his rage for the time, at laſt ſaid, Sir, have you done what you will do? He ſaid, yea, and if thou think not well of it, then mend it.

Roſe. Mend it? nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head alſo: for he that ſet you on work, ſhall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you: and ſo went and carried her mother drink as ſhe was commanded. Likewiſe, after ſearching of the houſe for more company, at laſt they found one John Thurſton and Margaret his wife, whom they alſo carried to Colcheſter caſtle immediately.

And this ſaid Roſe Allin, being priſoner, told a friend of her's this cruel act of the ſaid Tyrrel; and ſhewing him the manner thereof, ſhe ſaid, while my own hand was a burning, I having a pot in my other hand, might have ſtruck him on the face with it, if I had had a mind, for no man held my hand to hinder me therefrom. But I thank God, ſaid ſhe, with all my heart, I did it not.

Alſo being aſked of another, how ſhe could abide the painful burning of her hand, ſhe ſaid, at firſt it was ſome grief to her: but afterwards, the longer ſhe burned, the leſs ſhe felt, or well near none at all.

And becauſe Mr. Tyrrel ſhall not go alone in this kind of cruelty, you ſhall hear another like example of a blind harper's hand, burnt by biſhop Bonner, as is teſtified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, ſometime gentleman to the ſaid biſhop, who declared before credible witneſs, as followeth: How the ſaid biſhop Bonner, having this blind harper before him, ſpake thus unto him, That ſuch blind objects, which follow a ſort of heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the firſt that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man anſwered, that if every joint of him were to be burnt, yet he truſted in the Lord, he ſhould not fly. Then Bonner ſignifying privily to certain of his men about him what they ſhould do, they brought to him a burning coal; which coal being put into the poor man's hand, they cloſed it faſt again, which burned his hand moſt piteouſly. Among the doers thereof was the ſaid Mr. Valentine Dingley, witneſs and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in Titus Livius, of the ſtory of king Porſenna, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus Scevola, who came purpoſely to kill him, being only contented therewith, ſent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hands of poor men and women, who never meant any harm to them, and not contented with that, but alſo to conſume their whole bodies without any juſt cauſe, we find no example of ſuch barbarous tyranny, neither in Titus Livius, nor in any other ſtory among the heathen.

But to return to our Colcheſter martyrs again. With the ſaid William Munt and his family, was joined alſo in the ſame priſon at Colcheſter, another faithful brother, named John Johnſon, alias Aliker, of Thorp, in the county of Eſſex, labourer, thirty-four years of age, having no wife alive, but three young children, who was alſo indicted with them of hereſy, and ſo all theſe four lay together in Colcheſter caſtle.

The other ſix priſoners lay in Mote-hall in the ſaid town of Colcheſter, whoſe names were,

1. William Bongeor, of the pariſh of St. Nicholas, in Colcheſter, glazier, of the age of ſixty years.

2. Thomas Benold, of Colcheſter, tallow-chandler.

3. W. Purcas, of Bocking, in Eſſex, fuller, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, dwelling in Colcheſter, widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the wife of John Ewring, miller, dwelling in Colcheſter, of the age of forty-five years, or thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two priſoners mentioned before, ſent up in bands from Colcheſter to London, and after being delivered with the reſt, repaired home to Colcheſter again to her huſband, where notwithſtanding ſhe enjoyed her liberty not very long: for ſhortly after her return, one Robert Maynard, then bailiff of Colcheſter, met with her, who eſpying her, came to her, and kiſſed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom ſhe conſiderately anſwered again, and ſaid, That it was but a Judas's kiſs: for in the end, quoth ſhe, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to paſs: for immediately after that diſcourſe ſhe was apprehended by him, and was lodged with the reſt in the town priſon (as is aforeſaid), called the Mote-hall.

6. The ſixth of this company was Elizabeth Folks, a young maid, and ſervant in Colcheſter, of the age of twenty years. Theſe ſix were impriſoned in the town priſon of Colcheſter, called Mote-hall, as the other four before-mentioned were in the caſtle.

Divers examinations theſe good men had at ſundry times before divers juſtices, prieſts, and officers, as Mr. Roper, John Kingſton, commiſſary, John Boſwell, prieſt, and Bonner's ſcribe, and ſeveral others, in the preſence of the two bailiffs of Colcheſter, Robert Brown and Robert Maynard, with divers other juſtices both of the town and country, and a great many other gentlemen: at which time and place, and before the ſaid perſons, they had ſentence of condemnation read againſt them, chiefly for not affirming the real preſence of the ſacrament in their altar. The effect of their words therein, was as follows:

Firſt, *The* Priſoners *in* Mote-Hall.

WILLIAM BONGEOR, of the pariſh of St. Nicholas, in Colcheſter, glazier, ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and ſo remaineth bread; and that the conſecration made it not more holy, but rather worſe. To this he did ſtand, as alſo againſt all the reſt of their popiſh doctrine: and ſo had ſentence read againſt him.

Thomas Benold, of Colcheſter, tallow-chandler, affirmed to the like effect as William Bongeor did: and ſo had ſentence alſo read againſt him.

W. Purcas, of Bocking, ſaid, that when he received the ſacrament, he received bread in an holy uſe, that preacheth the remembrance of Chriſt dying for him. To this he ſtood, and againſt other their popiſh matters: and ſo alſo had ſentence read againſt him.

Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, ſaid, that ſhe loved no conſecration; for the bread and wine, ſhe ſaid, was made rather worſe thereby than better. This good old woman anſwered them with ſuch ſound judgment and boldneſs, to every thing they aſked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and eſpecially to ſee the patience of ſuch a reverend old age, againſt the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this ſhe alſo ſtood, and had ſentence read againſt her in like manner.

Helen Ewring anſwered to the like effect as the others did, utterly denying all the laws ſet forth by the pope, with her whole heart. This good woman was ſomewhat thick of hearing, but yet in the Lord's matters was quick of underſtanding, whoſe name therefore be praiſed. Againſt her alſo was ſentence read.

Elizabeth Folks, the young maiden, being examined whether ſhe believed the preſence of Chriſt's body to be in the ſacrament ſubſtantially and really, or no; anſwered, that ſhe believed that it was a ſubſtantial lie, and a real lie. At which words, the prieſts and others were very angry, and aſked her again, whether after the conſecration there remained not the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament. To which ſhe anſwered, that before conſecration and after, it is but bread; and the man that bleſſeth without God's word, is curſed and abominable by the word, &c. Then they examined her about confeſſion to the prieſt, of going to church to hear maſs, of the authority of the biſhop of Rome, &c. To all which ſhe anſwered, that by the grace of God, ſhe would neither uſe nor frequent any of them at all, but utterly deteſt and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all ſuch trumpery.

Then they read the ſentence of condemnation againſt her; at which Dr. Chadſey wept, that the tear trickled down his cheeks. So the ſentence being read ſhe kneeled down on her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer and audible voice praiſing God, that ever ſhe was born to ſee that moſt bleſſed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt: and Lord, ſaid ſhe, if it be thy will, forgive them that have done this againſt me, for they know not what they do. Then riſing up, ſhe exhorted all thoſe on the bench to repentance, eſpecially thoſe who brought her to priſon, as Robert Maynard the bailiff, and ſuch like; which Maynard commonly,

monly, when he ſat in judgment upon life and death, would ſit ſleeping on the bench oftentimes, ſo careful was his mind on his office.

Further, ſhe deſired halting goſpellers to beware of blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end ſhe told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, that if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very bar would be a witneſs againſt them at the day of judgment, that they had that day ſhed innocent blood.

This Elizabeth Folks, the day before ſhe was condemned, was examined only upon this article, whether ſhe believed there was a catholic church of Chriſt, or not. To which ſhe anſwered, Yea. Then was ſhe immediately (by Boſwell's means, the ſcribe) delivered unto her uncle Holt, of the ſame town of Colcheſter, to keep, who carried her home to his houſe; and ſhe being there might have departed thence many times, if ſhe had pleaſed; for there was means offered to convey her away. But ſhe hearing that ſome doubted that ſhe had yielded to the pope (although it was untrue), would in no wiſe content herſelf, but wept, and was in ſuch anguiſh of mind and terror of conſcience, that by no means ſhe would yield to the papiſts for any perſuaſions that could be. And coming before them at Coſin's houſe at the White Hart in Colcheſter, ſhe was at utter defiance with them and their doctrine: and ſo had, as you have heard, in the end a papiſtical reward, as the reſt of her brethren had.

The Priſoners *in* Colcheſter Caſtle.

WILLIAM MUNT, of Muchbentley in Eſſex, of the age of 61 years, ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar was an abominable idol, and that if he ſhould obſerve any part of their popiſh proceedings, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring his curſe upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durſt not do it. This good father was examined of many things, but God be thanked he ſtood to the truth, and in the end thereof had ſentence of condemnation read againſt him. John Johnſon, of Thorp in Eſſex, widower, thirty-four years of age, was examined as the reſt, and made anſwer in ſuch ſort, as the papiſts counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him in their bloody ſentence, as they had done the reſt before. This John Johnſon affirmed, that in the receiving of the ſacrament according to Chriſt's inſtitution, he receiveth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually, &c.

Alice Munt, the wife of the ſaid William Munt, forty-one years of age, being alſo examined as the reſt, ſaid and confirmed the ſame in effect as her huſband did, and was therefore alſo condemned.

Roſe Allin, maid, daughter of the ſaid Alice Munt, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular confeſſion, going to the church to hear maſs, of the popiſh ſeven ſacraments, &c. anſwered ſtoutly, that they ſtank in the face of God, and ſhe durſt not have to do with them for her life, neither was ſhe (ſhe ſaid) any member of theirs; for they were the members of Antichriſt, and ſo ſhould have, if they repented not, the reward of Antichriſt. Being aſked further what ſhe could ſay of the ſee of the biſhop of Rome, whether ſhe would obey his authority or no; ſhe anſwered boldly that ſhe was none of his. As for his ſee (ſaid ſhe) it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to ſwim in, ſuch as you be: for by the grace of God I ſhall not ſwim in that ſee while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then they read the ſentence of condemnation againſt her, and ſent her to priſon again unto the reſt, where ſhe ſung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus theſe poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the ſecular power, were all ſent to the priſon from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading and invocating the name of God), ever looking and expecting the happy day of their diſſolution. In which time the cruel papiſts left not their miſchievous attempts againſt them, although they would ſeem now to have no more to do with them. For bloody Bonner, whoſe throat never cried ho, ſhortly after got a writ for the burning of the aforeſaid perſons; and to ſhew the more diligence in his cauſe, he ſent a truſty man of his, named Edward Coſin, down with it, and alſo with his letter, for the furtherance of the matter, the next month after the condemnation.

The writ being thus received by the ſaid bailiffs, and they having then no leiſure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the ſecond day of Auguſt next following. And becauſe the faithful ſouls were in two ſeveral priſons, as the caſtle was for the county, and Mote-Hall for the town; therefore it was agreed among them, that they in Mote-Hall ſhould be burnt in the forenoon, and thoſe at the caſtle, by the ſheriff of the ſhire, in the afternoon.

The ſecond day of Auguſt, 1557, betwixt ſix and ſeven of the clock in the morning, were brought from Mote-Hall unto a plat of ground, hard by the town-wall of Colcheſter on the out-ſide, William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverſide, alias Smith, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folks before-mentioned, who being there, and all things prepared for their martyrdom, they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in ſuch a manner as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not ſuffer them: eſpecially one Mr. Clere among the reſt (who ſometime had been a goſpeller) ſhewed himſelf very extreme unto them; the Lord give him repentance (if it be his good will) and grace to be a better man. When they made their prayers, they roſe, and made themſelves ready for the fire: and Elizabeth Folks, when ſhe had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who came and kiſſed her at the ſtake, and exhorted her to be ſtrong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending, would not ſuffer her to give it. Therefore taking the ſaid petticoat in her hand, ſhe threw it away from her, ſaying, farewel all the world, farewel faith, farewel hope; and ſo taking the ſtake in her hand, ſaid, welcome love, &c. Now ſhe being at the ſtake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the ſtriking of the ſtaple, he miſſed the place, and gave her a great ſtroke with the hammer on the ſhoulder bone: at which, ſhe turning her head, lifted up her eyes to the Lord, and ſmilingly praying, gave herſelf to exhorting the people again.

When they were all nailed to the ſtakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the ſtanders by, (which were by eſtimation thouſands) almoſt all cried, The Lord ſtrengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them, with ſuch like words, as were wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their ſouls and bodies into the Lord's hand, for the teſtimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the ſame in the like quarrel, for his mercy's ſake. Amen.

In like manner, the ſaid day in the afternoon, were brought forth into the caſtle-yard, to a place appointed for the ſame, William Munt, John Johnſon, Alice Munt, and Roſe Allin aforeſaid: who after they had made their prayers, were joyfully tied to the ſtakes, calling upon the ſame name of God, and earneſtly exhorting the people to flee from idolatry, ſuffered martyrdom with ſuch triumph and joy, that the people did no leſs ſhout thereat to ſee it, than at the others that were burnt the ſame day in the morning.

Thus theſe ten perſons happily ended their lives for the teſtimony of the goſpel. God grant we may well ſpend our years and days likewiſe to his glory. Amen.

You have heard before of the taking of John Thurſton at Muchbentley, in the houſe of William Munt of the ſame town; which ſaid John Thurſton, about the month of May, 1557, died in Colcheſter-caſtle, a conſtant confeſſor of Jeſus Chriſt.

The Hiſtory *of* GEORGE EAGLES, otherwiſe *called* Trudge-over.

AMONG other martyrs of ſingular virtue and conſtancy, one George Eagles deſerveth much to be commended, for that he having little or no learning, moſt manfully ſerved and fought under the banner of Chriſt's church. For oftentimes the will and pleaſure of God is to beautify and adorn his kingdom with the weak and ſimple inſtruments of this world; ſuch as Amos was in the Old Teſtament, who with many others of obſcure and unknown names, were called from the herds and folds to the honour of prophets; as likewiſe we read of the apoſtles, who were called from the fiſherman's craft, and put into churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be deſpiſed for his baſe occupation, whom Chriſt hath called thence to ſet forth and declare abroad his goſpel. We ought rather to glorify God the more, who by his grace, in ſo blind a time, inſpired him with the gift of preaching, and conſtancy of ſuffering: who, after he had uſed the occupation of a taylor, for ſome time, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himſelf to the ſervice of Chriſt's church.

Which man, as before in thoſe moſt bright and clear days of king Edward the Sixth, he had not fruitfully ſhewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, ſo afterwards in the tempeſtuous time and fall of the church (at which time the confeſſors of Chriſt and his goſpel were troubled, divers of them murdered, ſome of them baniſhed, and others through fear conſtrained from appearing publicly), he expreſſed and uttered his mind with courage. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries, where he could find any of his brethren, did there moſt earneſtly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and ſometimes abiding in that certain months together, as occaſion ſerved, lodging ſometimes in the country, and ſometimes for fear living in fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreaſonable going abroad, was called Trudge-over. Oftentimes did he lie abroad in the night without cover, ſpending the moſt part in devout and earneſt prayer.

His diet was ſo ſpare and ſlender above meaſure, that he uſed, almoſt for the ſpace of three years, to drink nothing but water, whereunto he was compelled through neceſſity in the time of perſecution: but when he perceived that by God's providence his body proved well enough with this diet, he thought beſt to inure himſelf to it againſt all neceſſities.

Now when he had profited Chriſt's church in this ſort, by going about and preaching the goſpel a year or two, eſpecially in Colcheſter and the places thereabout, that privy enemy which envieth always the ſalvation and bleſſed eſtate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means poſſible for him, ſo that there were divers ſpies ſent out, who had in commandment wheresoever they found him, to bring him either alive or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but was all in vain, (the ſaid Eagles with his brethren keeping in cloſe, and hiding themſelves in ſecret places, as in barns, thickets, holes, &c.) his adverſaries went about another way to compaſs this their enterpriſe of taking him.

For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four ſhires, Eſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Norfolk, promiſing the perſon that took him twenty pounds for his pains; doubtleſs a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy deſire of the money, they deviſed and invented all ways poſſible to be enriched with the hurt and deſtruction of this poor man.

At length it came to paſs, that he being ſeen at Colcheſter, upon Mary Magdalen's day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, would have been taken by his adverſaries, if he had not ſpeedily conveyed himſelf away, a great multitude purſuing after, and ſeeking diligently for him. Who firſt hid himſelf in a grove, and afterwards in a corn-field hard by, and ſo lay ſecretly couched from the violence of his enemies, inſomuch that they were all, except one, paſt hope of taking him, and therefore were ready to depart their way.

This one, having more ſubtlety and wicked craft in his head than the reſt, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, there to view and ſpy if he might ſee Eagles any where ſtir or move. The poor man thinking all ſure enough, by reaſon that he heard no noiſe abroad, roſe up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head were above the corn, or becauſe his voice was heard, the lurker perceiving his deſired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and ſuddenly laying hands on him, brought him as a priſoner to Colcheſter. Notwithſtanding the greedy and Judas knave, which had ſo much promiſed him, was fain to be contented with a very ſmall reward, and glad to take that too, leſt he ſhould have had nothing at all.

George Eagles being thus taken, was committed to priſon at Colcheſter, and from thence within four days after conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not ſleep, neither would eat nor drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London, to the biſhop or the council, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the ſeſſions, and there was indicted and accuſed of treaſon, becauſe he had aſſembled companies together, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm in that caſe provided. For it was ordained a little before, to avoid ſedition, that if men ſhould aſſemble ſecretly together, above the number of ſix, they ſhould be attached of treaſon.

And although it was well known, that George Eagles did never any thing ſeditiouſly againſt the queen, yet to cloak an honeſt matter withal, and to cauſe him to be the more hated of the people, they turned religion into a civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cauſe ſtoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion or faith, before the judges; yet could he not bring it to paſs by any means, but that he muſt needs be indicted (as is ſaid) of treaſon; whoſe indictment did run much after this faſhion.

"George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of George Eagles, otherwiſe Trudge-over the Word, for that thou didſt ſuch a day make thy prayer that God ſhould turn queen Mary's heart, or elſe take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God ſhould take her away, but he confeſſed, he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithſtanding, he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This being done, he was carried to the ſign of the Crown, in Chelmsford, and being there, one Richard Potto, the elder, an inn-holder, dwelling at the ſign of the Cock, in the ſame town, did much trouble him, in perſuading him to confeſs he had offended the queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to aſk her forgiveneſs.

To whom he ſaid, he had not offended her grace in that behalf. So in proceſs of time he was laid upon a ſledge, with a hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being faſt bound, having in his hand a pſalm book, of which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there: and being on the ladder, the ſaid Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforeſaid; but the ſheriff commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confeſſion, and ſtood very conſtant ſtill; then he was turned off the ladder. With him were caſt certain thieves alſo, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much ſet forth and declare the innocency and piety of this man. For being led between two thieves to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, when as he exhorted both them and all others to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to the truth, one of them turned the counſel he gave into a jeſting matter, and made but a flout at it.

Why ſhould we doubt to obtain heaven, ſaid he, foraſmuch as this holy man ſhall go before us, as captain and leader unto us in the way. We ſhall flee thither ſtraight, as ſoon as he hath once made us the entry.

In this, George Eagles and the other did greatly reprove him, who on the other ſide gave good heed to George's exhortation, earneſtly bewailing his own wickedneſs, and calling to Chriſt for mercy. But the more that the firſt was bid to be ſtill, and to leave off his ſcoffing, the more perverſe he continued in his fooliſhneſs, and his wicked behaviour. At length they came to the gallows, where they ſhould be hanged, but George was carried to another place hard by to ſuffer. Between the two he went foremoſt who was moſt ſerious, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themſelves, how they did tranſgreſs the commandments of God, and then having committed his ſoul into God's hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

The mocker's turn came next, who would have likewiſe ſaid ſomewhat, but his tongue faultered in his head, that he was not able to ſpeak a word. He would fain have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then the under-ſheriff bade him ſay the Lord's prayer, which he could not ſay neither but ſtutteringly, as a man would ſay, one word to-day and another to-morrow. Then one did begin to ſay it, and deſired him to ſay after.

Such as were there and ſaw it, were much aſtoniſhed, eſpecially thoſe that beheld the juſt puniſhment of God againſt him that had mocked ſo earneſt a matter. George Eagles in the mean time, after he had hanged a ſmall ſpace, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the bailiffs cut it aſunder, and he fell to the ground being ſtill alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the ladder.

Then one William Swallow, of Chelmsford, a bailiff, drew him to the ſledge that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a cleaver, ſuch as is occupied in many men's kitchens, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and ſometimes hit his neck, and ſometimes his chin, and did ſadly mangle him, and ſo opened him. Notwithſtanding, this bleſſed martyr of Chriſt abode ſtedfaſt and conſtant in the very midſt of his torments, till ſuch time as his tormentor, William Swallow, did pluck the heart out of his body. The body being divided into four parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the aforeſaid Swallow's door, and there laid upon the fiſh-ſtalls before his door, till they had made ready a carriage to carry his quarters, one to Colcheſter, and the reſt to Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Rouſe's.

His head was ſet up at Chelmsford, on the market-croſs on a long pole, and there ſtood, till the wind blew it down, and lying certain days in the ſtreet tumbled about, one cauſed it to be buried in the church-yard in the night. Alſo a wonderful work of God was in that he ſhewed on this wicked bailiff Swallow, who within a ſhort ſpace after this was ſo puniſhed, that all the hair went well near off his head, his eyes were as it were cloſed up, and could ſcarcely ſee, the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in ſuch caſe of his body as though he had been a leper, and now in his old age almoſt a very beggar, and his wife, which he a little after married, God hath puniſhed with the falling ſickneſs, or a diſeaſe like unto that: which may be a warning or glaſs for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to God's true ſervants.

No leſs a token of his marvellous judgment did God ſhew upon the aforeſaid Richard Potto, who did ſo much trouble this George Eagles in the inn, and at the place of execution, as is above ſpecified. He lived till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, all which time he little joyed, and being on a time in a great chaſe with one or two of his neighbours in his own houſe, feeling himſelf not well, he ſaid to one of his ſervants, go with me into the chamber; and when he came there, he fell down on a low bed, as heavy as it had been lead, and lay there foaming at the mouth, and could never ſpeak after, neither underſtood what was ſaid to him, but lay as ſenſeleſs as if he had been a dumb beaſt, and within three or four days died. God grant that this token ſent of God, with many more ſuch, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we live unto the world's end.

Beſides this, God hath wonderfully ſhewed his work. For on a time when they laid great wait for George Eagles, that it was thought impoſſible but that he ſhould be taken, being ſo beſet; his friends put him into apprentice's apparel, viz. watchet-hoſe, as their manner is, and an old cloak, and ſet him on a pack of wool, as though he had ridden to carry wool to the ſpinners, ſo he rode through the midſt of his adverſaries, and eſcaped them all for that time. Another chief troubler of the ſaid George Eagles, was alſo one juſtice Brown, who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after.

Alſo when he was at the ſeſſions at Chelmsford, there was a rumour raiſed, that he had accuſed divers honeſt men that did keep him in their houſes, and were converſant with him, and all to diſcredit him; which rumour was very falſe and utterly untrue. Witneſs one Raynold, with divers others dwelling in Chelmsford.

An Account *of the* Examination *of* Richard Crashfield, *of* Wymundham, *condemned to* Death *for the* Teſtimony *of* Jeſus Chriſt.

ABOUT this time ſuffered at Norwich, a godly man, named Richard Craſhfield, whoſe examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, as he penned them with his own hand, ſo have we faithfully recorded the ſame.

How ſay you, ſirrah, ſaid the chancellor, to the ceremonies of the church?

Then ſaid I, What ceremonies?

He ſaid unto me, Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?

My anſwer was, I do believe ſo many as are grounded in the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

Tuſh, ſaid he, do you believe in the ſacrament of the altar?

I ſaid, I knew not what it was.

Then, ſaid he, Do you not believe that Chriſt took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

Yes verily, ſaid I, and even as Chriſt did ſpeak, ſo did he perform the work.

Tuſh, ſaid he, do you not believe this, that after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, there is the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body, fleſh, and blood? How ſay you, do you not believe this? Speak, man.

I do believe that Chriſt's body was broken for me upon the croſs, and his blood ſhed for my redemption, whereof the bread and wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and ſeal of his promiſe, and a perpetual memory for the faithful unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into priſon until the next day.

Another Examination *of* Richard Crashfield.

THE day following I was brought forth. Then the chancellor ſaid unto me, Richard, how ſay you? Are you otherwiſe minded than you were yeſterday? He rehearſing all the words that we had before, ſaid, Are not theſe your words? Whereunto I anſwered, Yes.

Then ſaid he, How ſay you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the rood, and make your prayer?

I anſwered and ſaid, No; rehearſing the commandment of God forbidding the ſame.

He ſaid, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made? I an-

I anſwered, What image?

He ſaid, The brazen ſerpent.

I ſaid, Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewiſe to be broken down.

Then doctor Bridges ſaid, Wherefore did God command the ſeraphims and cherubims to be made?

I ſaid, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

Then ſaid the chancellor, But how ſay you to this? Can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Chriſt, which is the rood?

I anſwered, No, I fear the curſe of God: for it is written, that God curſed his hands that make them, yea, and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.

Then doctor Bridges raged, and ſaid, Liſten now what a piece of ſcripture he hath here gotten to ſerve his purpoſe, for he will not allow but where he liſteth.

Then ſaid the chancellor, How ſay you to confeſſion to the prieſt? When were you confeſſed?

I ſaid, I confeſs myſelf daily unto the eternal God, whom I moſt grievouſly offend.

Then the chancellor ſaid, Do you not take confeſſion to the prieſt to be good?

I anſwered, No, but rather wicked.

Then the chancellor ſaid, How ſay you by yonder gear, yonder ſinging, and yonder playing on the organs? Is it not good and godly?

I ſaid, I could perceive no godlineſs in it.

Then he ſaid, Why, is it not written in the Pſalms, that we ſhould praiſe God with hymns and ſpiritual ſongs?

I ſaid, Yes, ſpiritual ſongs muſt be had: but yonder is of the fleſh, and of the ſpirit of error. For to you it is pleaſant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then ſaid the chancellor, Why, is it not written, my houſe is an houſe of prayer?

I ſaid, Yes. It is written alſo, that you have made my houſe a den of thieves.

With that the chancellor looked and ſaid, Have we?

I anſwered and ſaid, Chriſt ſaid ſo. Then was I commanded to ward.

The Thurſday next following, doctor Bridges was ſent to me to examine me of my faith. And he ſaid, Country-man, my lord biſhop (for love he would have you ſaved) hath ſent me unto you, becauſe to-morrow is your day appointed: therefore my lord hath thought it proper, that you ſhould declare your faith unto me. For to-morrow my lord will not have much ado with you.

I anſwered and ſaid, Hath my lord ſent you?

It is not you, to whom I am diſpoſed to ſhew my mind.

Then he ſaid to me, I pray you let me know your mind concerning the ſacrament of the altar.

I anſwered, Are you ignorant of what I have ſaid?

He ſaid, No, for it was well written, except you believe, ſaith he, as the church hath taught, you are damned both ſoul and body.

I anſwered and ſaid, Judge not, leſt you be judged: condemn not, leſt you be condemned.

And he ſaid, Lo, we ſhall have a traitor as well as an heretic: for he will diſallow the king's judgment.

I ſaid, No, I do not diſallow the king's judgment, but your's I do diſallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this judgment?

He anſwered and ſaid, By the church: for the church hath power to ſave and condemn: for if you be condemned by the church, be you ſure, that you be damned both body and ſoul.

Then I ſaid, If you have this power, I am ſore deceived. For I believe that Chriſt ſhall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.

Then he ſaid, Stand nearer, country-man: why ſtand you ſo far off?

I anſwered, I am near enough, and a little too near.

Then he ſaid, Did not Chriſt ſay, is not my fleſh meat, and my blood drink indeed?

I aſked, To whom ſpake Chriſt thoſe words?

He anſwered, To his diſciples.

I (intending to rehearſe the text) ſaid, Whereat did Chriſt's diſciples murmur inwardly?

He ſaid, No, they did not murmur, but they were the Infidels, (ſaith he) for the diſciples were ſatisfied with theſe words.

I ſaid, Did not Chriſt ſay thus, as he taught at Capernaum, whereat his diſciples murmured, ſaying, This is an hard ſaying, who can abide the hearing of it? Jeſus perceiving their thoughts, ſaid, Doth this offend you?

Then he raged and ſaid, Oh, thou wreſteſt the text for thine own purpoſe: for the diſciples did never murmur, but the unbelievers as thou art.

I anſwered, Yes, but I perceive you know not the text.

Then he ſaid with much rage, I will lay my head thereon it is not ſo.

Then I ſaid, I have done with you.

To which he anſwered, What ſhall I tell my lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your errand ſhall be ſooner done, ſaid I. And ſo he departed.

Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive judgment, when the chancellor ſaid unto me, Are you a new man, or are you not?

I anſwered, I truſt I am a new man born of God.

God give you grace ſo to be, ſaid he. So he rehearſed all my examination and ſaid, How ſay you, are not theſe your words?

I anſwered, Yes, I will not deny them.

Then he ſaid to Dr. Pere, ſtanding by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledging to me many fair flattering words, ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body." How ſay you to this? Do you not believe that it is Chriſt's body? Speak.

I anſwered, Have you not my mind, why do you trouble me?

He ſaid, What did Chriſt give you? Was it bread, or was it not?

I ſaid, Chriſt took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread, and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifeſt, where he ſaith, "So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death until he come." St. Paul ſaith not here as you ſay: for he ſaith, "So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread." He doth not ſay, Body.

So they intending that I ſhould go no further in the text, ſaid, Tuſh, you go about the buſh. Anſwer to the firſt queſtion. Let us make an end of that.

What ſay you to the bread that Chriſt gave? Let me have your mind in that.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my mind in it.

Then the chancellor ſaid, No, we will have your mind in that.

I anſwered, I have ſaid my mind in it.

Then ſaid the chancellor, No, we will have your mind more plainly: for we intend not to have many words with you.

I ſaid, My faith is fully grounded and eſtabliſhed, that Chriſt Jeſus the Eaſter Lamb hath offered his bleſſed body a ſacrifice to God the Father, the prieſt of my redemption. For by that only ſacrifice are all the faithful ſanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.

Then Dr. Bridges ſtarted up and ſaid, Truth, your words are true indeed: you take well the literal ſenſe: but this you muſt underſtand, that like as you ſaid that Chriſt offered his body upon the croſs, which was a bloody ſacrifice, and a viſible ſacrifice; ſo likewiſe we daily offer the ſelf-ſame body that was offered upon the croſs, but not bloody and viſible, but inviſible, unto God the Father.

Do you offer Chriſt's body, I ſaid? Why then Chriſt's ſacrifice was not perfect. But Chriſt is true, when all men ſhall be liars.

Then he ſaid, Thou ſhalt not fear him that hath power to kill the body: but thou ſhalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and ſoul.

I anſwered and ſaid, It is not ſo. But the text is thus, "Thou ſhalt not fear them that have power to kill the body, and then have done what they can. But thou ſhalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and ſoul, and caſt them both into hell-fire," and not them.

He ſaid, Yes: for it is the church.

I anſwered, Why, Chriſt ſaith, "I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me (ſaith he), but I give it of my own power, and ſo I have power to take it again." Therefore Chriſt the Son of God did offer his body once for all. And if you will preſume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Chriſt's power. With that he was angry, and ſaid, What, ſhall we have doctrine? You are not hereto appointed.

Then the chancellor ſtood up and ſaid, Will you turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodneſs, as you have been an example of evil? (for by your wicked reading you have perſuaded ſome ſimple women to be in this error) and you ſhall have mercy.

And I ſaid, It is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not you.

Then the chancellor ſaid, When were you at your pariſh church? You have ſtood excommunicate theſe two years and more: wherefore you are condemned. And ſo I was condemned.

Thus haſt thou (gentle reader) the examinations of this pious young man, ſet forth in writing with his own hand, who, ſoon after his condemnation, was brought to the ſtake by the ſheriffs and officers, where with much patience and conſtancy he endured his martyrdom. At whoſe burning, one Thomas Carman was apprehended, whoſe ſtory hereafter followeth in it's order and place.

About the ſame time one named Fryer, with a woman accompanying him, who was the ſiſter of George Eagles, ſuffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous papiſts, whoſe tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut ſhort, turning that generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

An Account *of the* Apprehenſion *and* Death *of* Mrs. JOYCE LEWES, *the* Wife *of* Mr. THOMAS LEWES, *of* Manceter.

MISTRESS Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, was firſt married to one Appleby, and afterwards to Thomas Lewes, of Manceter. In the beginning of queen Mary's time ſhe went to church and heard maſs as others did, but when ſhe heard of the burning of that moſt godly and learned martyr Laurence Saunders, who ſuffered in Coventry, ſhe began to take more heed to the matter, and inquired earneſtly of ſuch as ſhe knew feared God, the cauſe of his death: and when ſhe perceived it was becauſe he refuſed to receive the maſs, ſhe began to be troubled in conſcience, and waxed very unquiet. And becauſe her houſe was even hard by Mr. John Glover's houſe, of whom mention was made before, a man of bleſſed memory, and a ſingular example of his unfeigned godlineſs, and manifold troubles which he ſuffered for the goſpel, ſhe did oftentimes reſort to him, and deſired him to tell her the faults that were in the maſs, and other things that at that time were urged as neceſſary to ſalvation.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet mind, and the deſire ſhe had to know the truth, did moſt diligently inſtruct her in the way of the Lord, proving unto her out of God's holy word, that the maſs, with all other papiſtical inventions, was odious in God's ſight; and beſides this, reproved her, for that ſhe delighted in the vanities of this world ſo much. By which godly counſel, ſhe began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly ſorrowful for her ſins, being inflamed with the love of God, and deſirous to ſerve him according to his word, purpoſing alſo to flee from thoſe things which diſpleaſed him. And becauſe ſhe had learned the maſs to be evil and abominable, ſhe began to hate it. And when at a time ſhe was compelled by the furiouſneſs of her huſband to come to the church, at the ſame time when the holy water was caſt, ſhe turned her back towards it, and ſhewed herſelf to be diſpleaſed with their blaſphemous holy water, injurious to the blood of Chriſt. Whereupon ſhe was accuſed before the biſhop for deſpiſing of their ſacramentals.

Immediately a citation was ſent for her to her huſband's houſe, to appear before the biſhop. The ſumner that brought the citation delivered it to her huſband, who looking upon it, and perceiving that it was moved with anger, deſired the ſumner to take the citation with him again, or elſe he would make him eat it. The ſumner refuſed to take it again, for he thought no man durſt have been ſo bold to him. But in the end Lewes compelled the ſaid ſumner to eat the citation indeed, by ſetting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he cauſed him to drink, and ſo ſent him away. But immediately after, the ſaid Lewes with his wife were commanded to appear before the biſhop, where the ſaid Lewes by and by ſubmitted himſelf, and deſiring the biſhop to be good to him, excuſing himſelf after the beſt faſhion he could. Whereupon the biſhop was content to receive his ſubmiſſion, with condition that his wife ſhould ſubmit herſelf alſo. But ſhe ſtoutly told the biſhop, that by refuſing of the holy water ſhe had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At which words the biſhop being grievouſly offended, yet becauſe ſhe was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worſt (as he ſaid), but gave her one month's reſpite, binding her huſband in an hundred pound to bring her again unto him at the month's end, and ſo they were both let go.

When they came to their own houſe, the ſaid Mrs. Joyce Lewes gave herſelf to moſt diligent prayer, and invocating of the name of God, reſorting continually to the abovenamed man of God, Mr. John Glover, who did moſt diligently inſtruct her with God's word, willing her in any caſe not to meddle with that matter in reſpect of vain glory, or to get herſelf a name, ſhewing her the great danger ſhe was like to caſt herſelf in, if ſhe ſhould meddle in God's matter otherwiſe than Chriſt doth teach.

When the month was now almoſt expired, and the time at hand that ſhe ſhould be brought before the ſaid biſhop, her huſband being advertiſed by the ſaid Mr. John Glover and others, not to carry her to the biſhop, but to ſeek ſome way to ſave her, or if the worſt ſhould come, to be content to forfeit ſo much money, rather than to caſt his own wife into the fire; he anſwered, he would not loſe or forfeit any thing for her ſake; and ſo, like a murderer of his own wife, he carried her to the bloody biſhop, where ſhe was examined, and found more ſtout, than ſhe was before death was threatened. And to begin withal, ſhe was ſent to ſuch a ſtinking priſon, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did ſwoon in the ſame priſon.

Being thus kept in priſon, and oftentimes examined, at length ſhe was brought to judgment, and pronounced an heretic worthy to be burned. When the biſhop reaſoned with her, why ſhe would not come to the maſs, and receive the ſacraments and ſacramentals of the Holy Ghoſt; ſhe anſwered, Becauſe I find not theſe things in God's word, which you ſo urge and magnify, as things moſt needful for men's ſalvation. If theſe things were in the word of God commanded, I would, with all my heart, receive, eſteem, and believe them. The biſhop anſwered, If thou wilt believe no more than is in the ſcripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable caſe. At which words ſhe was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the biſhop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, ſhe continued a whole twelve-month in priſon, becauſe ſhe was committed to the ſheriff, that was of late choſen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed; for which things, after her death, he was ſore troubled, and in danger of his life. All that time ſhe was in priſon, her behaviour was ſuch both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any ſpark of godlineſs and honeſty, did greatly lament her caſe, that ſhe ſhould be put to death.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ *De comburendo* (as they term it) being brought down from London, ſhe deſired ſome of her friends to come to her, with whom, when they came, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might behave herſelf, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and alſo moſt diſcomfortable to the enemies of God. As for death (ſaith ſhe), I do not greatly heed it: when I behold the amiable countenance of Chriſt my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not greatly trouble me. In which time alſo ſhe reaſoned moſt comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening before her ſuffering, two of the prieſts of the cloſe of Litchfield, came to the under ſheriff's houſe, where ſhe lay, and ſent word to her by the ſheriff, that they were come to her confeſſion; for they would be ſorry ſhe ſhould die without. She ſent them word again, ſhe had made a confeſſion to Chriſt her Saviour, at whoſe hands ſhe was ſure to have forgiveneſs of her ſins. As concerning the cauſe for which ſhe ſhould die, ſhe had no cauſe to confeſs that, but rather to give moſt humble praiſe to God, that he had made her worthy to ſuffer death for his word: and as concerning that abſolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, ſhe did defy the ſame, even from the bottom of her heart.

Which when the prieſts heard, they ſaid to the ſheriff, Well, to-morrow her ſtoutneſs will be proved and tried: for although perhaps ſhe hath now ſome friends that whiſper in her ears, to-morrow we will ſee who dare be ſo hardy as to come near her: and ſo they went their ways with anger, that their confeſſion and abſolution was nought ſet by.

All that night ſhe was wonderfully chearful and merry, with a certain gravity, inſomuch that the majeſty of the Spirit of God did manifeſtly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart, ſpending the time in prayer, reading and talking with them that were purpoſely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan (who never ſleepeth, eſpecially when death is at hand) began to ſtir himſelf buſily, ſhooting at her that fiery dart, which he is wont to do againſt all that are at defiance with him, by queſtioning her, how ſhe could tell that ſhe was choſen to eternal life, and that Chriſt died for her. I grant that he died, but that he died for thee, how canſt thou tell: whilſt ſhe was troubled with this ſuggeſtion, they that were about her counſelled her to follow the example of Paul, Gal. ii. where he ſaith, "Which hath loved me, and given himſelf for me." Alſo, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifeſt token of God's love and deſire towards God working in her heart, that love and deſire towards God to pleaſe him, and to be juſtified by him through Chriſt, &c. By theſe and like perſuaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt, brought out of the ſcripture, Satan was put to flight, and ſhe comforted in Chriſt.

About eight o'clock, Mr. Sheriff came into her chamber, ſaying theſe words, Mrs. Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleaſure, which is, that you ſhall live but one hour longer in this world: therefore it behoveth you to prepare yourſelf for it. At which words, being ſo groſsly uttered, and ſo ſuddenly, by ſuch an officer as he was, made her ſomewhat caſt down. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance ſtanding by, ſaid theſe words: Mrs. Lewes, you have great cauſe to praiſe God, who has vouchſafed ſo ſoon to take you out of this world, and made you worthy to be a witneſs of his truth, and to bear record unto Chriſt, that he is the only Saviour.

After which words, ſhe ſaid, Mr. Sheriff, your meſſage is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he has made me worthy to offer my life for his ſervice. At which words the ſheriff departed: but in the ſpace of an hour he came back again, with ſwords and clubs; and when he came up into her chamber, one of her friends deſired him to give him leave to go with her to the ſtake, and to comfort her, which the ſheriff granted at that time; but afterwards, when ſhe was dead, he was ſore troubled for the ſame.

Now when ſhe was brought through the town by a number of bill-men, a great number of people being preſent, ſhe was led by two of her friends, namely, Mr. Michael Reniger, and Mr. Auguſtine Bernher, and ſo brought to the place of execution: and becauſe the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and ſhe not acquainted with the freſh air, (being ſo long in priſon) one of her friends ſent a meſſenger to the ſheriff's houſe for ſome drink: and after ſhe had prayed three ſeveral times, in which prayers ſhe deſired God moſt inſtantly to aboliſh the idolatrous maſs, and to deliver this realm from popery (at the end of which prayers moſt part of the people cried Amen; yea, even the ſheriff that ſtood hard by her, ready to caſt her into the fire for not allowing the maſs, at this her prayer ſaid with the reſt of her people, Amen); when ſhe had thus prayed, ſhe took the cup into her hands, ſaying, I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and wiſh for the aboliſhment of popery. When ſhe had drank, they that were her friends drank alſo. After that a great number, eſpecially the women of that town, drank with her; who afterwards were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papiſts, for drinking with her.

When ſhe was chained to the ſtake, ſhe ſhewed ſuch chearfulneſs, that it paſſed man's reaſon, being ſo well coloured in her face, and being ſo patient, that moſt of them that had honeſt hearts were moved, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papiſts. When the fire was ſet to her, ſhe made no other reſiſtance than by lifting up her hands towards heaven, being dead very ſoon: for the under ſheriff, at the requeſt of her friends, had provided ſuch ſtuff, that ſhe was ſuddenly diſpatched out of this miſerable world.

This, amongſt other things, is not to be forgoten, that the papiſts had appointed ſome to rail upon her, and to revile her, both as ſhe went to the place of execution, as alſo when ſhe was at the ſtake. Amongſt others there was an old prieſt, who had a pair of writing tables, wherein he ſet down the names of thoſe women that drank of the cup, (as before mentioned), and alſo deſcribed her friends by their apparel, for he could not preſently learn their names, and afterwards inquired for them: and ſo immediately after proceſs was ſent out for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God, whoſe providence ſleeps not, did defend them from the hands of theſe cruel tyrants. Unto which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

The Martyrdom *of* Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, *and* Richard Roth, *at* Iſlington.

ABOUT the ſeventeenth day of September, were burned at Iſlington, near London, theſe four profeſſors of Chriſt, Ralph Allerton, James Auſtoo, Margery Auſtoo his wife, and Richard Roth. Among which it firſt appeareth, that this Ralph Allerton was, more than a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the lord Darcy, of Colcheſter, and was there accuſed, as well for that he would not conſent to come unto the idolatry and ſuperſtition which then was uſed, as alſo that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being examined thereupon, he confeſſed that he coming

ing into his pariſh of Bentley, and ſeeing the people ſitting there, either gazing about, or elſe talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of God's moſt holy word, and not ſit ſo idly: to which they willingly conſented. Then after prayer ended, he read to them a chapter out of the New Teſtament, and ſo departed.

In which exerciſe he continued until Candlemas, and then being informed that he might not do ſo by the law, (for that he was no prieſt or miniſter) he left off, and kept himſelf cloſe in his houſe till after Eaſter. At which time, certain men ſworn for inquiry of ſuch matters came unto his houſe, and attached him for reading in the pariſh of Welley.

But when they underſtood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earneſtly moved the people) they let him for that time depart. Notwithſtanding for fear of their cruelty, he was not long after conſtrained to forſake his own houſe, and keep himſelf in woods, barns, and other ſolitary places, until the time of his apprehenſion.

After his examination, the lord Darcy ſent him up to the council; but they (not minding to trouble themſelves with him) ſent him unto Bonner, who by threatenings and other ſubtle means, ſo abuſed the ſimple and fearful heart of this man, that within a ſhort time he won his moſt wicked will, and made him revoke and recant his former profeſſion, and thereupon ſet him at liberty of body: which yet brought ſuch a bondage and terror of ſoul and conſcience, and ſo caſt him down, that except God (whoſe mercies are immeaſurable) had ſupported and lifted him up again, he had periſhed for ever.

But God, who never ſuffereth his children utterly to fall, caſting his pitiful eyes on his loſt ſheep, with his merciful and fatherly chaſtiſements, did, with Peter, raiſe him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but alſo a moſt conſtant boldneſs to profeſs again, even unto death, his moſt holy name and glorious goſpel. Wherefore at the procurement of Thomas Tye, prieſt, ſometime an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſt, but now a fierce perſecutor of the ſame (as appeareth more at large before in the hiſtory of William Munt and his wiſe), he was again apprehended, and ſent to biſhop Bonner, before whom he was the eighth day of April, and ſundry other times elſe examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand with blood, for lack of other ink, here followeth.

The Examination *of* RALPH ALLERTON, *at his ſecond* Apprehenſion, *before the* Biſhop *of* London, *at* Fulham, April 8, 1557.

Bonner. AH, ſirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this faſhion? I dare ſay thou art accuſed wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, ſo I am. For if I were guilty of ſuch things as I am accuſed of, then I would be very ſorry.

Bonner. By St. Mary, that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honeſt man? For if I can prove no hereſy by thee, then ſhall thine accuſers do thee no harm at all. Go on, let me hear thee; for I did not believe the tale to be true.

Ralph. My lord, who did accuſe me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accuſation, that I may anſwer thereunto.

Bonner. Ah, wilt thou ſo? Before God, if thou haſt not diſſembled, then thou needeſt not be afraid, nor aſhamed to anſwer for thyſelf. But tell me in faith, haſt thou not diſſembled?

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accuſers to accuſe me before you, my conſcience doth conſtrain me to accuſe myſelf before you: for I confeſs, that I have grievouſly offended God in my diſſimulation, at my laſt being before your lordſhip, for which I am very ſorry, as God knoweth.

Bonner. Wherein, I pray thee, didſt thou diſſemble, when thou waſt before me?

Ralph. Forſooth, my lord, if your lordſhip remember, I did ſet my hand to a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I believe in all things as the catholic church teacheth, &c. In which I did not diſcloſe my mind, but ſhamefully diſſembled, becauſe I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church.

Bonner. Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this traſh. For I fear me thou wilt ſmell of an heretic anon. Which is the true church as thou ſayeſt? Doſt thou not call the heretics' church the true church, or the catholic church of Chriſt? Now which of theſe two are the true church, ſayeſt thou? Speak, for in faith, I will know of thee, before I leave thee.

Ralph. As concerning the church of heretics, I utterly abhor the ſame, as deteſtable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and hereſies; and the church catholic is it that I only embrace, whoſe doctrine is ſincere, pure, and true.

Bonner. By St. Auguſtine, but that is well ſaid of thee. For, by God Almighty, if thou hadſt allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour.

Then ſaid one Morton, a prieſt, My lord, you know not yet what church it is that he calleth catholic. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough.

Bonner. Think you ſo? Now by our bleſſed lady, if it be ſo, he might have deceived me. How ſay you, ſirrah, which is the catholic church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the wholeſome ſound, ſpoken of by Iſaiah, David, Malachi, and Paul, with many other more. Which ſound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world.

Bonner. Yea, thou ſayeſt true before God. For this is the ſound that hath gone throughout all Chriſtendom, and he that believeth not the ſound of the holy church, as St. Cyprian ſaith, doth err. For he ſaith, that whoſoever is out of the church, is like unto them that were out of Noah's ſhip, when the flood came upon all the whole world; ſo the ark of Noah is likened unto the church; and therefore thou haſt well ſaid in thy confeſſion. For the church is not alone in Germany, nor was here in England in the time of the late ſchiſms, as the heretics do affirm. For if the church ſhould be there alone, then were Chriſt a liar: for he promiſed that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould come to us, and lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us, unto the end of the world. So now, if we will take Chriſt for a true ſayer, then muſt we needs affirm, that the way which is taught in France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Denmark, Scotland, and all Chriſtendom over, muſt needs be the true catholic church.

Ralph. My lord, if you remember, I ſpake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Chriſtendom only, as methinks your lordſhip takes it, which kind of ſpeaking you do not find in all the bible. For I am ſure, that the goſpel hath been both preached and perſecuted in all lands. Firſt, In Jewry, by the ſcribes and phariſees, and ſince that time, by Nero, Diocleſian, and ſuch like, and now here in theſe our days, by your lordſhip knoweth whom. For true it is that the church which you call catholic, is not otherwiſe catholic than was figured in Cain, obſerved of by Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezebel, Nebuchodonoſor, Antiochus, and Herod, with innumerable more of the like: and as both Daniel and Eſdras make mention of theſe laſt days, by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Chriſt and his apoſtles, ſaying, There ſhall come grievous wolves to devour the flock.

Bonner. Now, by the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, Mr. Morton, he is the rankeſt heretic that ever came before me. How ſay you? Have you heard the like?

Morton. I thought what he was, my lord, at the firſt.

Bonner. Now, by All-hallows, thou ſhalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whoreſon, varlet, and prick-louſe thou. Doſt thou find a prophecy in David of us? Nay, you knave, it is you that he ſpeaketh of, and of your falſe pretended holineſs. Speak, let me hear what is the ſaying of Eſdras, and take heed you make not a lie, I adviſe you.

Ralph. The ſaying of Eſdras is this: "The heat of great multitude is kindled over you, and they ſhall take away certain of you, and feed the idols with you, and he that conſenteth unto them ſhall be had in deriſion, laughed to ſcorn, and trodden under foot; yea, they ſhall be like madmen, for they ſpare no man: they ſhall ſpoil and waſte ſuch as fear the Lord," &c.

Bonner. And have you taken this thing, to make your matter good? Ah, ſirrah, wilt thou ſo? By my faith, a pretty inſtruction, and a neceſſary thing to be taught among the people. By my troth, I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: is there any that underſtandeth this ſcripture on this faſhion? Before God, I think there are none in all England, but thou.

Ralph. Yes, my lord, there are in England three religions.

Bonner. Sayeſt thou ſo? Which be theſe three?

Ralph. The firſt is that which you hold, the ſecond is clean contrary to the ſame; and the third is a neuter, being indifferent: that is to ſay, obſerving all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being ſet wholly againſt the ſame.

Bonner. And of theſe three which art thou? For now thou muſt needs be one of them.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of death.

Bonner. Ah, ſir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheer, yea, and money in your purſe when you went away, and by my faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I ſee thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why wilt thou take upon thee to read the ſcripture, and canſt underſtand never a word? for thou haſt brought a text of ſcripture which maketh clean againſt thee. For Eſdras ſpeaketh of the multitude of you heretics, declaring your hate againſt the catholic church, making the ſimple or idle people believe, that all is idolatry that we do, and ſo intice them away till you have overcome them.

Ralph. Nay, not ſo, my lord. For he maketh it more plain, and ſaith on this wiſe; "They ſhall take away their goods, and put them out of their houſes, and then ſhall it be known who are my choſen (ſaith the Lord), for they ſhall be tried, as the ſilver or gold in the fire." And we ſee it ſo come to paſs, even as he hath ſaid. For who is not now driven from houſe and home, yea, and his goods taken up for other men that never ſweat for them, if he do not obſerve as you command and ſet forth? Or elſe, if he be taken, then muſt he either deny the truth, as I did, in diſſembling, or elſe he ſhall be ſure to be tried, as Eſdras ſaith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know that you are the bloody church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither are you yet able to avoid it.

Morton. I promiſe you, my lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time. For then he did but diſſemble, as I perceived well enough; but now methinks he ſpeaketh plainly.

Bonner. Marry, ſir, as you ſay indeed, he is plain. For he is a plain heretic, and ſhall be burned. Have the knave away. Let him be carried to Little-eaſe, at London, until I come.

Ralph. And ſo I was carried to London unto Little-eaſe, and there I remained that night, and on the next morning I appeared before him again, the dean of St. Paul's and the chancellor of London being preſent. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had ſet my hand unto.

Bonner. Come on your ways, ſirrah. Is not this your hand, and this, and this?

Ralph. Yea, they are my hand all of them; I confeſs the ſame, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have ſet my hand unto. But if I have ſet my hand to any thing that is not lawful, therefore am I ſorry. Nevertheleſs, my hand I will not deny to be my doing.

Bonner. Well ſaid, now you muſt tell me; were you never at the church ſince you went from me, at maſs, mattins? &c.

Ralph. No, my lord, not at maſs, mattins, nor any other ſtrange worſhipping of God.

Bonner. Yea, ſayeſt thou ſo? Waſt thou neither at thine own pariſh church, nor at any other? And doſt thou alſo ſay, that it is a ſtrange worſhipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the ſcripture to be true?

Ralph. Yea, my lord, I believe the ſcripture to be true, and in defence of the ſame I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing.

Dean. My lord, this fellow will be an honeſt man, I hear by him. He will not ſtand in his opinion; for he ſheweth himſelf gentle and patient in his talk.

Bonner. Oh, he is a glorious knave. His painted terms ſhall no more deceive me. Ah, whore's-ſon prick-louſe, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? And how dareſt thou deny theſe words, thou knave? I have a writing to ſhew, and thine own hand to the ſame. Let me ſee, pray wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?

Ralph. Yes, my lord, it is mine own hand, neither am I aſhamed thereof, becauſe my confeſſion is agreeable to God's word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge, that I ſhould deny the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; oh, good Lord, from whence cometh this raſh, haſty, and untrue judgment? Forſooth not from the Spirit of truth; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of liars. Whereupon ſhould your lordſhip gather or ſay of me ſo defamouſly; wherefore, I beſeech you, if I deny the ſcriptures canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die.

Tye, the Prieſt. My lord, he is a very ſeditious fellow, and perſuadeth other men to do as he himſelf doth, contrary to the order appointed by the queen's highneſs and the clergy of this realm. For a great many of the pariſh will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place to hear him, ſo that very few come to church to hear divine ſervice: and this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the council, but alſo ſince his return home again, he hath done much harm. For where both men and women were honeſtly diſpoſed before, by St. Anne now they are almoſt as bad as he. And furthermore, he was not aſhamed to withſtand me before all the pariſh, ſaying, that we were of the malignant church of Antichriſt, and not of the true church of Chriſt, alledging a great many ſcriptures to ſerve his purpoſe, ſaying, Good people, take heed, and beware of theſe blood-thirſty dogs, &c. And then I commanded the conſtable to apprehend him, and ſo he did. Nevertheleſs, after this apprehenſion, the conſtable let him go about his buſineſs all the next day, ſo that without putting in of ſureties, he let him go into Suffolk and other places, for no goodneſs, I warrant you, my lord: it were alms to teach ſuch officers their duty, how they ſhould let ſuch rebels go at their own liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken, but to keep them faſt in the ſtocks until they bring them before a juſtice.

Ralph. As I ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again; thou art not of the church of Chriſt, and that I will prove, if I may be ſuffered. And where you ſaid, that you commanded the conſtable to apprehend me, you did ſo indeed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither treaſon, felony, nor murder to lay to my charge: no, neither had you precept, proceſs, nor warrant to ſerve on me; and therefore I ſay without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you ſeek to trouble the conſtable, becauſe he kept me not in the ſtocks three days and three nights, it doth ſhew in part what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only to buy half a buſhel of corn for bread for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would ſurely have laid ſomewhat to his charge.

Bonner. Go to, thou art a merchant indeed. Ah, ſirrah, before God thou ſhalt be burnt with fire. Thou knoweſt Richard Roth, doſt thou not? Is he of the ſame mind that thou art of, or no? canſt thou tell?

Ralph. He is of age to anſwer, let him ſpeak for himſelf; for I hear that he is in your houſe.

Bonner. Lo, what a knave here is. Go, Cluny, fetch me Roth hither. By my troth he is a falſe knave; but yet thou art worſe than he. Ah, ſirrah, did you not ſet your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if you ſhould at any time ſay or do heretically, then it ſhould be lawful for me to take thee with a relapſe, and to proceed in ſentence againſt thee?

Ralph. Yea, that is ſo. But here is to be aſked, whether it is ſufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give authority to you or to any other to kill me? For if I by writing can do ſo much, then muſt my authority be greater than your's. Nevertheleſs, I have neither ſaid nor done heretically, but like a true chriſtian man have I behaved myſelf. And ſo I was committed unto priſon again, and the 24th day of the ſame month I was brought before the biſhop, the lord North, Dr. Story, and others, and after a long ſtory in Latin amongſt themſelves (unto which I gave no anſwer, becauſe they ſpake not to me, although they ſpoke of me), at laſt the biſhop ſaid—

How ſay you, ſirrah? Tell me briefly at one word, wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneel down at maſs, ſhewing thyſelf outwardly as though thou didſt it with a good will? come, ſpeak.

Ralph. I will not ſay ſo.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

The ſecond day of May I was brought before the biſhop, and three noblemen of the council, whoſe names I do not remember.

Bonner. Lo, my lords, this ſame is the fellow that was ſent unto me from the council, and did ſubmit himſelf, ſo that I had half a hope of him: but by St. Anne I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheleſs, he was with me, and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purſe. How ſayeſt thou? Was it not ſo as I tell my lords here?

Ralph. Indeed, my lord, I had meat and drink enough; but I never was in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve pence, although I aſked none, nor would have any.

A Lord. Be good to him, my lord, he will be an honeſt man.

Bonner. Before God, how ſhould I truſt him? He hath deceived me once already. But ye ſhall hear what he will ſay to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar. How ſay you, ſirrah? After the words of conſecration be ſpoke by the prieſt, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, God and man, and none other ſubſtance, under the form of bread.

Ralph. Where find you that written, my lord?

Bonner. Lo, ſir. Why, doth not Chiſt ſay, "This is my body?" How ſayeſt thou? Wilt thou deny theſe words of our Saviour Chriſt? Or elſe was he a diſſembler, ſpeaking one thing, and meaning another? Go to, now I have taken you.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. However, my lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the inſtitution of the ſupper of our Lord? For Chriſt ſaid, "Take ye, and eat ye, this is my body." And if it will pleaſe ye to add the former words to the latter, then ſhall I make you an anſwer. For ſure I am, that Chriſt was no diſſembler, neither did he ſay one thing and mean another.

Bonner. Why, then muſt thou needs ſay, that it is his body; for he ſaith it himſelf, and thou confeſſeſt that he will not lie.

Ralph. No, my lord: he is true, and all men are liars. Notwithſtanding, I utterly refuſe to take the words of our Saviour ſo fantaſtically as you teach us to take them: for then ſhould we conſpire with certain heretics called the Neſtorians; for they deny that Chriſt had a true natural body, and ſo methinks you do, my lord. If you will affirm his body to be there, as you ſay he is, then muſt you needs alſo affirm, that it is a fantaſtical body; and therefore look to it for God's ſake, and let theſe words go before; "Take ye, and eat ye," without which words the reſt are not ſufficient; but when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them that ſo receiveth.

Bonner. Ah, I feel well thou canſt not underſtand theſe words; I will ſhew thee a parable. If I ſhould ſet a piece of beef before thee, and ſay, Eat, it is beef: and then take part of it away, and ſend it to my cook, and he ſhall change the faſhion thereof, and make it look like bread; what, wouldſt thou ſay that it were no beef, becauſe it hath not the faſhion of beef?

Ralph. Let me underſtand a little further, my lord, ſhall the cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Bonner. What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, ſo long as the ſhape is changed into another likeneſs?

Ralph. Ah, will you ſo, my lord? your ſophiſtry will not ſerve; the truth will have the victory nevertheleſs, as Iſaiah ſaith, He that reſtraineth himſelf from evil, muſt be ſpoiled. And Amos hath ſuch like words alſo: For the wiſe muſt be fain to hold their peace; ſo wicked a time it is, ſaith he: nevertheleſs, he that can ſpeak the truth, and will not, ſhall give a ſtrait account for the ſame.

A Doctor. By my lord's leave, here methinks thou ſpeakeſt like a fool. Wilt thou be a judge of the ſcripture? Nay, thou muſt ſtand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long ago.

A Prieſt. No, by your leave, we have a church, and not a congregation. You miſtake that word, Mr. Doctor.

Ralph. Then I ſaid to my fellow-priſoners ſtanding by, My brethren, do ye not hear how theſe men help one another? Let us do ſo alſo. But we never came all in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19th day of May I was brought before the biſhops of Rocheſter and Chicheſter, with others.

Roch. Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwiſe called Trudge-over? My lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my lord.

Roch. By my faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an ape, for he ſtunk ſo of drink, that I could not abide him, and ſo ſent him away.

Ralph. My lord, I dare ſay you took your mark amiſs. It was either yourſelf, or ſome of your own company, for he did neither drink ale, wine, nor beer, for a quarter of a year before that time; and therefore it was not he forſooth.

The reſt of mine examinations you ſhall have after I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into Newgate, which I truſt ſhall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well, good friends all. Yea, I ſay, farewel for ever in this preſent world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the reſt of the congregation in Barfold, and Dedham, and Colcheſter.

This promiſe of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or elſe if he did write, the ſame not coming to my hands; I am fain in the reſt of his examinations to follow the only report of the regiſter, who witneſſeth, that the 15th day of May, 1557, in the biſhop's palace at London, he was examined upon certain interrogatories, the contents whereof be theſe.

Firſt, That he was of the pariſh of Muchbentley, and ſo of the dioceſe of London.

Secondly, That the 10th day of January, then laſt paſt, Mr. John Morant preaching at St. Paul's, the ſaid Ralph Allerton did there openly ſubſcribe himſelf unto the church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

That he did conſent and ſubſcribe himſelf as well unto the ſame ſubmiſſion, as alſo to one other bill, in which he granted, that if he ſhould at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it ſhould be then lawful for the biſhop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.

Fourthly, That he had ſubſcribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken by the prieſt, there remaineth ſtill material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the bread is the bread of thankſgiving, and the memorial of Chriſt's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Chriſt ſpiritually in his ſoul, but material bread in ſubſtance.

Fifthly, That he had openly affirmed, and alſo adviſedly ſpoken that which is contained in the ſaid former fourth article above ſpecified.

Sixthly, That he had ſpoken againſt the biſhop of Rome, with the church and ſee of the ſame, and alſo againſt the ſeven ſacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the ſame church, uſed then within this realm.

Seventhly, That he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late that were burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion uſed within this realm, at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himſelf thereunto.

Ninthly, That he had affirmed, that the book of common prayer, ſet forth in the reign of king Edward VI. was in all parts good and godly; and that the ſaid Ralph and his fellow priſoners, did daily uſe amongſt themſelves in priſon ſome part of the book.

Tenthly, That he had affirmed, that if he were out of priſon he would not come to maſs, mattins, nor even-ſong, nor bear taper, candle, nor palm, nor go in proceſſion, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, aſhes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then uſed within this realm.

Eleventhly, That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confeſs his ſins to any prieſt, nor receive abſolution of him: nor yet would receive the ſacrament of the altar, as it was then uſed.

Twelfthly, That he had affirmed, that praying to ſaints, and praying for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his own will and pleaſure; neither that it is lawful to reſerve the ſacrament, or to worſhip it.

Thirteenthly, That the ſaid Allerton hath, according to theſe his affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come to his pariſh church ever ſince the tenth day of January laſt, or to uſe, receive, or allow any ceremonies, ſacraments, or other rites then uſed in the church.

To all theſe articles he anſwered affirmatively, denying preciſely none of them; ſaving to this clauſe contained in the twelfth article, that a man is not bound to faſt and pray but at his own will and pleaſure, he ſaid that he had affirmed no ſuch thing, but he confeſſed that he had not faſted nor prayed ſo oft as he was bound to do. And unto this anſwer he alſo ſubſcribed in this ſort.

Except it be proved otherwiſe by the holy ſcripture, I do affirm theſe articles to be true. By me,

Ralph Allerton.

The next examination was the fourth day of July; the act whereof, becauſe they do appear more amply in his other examination, on the tenth of September, I here omit, giving you farther to underſtand, that on the ſeventh day of July, he was brought before Dr. Darbiſhire in the biſhop's palace, who examined him again on the former articles, and after perſuading him to recant, threatening him that otherwiſe he ſhould be burned. To whom he boldly anſwered, I would I might be condemned even to-morrow; for I perceive my lord (meaning Bonner) doth nothing but ſeek men's blood. Upon which ſaying Dr. Darbyſhire committed him again to priſon, and the tenth of September, the biſhop cauſed him (with the other three above-named) to be brought unto Fulham, and there in his private chapel within his houſe, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new articles; of which, the tenor of the firſt, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh are already mentioned in the ſecond, third, and fourth former objections: as for the reſt, their contents here follow.

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but that the information given againſt thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary, Edmund biſhop of London, was and is a true information."

This information was given by Thomas Tye, curate of Bentley (of whom you have already heard), and certain others of the ſame pariſh and affinity; as namely, John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candeler, Jeffery Beſtwood, John Richard, Richard Meer.

The effect whereof was, that one Laurence Edwards, of Bentley aforeſaid, had a child that was unchriſtened, and being demanded by the ſaid Tye, why the child was not baptized, he made anſwer it ſhould be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true profeſſor of Chriſt's goſpel). Whereat the curate ſaid, Ah, you have had ſome inſtructor that hath ſchooled you of late. Yea, (quoth Edwards) that I have, and if your doctrine be better than his, then I will believe you; and thereupon fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the conſtable going with him, they brought before the ſaid curate the ſaid Ralph Allerton; of whom in this information they make this report, that he was a ſeditious perſon, who ſince his coming down from the biſhop, had ſet upon the conſtables doors ſeditious letters, moving and perſuading thereby the people to follow his malicious diſobedience; and that theſe his perſuaſions had taken effect in many: and farther, that the ſaid Ralph Allerton (the curate aſking him whether he had inſtructed this Laurence Edwards, that it was againſt God's commandment to enter into the church) caſting his hands abroad, ſhould ſay, Oh, good people, now is fulfilled the ſaying of the godly prieſt and prophet Eſdras, who ſaith, Eſdras iv. 16. "The fire of a multitude is kindled againſt a few; they have taken away their houſes, and ſpoiled their goods," &c. Which of you hath not ſeen this, this day? who is here amongſt you, that ſeeth not all theſe things done upon us this day? The church which they call us to, is the church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting church, and the church malignant. With theſe, and many more words (ſaid they, moſt maliciouſly and falſely alledged out of the ſcriptures) he thus perſuaded great multitudes there preſent (as much as in him lay) unto diſobedience. For which cauſe the conſtables did then apprehend him.

3. Item, thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but the letter ſent unto me by my lord Darcy, beginning with theſe words, [Pleaſeth it your lordſhip, &c.] was thine own letter, and was ſubſcribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the letter mentioned in this article, and written by Allerton unto the lord Darcy, was a confeſſion of his demeanour before his firſt apprehenſion, the effect and purport whereof, becauſe it appeareth in the beginning of this hiſtory, I do here omit.

4. Item, thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but that the other letter, ſent alſo to me from my ſaid lord Darcy, beginning thus, [Pleaſeth it your lordſhip, &c.] and ending with theſe words, [whenſoever it be] is thine own letter, and ſubſcribed with thine own hand.

This was alſo another letter written by him unto the lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that where the ſaid lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever ſince Whitſuntide laſt before his firſt apprehenſion, this was to certify his lordſhip, that he was not able ſo to do, otherwiſe than as he had already ſhewed him by his former letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, ſaving once when he was in the company of George Eagles, and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his boſom, and deſired the ſaid Ralph to read it, which requeſt he then accompliſhed; and demanding of him whoſe doing the ſame was, the ſaid Roth told that it was Mr. Cranmer's, late archbiſhop of Canterbury; and farther he could not ſhew him. Nevertheleſs, he was ready and willing to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as his lordſhip ſhould think meet, deſiring yet that the ſame might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither puniſhment nor death: praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whenſoever it ſhould be.

8. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but that the letters written with blood, beginning with theſe words, [Grace, mercy, and peace] and ending thus, [Farewel in God,] remaining now regiſtered in the acts of this court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand.

He wrote this letter in the priſon with blood for lack of other ink, and did mean to ſend the ſame unto Agnes Smith, alias Silverſide, at that time impriſoned, and afterwards burned at Colcheſter for the teſtimony of the goſpel of Chriſt, as before mentioned. The copy of which letter here enſueth.

LETTER I.

From RALPH ALLERTON *unto* AGNES SMITH, Widow.

GRACE, mercy, and peace from God the father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of ſoul and body, I wiſh unto you, as to my own ſoul, as God knoweth, who is the ſearcher of all ſecrets.

Foraſmuch as it pleaſeth almighty God of his infinite mercy, to call me to the ſtate of grace, to ſuffer martyrdom for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, although heretofore I have moſt negligently dallied therewith; and therefore far unworthy I am of ſuch an high benefit, to be crowned with the moſt joyful crown of martyrdom: nevertheleſs, it hath pleaſed God not ſo to leave me, but hath raiſed me according to his promiſe, which ſaith, "Although he fall, yet ſhall he not be hurt: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand, Pſal. xxxvii." Wherefore we perceive God's election to be moſt ſure, for undoubtedly he will preſerve all thoſe that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even ſo do I believe that he will finiſh the ſame, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jeſus Chriſt, ſo be it.

Dearly beloved ſiſter (I am conſtrained ſo to call you, becauſe of your conſtant faith and love unfeigned), conſider, that if we be the true ſervants of Chriſt, then may not we in any wiſe make agreement with his enemy Antichriſt. For there is no concord and agreement between them, ſaith the ſcriptures, and a man cannot ſerve two maſters, ſaith Chriſt. And alſo it is prefigured unto us in the old law, where the people of God were moſt ſtraitly commanded that they ſhould not mingle themſelves with the ungodly heathen, and were alſo forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their ſons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their ſons, even ſo often came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own people, to overthrow both them and all their cities, with the holy ſanctuary of God; and brought in ſtrange princes to reign over them, and wicked rulers to govern them, ſo that they were ſure of hunger, ſword, peſtilence, and wild beaſts to devour them. Which plagues never ceaſed, until the good people of God were clean ſeparated from the wicked idolatrous people.

Oh, dearly beloved, this was written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the ſcriptures, might have hope. And is it not in like caſe happened now in this realm of England? For now are the people of God had in deriſion, and trodden under foot, and the cities, towns, and houſes where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are ſpoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy ſanctuary of God's moſt bleſſed word is laid deſolate and waſte, ſo that the very foxes run over it, &c. yet is it the food of our ſouls, the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the people periſh. But the prophet ſaith, "He that refraineth himſelf from evil, muſt be ſpoiled, Iſai. lix." Why ſhould men then be aſhamed to be ſpoiled, ſeeing that it is told us before, that it muſt ſo happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewel in God.

RALPH ALLERTON.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but that the letter written with blood, beginning with theſe words in the over part thereof, [The angel of God, &c.] and ended thus, [Be with you, Amen,] and having alſo this poſtſcript [Do ye ſuppoſe that our brethren, &c.] remaining now regiſtered in the acts of this court, is thine own hand writing.

9. For the better underſtanding of this article, I have alſo inſerted the copy of the letter mentioned in the ſame; which letter he wrote (by his own confeſſion) unto Richard Roth, then in danger of the ſubtle ſnares of that bloody wolf Bonner.

LETTER II.

From RALPH ALLERTON *unto* RICHARD ROTH, *his* Fellow Martyr.

THE angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us all in our ways, Amen, Amen.

O dear brother, I pray for you: for I hear ſay, that you have been divers times before my lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's ſake what the wiſe man teacheth you, and ſhrink not away when you are enticed to confeſs an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an anſwer of the hope that is in you. For whoſoever confeſſeth Chriſt before men, him will Chriſt alſo confeſs before his Father. But he that is aſhamed to confeſs him before men, ſhall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear brother, go forward: you have a ready way, ſo fair as ever had any of the prophets or apoſtles, or the reſt of our brethren, the holy martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Alſo (dear brother) underſtand that I have ſeen your letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to paſs for lack of paper, until my lord be gone from hence, and then your requeſt ſhall be accompliſhed, God willing without delay. Thus fare you well in God. Our dear brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allin, ſaluteth you, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt be with you, Amen.

RALPH ALLERTON.

P. S. Do you ſuppoſe that our brethren and ſiſters are not yet diſpatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or ſhall be within theſe two days.

And for the other objection yet remaining, and not ſpecified, if it were not more ſomewhat to ſhew the folly of theſe bloody tyrants (which of ſo ſmall trifles take occaſion to quarrel with the ſaints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained, I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet myſelf with writing. But that you may judge of them as their actions do give occaſion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but confeſſeſt, that the writing of letters in a little piece of paper on both ſides of it, with this ſentence following on the one ſide, "Look at the foot of the ſtocks for a knife," and the following ſentence on the other ſide, "Look between the poſt and the wall for two books and two epiſtles, leave them here when you go," remaining now in the regiſter and acts of this court, is voluntarily written by thee, Ralph Allerton, with thine own hand.

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but that thou art privy to a certain writing, remaining now in the regiſter and acts of this court, the beginning whereof is with theſe words, "I would have men wiſe," &c. and ending thus, "From houſe to houſe."

Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canſt not deny, but that thou art privy, and by conſent and maintenance, to a certain great wood-knife, a long ſword, a hook, a ſtone, and a trencher written upon with chalk, having this ſentence, "All is gone and loſt, becauſe of your folly:" alſo of two boards written upon with chalk, the one having this ſentence, "Under the ſtone look:" and the other having this ſentence, "Whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I truſt in God that I ſhall be at peace with him ſhortly:" remaining now regiſtered in the acts of this court.

For anſwer unto all theſe articles, he granted that the firſt nine were true, as the regiſter recordeth. Howbeit, I find noted in the backſide of the information, ſpecified in the ſecond article (although croſſed out again), that he denied ſuch things as were there on information againſt him. Therefore it is not likely that he did ſimply grant the contents of the ſecond article, but that he only affirmed, that ſuch an information was given againſt him, and not that the ſame was true.

Thus much I thought to acquaint the reader of, left in miſtaking his anſwers, it might ſeem that he granted himſelf to be a ſeditious and a rebellious perſon; of which fact he was both clear and innocent. And being farther demanded upon the contents of the eighth article, where he had the blood he wrote that letter withal? He ſaid, that Richard Roth, ſometime fellow-priſoner with him, did make his noſe bleed, and thereby he got the blood wherewith he did then write. The biſhop again aſked him, to whom he would have ſent the ſame. He anſwered, Unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silverſide, of Colcheſter. Why (ſays the biſhop) Agnes Smith was an heretic, and burnt for hereſy. Nay, ſaid Allerton, ſhe is in better caſe than I myſelf, or any of us all. And being again demanded, upon the ninth objection, to whom he would have ſent the letter mentioned in the ſame: he anſwered, that he intended to have ſent it unto Richard Roth, at that time ſeparated from him. Whereupon the biſhop farther inquired, what he meant by theſe words, "Brethren and ſiſters," ſpecified in the ſaid letter? He anſwered, that he meant thereby, ſuch as were lately condemned at Colcheſter, and were like (at the writing thereof) ſhortly to be burned. As for the contents of the tenth and eleventh articles, he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth, he confeſſed, that he wrote upon the ſaid trencher and other boards, the words mentioned in the ſaid article, and that he did leave the ſame in the priſon-houſe, to the intent that Richard Roth ſhould read them. Bonner alſo bringing out the wooden ſword, mentioned in the ſaid articles, aſked him who made it, and for what purpoſe. Whereunto he anſwered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpoſe. But being idle in the priſon, and finding there an old board, he thought the time better ſpent in making thereof, than to ſit and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now ſpent, the reſt of this tragedy was deferred till the afternoon. Wherein was miniſtered unto him yet certain other objections, the tenor whereof was,

Firſt, that he had miſliked the maſs, calling upon ſaints, and carrying the croſs in proceſſion, with other ceremonies, calling them idolatry, and alſo had diſſuaded them therefrom.

2. Item, That he was much deſirous to have the people believe as he did; and therefore being in priſon with his fellows, did ſing pſalms and other ſongs againſt the ſacrament of the altar, and other ordinances of the church, ſo loud that the people abroad might hear them and delight in them.

3. Item, That he had divers times conſpired againſt his keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and ſo to break the priſon and eſcape away.

4. That he had railed againſt the biſhop, being his ordinary, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant, and ravening wolf, and alſo againſt his officers, eſpecially Cluny, his ſumner, calling him butcher's cur, with other ſuch names.

5. Item, That he had murmured, grudged, diſdained, and miſliked, that the biſhop had proceeded againſt ſome of his dioceſe, and had condemned them as heretics, or that he ſhould proceed now againſt him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithſtanding that he and his chaplains had charitably admoniſhed and exhorted them from the ſame.

6. Item, That he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one catholic church, without which there is no ſalvation; of which church Jeſus Chriſt is the very prieſt and ſacrifice, whoſe body and blood is really and truly contained in the ſacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the divine power tranſubſtantiated into his body and blood.

7. Item, That he had kept himſelf, and alſo diſtributed to others, certain heretical and corrupt books, condemned and reproved by the laws of this realm.

8. Item, That he had, contrary to the orders and ſtatutes of this realm, kept company with that ſeditious heretic and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudge-over, and had heard him read in woods and other places, yet not accuſing, but allowing and praiſing him.

Unto which articles, becauſe they were for the moſt part fooliſh and full of lies, he would in a manner make no anſwer, ſaving he granted, that he miſliked their maſs and other ceremonies, becauſe they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the biſhop, that he and his accomplices did nothing but ſeek how to kill innocents.

The biſhop then aſked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the ſacrament of the altar, as is contained in the general council holden and kept under Innocent the Third, and therewithal he did read the decree of the ſaid council concerning the ſacrament.

Whereupon Allerton again made anſwer and ſaid, I believe nothing contained in the ſame council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were alſo very neceſſary, that no man elſe ſhould have to do therewith.

Then (quoth Bonner) thou art of the opinion that the heretics lately burnt at Colcheſter were of.

Yea, ſaid he, I am of their opinion, and I believe that they are ſaints in heaven.

This done, the biſhop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to ſay, why he ſhould not pronounce the ſentence of condemnation againſt him. To whom he anſwered, You ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good chriſtian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: for I ſee right well, that right and truth is ſuppreſſed and cannot appear upon the earth.

Theſe words ended, the biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation, and ſo delivered him to the temporal officers: who kept him in their cuſtody till the 17th of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as you have already heard. Of which other three, becauſe as yet little is ſaid, I will therefore now proceed to declare ſuch cauſe of their cruel deaths, as in the regiſter is recorded.

An Account *of* James Austoo, *and* Margery *his* Wife.

I Cannot find why theſe two perſons were firſt apprehended; howbeit, as the days then ſerved, it was no hard or ſtrange matter to fall into the hands of ſuch, as with cruelty perſecuted the true profeſſors of God's goſpel, eſpecially having ſo many promoters, and unkind neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of people, it is not unlike theſe two godly yoke-fellows were accuſed and taken: and being once delivered into the mercileſs hands of Bonner, their examinations (ye may be ſure) were not long deferred. For the 16th of July, 1557, they were brought before him at London;

where firſt he demanded of the ſaid James Auſtoo (amongſt other queſtions) where he had been confeſſed in Lent, and whether he received the ſacrament of the altar at Eaſter, or not?

To whom he anſwered, that indeed he had been confeſſed of the curate of Allhallows Barking, nigh to the Tower of London, but that he had not received the ſacrament of the altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

Why (quoth the biſhop) doſt thou not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, there is the true body and blood of Chriſt?

No, ſaid Auſtoo, not in the ſacrament of the altar, but in the ſupper of the Lord, to the faithful receiver is the very body and blood of Chriſt by faith.

Bonner, not well pleaſed with this talk, aſked then the wife, how ſhe liked the religion then uſed in the church of England?

She anſwered, that ſhe believed, that the ſame was not according to God's word, but falſe and corrupted, and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the law, than otherwiſe.

Then he again aſked her, if ſhe would go to the church and hear mais, and pray for the proſperous eſtate of the king, being then abroad on his affairs.

Whereunto ſhe ſaid, that ſhe defied the maſs with all her heart, and that ſhe would not come into any church wherein were idols.

After this the biſhop objected unto them certain articles, to the number of eighteen. The tenor whereof (becauſe they touch only ſuch common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers places before) I do here for brevity's ſake omit and paſs over; giving you yet thus much to underſtand, that in the matters of faith they were as ſound, and anſwered as truly as ever any did, eſpecially the woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more fervency of ſpirit. Notwithſtanding, according to the meaſure of grace that God gave them, they both ſtood moſt firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the 10th day of September they were (with Ralph Allerton) brought again before the biſhop within his chapel at Fulham, where he ſpeaking unto them, ſaid firſt on this wiſe; Auſtoo, doſt thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou haſt to do?

Yea, quoth Auſtoo, I know where I am; for I am in an idol's temple.

After which words, their articles being again read, and their conſtancy in faith perceived, Bonner pronounced againſt either of them ſeverally the ſentence of condemnation, and delivering them unto the ſheriff there preſent, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I refer his cauſe.

An ACCOUNT *of* RICHARD ROTH.

IN the godly fellowſhip of the forenamed three martyrs, was alſo this Richard Roth, as is already ſpecified; who being apprehended and brought up unto the biſhop of London, was by him examined the fourth day July, at which time the biſhop earneſtly perſuaded him to believe that there were ſeven ſacraments in Chriſt's church, and that in the ſacraments of the altar (after the words of conſecration duly ſpoken) there remained the very ſubſtance of Chriſt's body and blood, and none other. Whereunto (at that preſent) he made only this anſwer; that if the ſcripture did ſo teach him, and that he might be by the ſame ſo perſuaded, he would ſo believe, otherwiſe not. But at another examination (which was the 9th of September) he declared plainly, that in the ſaid ſacrament of the altar, as it was then uſed, there was not the very body and blood of Chriſt, but that it was a dead god, and that the maſs was deteſtable, and, contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth of the ſaid month, the biſhop, at his houſe at Fulham (by way of an article), laid and objected againſt him, That he was a comforter and ſupporter of heretics: and therefore had written a letter to that effect unto ſeveral that were burned at Colcheſter; the copy whereof followeth.

A LETTER

From RICHARD ROTH *to his* Friends *at* Colcheſter.

O Dear brethren and ſiſters, how much reaſon have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you ſuch faith to overcome this blood-thirſty tyrant thus far? And no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Chriſt, what a crown of glory ſhall ye receive with Chriſt in the kingdom of God? O that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you. For I lie in my lord's Little-eaſe in the day, and in the night I lie in the Coal-houſe, from Ralph Allerton, or any other: and we look every day when we ſhall be condemned. For he ſaid, that I ſhould be burned within ten days before Eaſter; but I lie ſtill at the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me; but we abide patiently the Lord's leiſure, with many bonds, in fetters and ſtocks; by which we have received great joy of God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and ſiſters, in this world, but I truſt to ſee you in the heavens face to face.

Oh, brother Munt, with your wife and my ſiſter Roſe, how bleſſed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to ſuffer for his ſake! with all the reſt of my dear brethren and ſiſters known and unknown. O be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, ſaith Chriſt, for I have overcome death. Oh dear hearts, ſeeing that Jeſus Chriſt will be our help, oh tarry you the Lord's leiſure. Be ſtrong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you ſtill for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he ſeeth beſt. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God ſuffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

O dear hearts, you ſhall be clothed in long white garments upon the mount of Sion, with the multitude of ſaints, and with Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, which will never forſake us. O bleſſed virgins, ye have played the wiſe virgins' part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlaſting joy with him. But as for the fooliſh, they ſhall be ſhut out, becauſe they made not themſelves ready to ſuffer with Chriſt, neither go about to take up his croſs. Oh dear hearts, how precious ſhall your death be in the ſight of the Lord! For dear is the death of his ſaints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

Written by me, with my own blood,

RICHARD ROTH.

This letter he confeſſed indeed (upon the ſaid examination) that he had written with his blood, and that he meant to have ſent the ſame unto ſuch as were condemned at Colcheſter for the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and were afterwards burned there, as you have already heard.

The biſhop then farther aſked him, what he thought his fellow-priſoner, Ralph Allerton, to be.

He anſwered, that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God; and that if at any time hereafter he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, he thought he ſhould die a true martyr. And moreover, finding himſelf grieved with the biſhop's privy and ſecret condemning of God's people, he ſaid unto him in this ſort: My lord, becauſe the people ſhould not ſee and behold your doings, you cauſe me and others to be brought to our examinations by night, being afraid to do it by day.

The biſhop not much minding his talk, proceeded to examine him of other matters, amongſt which this high and weighty thing was one, How he did like the order and rites of the church then uſed here in England.

To whom he ſaid, That he ever had, and yet then did abhor the ſame with all his heart.

Then divers of the biſhop's accomplices intreated and perſuaded him to recant, and crave mercy of the biſhop.

No (quoth Ralph), I will not aſk mercy of him that cannot give it. Whereupon he was (as the reſt before-mentioned) condemned and delivered unto the ſheriff, and the 17th day of September they all moſt joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Iſlington, for the teſtimony of Chriſt.

The Martyrdom *of* Agnes Bongeor, *and* Margaret Thurston, *two pious* Women, *burnt at* Colcheſter, *for the ſincere Profeſſion of* Chriſt's Goſpel.

A Little before (gentle reader) mention was made of ten that ſuffered martyrdom at Colcheſter; at which time there were alſo two other women, one called Margaret Thurſton, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that ſhould have ſuffered with them, and were likewiſe condemned at the ſame time and place, for the like cauſe with the other ten before-mentioned, and anſwered alſo in their examinations to the ſame effect as the other did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurſton, the morning ſhe ſhould ſuffer with thoſe that went from the caſtle, was for that time deferred. What the cauſe was, the teſtimony of Joan Cook ſhall declare unto us. Which Joan Cook, now the wife of John Spark, being then in the caſtle of Colcheſter for religion, did demand of this Margaret Thurſton, whoſe huſband died in priſon, being impriſoned for religion, wherefore the ſaid Margaret, being a condemned woman, ſhould be reſerved when the others ſuffered in the caſtle Baily? She anſwered, That it was not for any fear of death; but being prepared, as the reſt were that ſuffered the ſame day, ſhe was taken with a great ſhivering and trembling of the fleſh: whereupon, forſaking the company, ſhe went aſide to pray; and whilſt ſhe was a praying, ſhe thought ſhe was lifted up by a mighty wind that came round about her. Even at that inſtant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilſt ſhe turned herſelf to fetch her pſalter, they took the other priſoners and left her alone. Shortly after ſhe was moved out of the caſtle, and put into the town-priſon, where ſhe continued until Friday ſeven-night after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, ſhe was brought to the caſtle again, where ſhe declared thus much to the aforeſaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who ſhould have ſuffered in like manner with the ſix that went out of Mote-hall, was alſo kept back at that time, but not in like ſort, becauſe her name was wrong written within the writ.

The ſame morning, the ſecond of Auguſt, that the ſaid ſix in Mote-hall were called out to go to their martyrdom, Agnes Bongeor was alſo called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, underſtanding her to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the ſaid Agnes Bongeor to priſon again, as you have heard in the letter before-mentioned, and ſo that day ſent her from Mote-hall to the caſtle, where ſhe remained till her death.

But when ſhe ſaw herſelf ſeparated from her fellow-priſoners in ſuch a manner, oh! what piteous complaints that good woman made; how bitterly ſhe wept, what ſtrange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and deſolate ſhe eſteemed herſelf, and to what a plunge of deſpair and care her poor ſoul was brought, it was both ſad and moving to behold; and all becauſe ſhe went not with them to give up her life for the cauſe of Chriſt; for of all things in the world, life was the leaſt thing that ſhe expected. For the morning, on which ſhe was kept back from burning, ſhe had put on a ſmock that ſhe had prepared only for that purpoſe. And alſo having a child, a little young infant ſuckling on her, whom ſhe kept with her tenderly all the time ſhe was in priſon, that day likewiſe did ſhe ſend away to another nurſe, and prepared herſelf preſently to give herſelf for the teſtimony of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. So little did ſhe look for life, and ſo greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death ſeemed much better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time as ſhe thought it would, and therefore (as I ſaid) ſhe was greatly troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of her's came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which ſhe anſwered thus:

I know, ſaid ſhe, that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not ſtayed him: but I (ſaid ſhe) am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abraham's caſe and mine is not alike.

Why then, ſaid her friend, would you not willingly have gone with your company, if God ſhould ſo have ſuffered it?

Yes, ſaid ſhe, that I would with all my heart, and becauſe I did not, it is now my chief and greateſt grief.

Then, ſaid her friend, my dear ſiſter, I pray thee conſider Abraham and thyſelf well, and thou ſhalt ſee thou doſt nothing differ with him in will at all.

Alas, ſaid ſhe, there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but ſo am not I; and therefore our caſes are not alike.

Good ſiſter, ſaid her friend, weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant, would have offered his ſon: and have not you done the like in your little ſucking babe? But conſider further than this, my good ſiſter (ſaid he), where Abraham was commanded but to offer his ſon, you are heavy and grieved becauſe you offer not yourſelf, which goeth ſomewhat more near you than Abraham's obedience did; and therefore before God, aſſuredly, is no leſs accepted and allowed in his holy preſence; which further the preparing of your ſhroud alſo doth argue full well, &c. After which talk between them, ſhe began a little to ſtay herſelf, and gave her whole exerciſe to reading and prayer, wherein ſhe found a great deal of comfort.

During the time that theſe aforeſaid two good women were priſoners, one in the caſtle, and the other in Mote-hall, God by a ſecret means called the ſaid Margaret Thurſton unto his truth again; who having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly ſorrow and lament her backſliding before, and promiſed faithfully to the Lord in hope of his mercies, never more while ſhe lived to do the like again, but that ſhe would conſtantly ſtand to the confeſſion of the ſame, againſt all the adverſaries of the croſs of Chriſt. After which promiſe made, came in a ſhort time a writ from London for the burning of them, which was accordingly executed the 17th day of September, in the year aforeſaid.

Now when theſe aforeſaid women were brought to the place at Colcheſter, where they ſhould ſuffer, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble prayers to God, which being done, they roſe and went to the ſtake joyfully, and were immediately chained thereto, and after the fire had incompaſſed them about, they with great joy and glorious triumph gave up their ſouls, ſpirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whoſe government and protection, for Chriſt's ſake, we beſeech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore, Amen.

An Account *of* John Kurde, Martyr.

IN the ſtory before, ſomething was mentioned of a certain ſhoemaker ſuffering at Northampton, being un-named; yet, becauſe we underſtand by a letter ſent from the ſaid parties, that he ſuffered in this year, 1557, and in the month of September, we therefore thought to place him there. His name was John Kurde, a ſhoemaker, late of the pariſh of Syrſam, in Northamptonſhire, who was impriſoned in Northampton caſtle for denying the popiſh tranſubſtantiation, for which cauſe William Binſley, bachelor of law, and chancellor unto the biſhop of Peterborough, and now archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce ſentence of death againſt the ſaid Kurde, in the church of All-Saints, in Northampton, in Auguſt 1557, and in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Treſham, ſheriff then of the ſhire, he was led by his officers without the North-gate of Northampton, and in the ſtone pits was burned. A popiſh prieſt ſtanding by, whoſe name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles's, in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authoriſed to give him his pardon. His anſwer was, that he had his pardon by Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

An Account *of the apprehending of* JOHN NOYES, *of* Laxefield, *in the* County *of* Suffolk, Shoemaker, April 19, 1557.

IN the month of September this preſent year, or (as ſome report) in the year paſt, ſuffered the bleſſed martyr, John Noyes, whoſe ſtory here followeth.

Firſt, Mr. Thomas Lovel, being then chief conſtable of Hoxton Hundred, in the county aforeſaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard, then being under-conſtables of the aforeſaid town of Laxefield, and Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard, of the ſame town, being then accounted faithful and catholic chriſtians, though undoubtedly they proved moſt cruel hinderers of the true profeſſors of Chriſt and his goſpel, with others, were commanded to be that preſent day before the juſtices, whoſe names were Mr. Thurſton, ſir John Tyrrel, and Mr. Kene, and ſir Jo. Silliard being high ſheriff.

Theſe ſitting at Hoxton, in the county of Suffolk, aforeſaid, and there the ſaid townſmen aforeſaid, having commandment of the ſaid juſtices to inquire in their town if there were any that would neglect to come to their ſervice and maſs, further to examine the cauſe why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the ſaid juſtices within fourteen days then next enſuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred againſt the truth, and deſirous to get promotion, without any ſuch commandment of the juſtices (as far as we can learn), took counſel one with another how to attach the ſaid John Noyes without any more delay.

This deviliſh enterpriſe agreed upon, chiefly through the counſel of Mr. Thomas Lovel, Wolfren Dowſing, and Nicholas Stannard, aforeſaid, with expedition his houſe was beſet on both ſides. This done, they found the ſaid John Noyes, in the backſide of the ſaid houſe, going out, and Nicholas Stannard called to the ſaid John, and ſaid, Whither goeſt thou? and he ſaid, To ſee ſome of my neighbours. And the ſaid Nicholas Stannard ſaid, Your maſter hath deceived you; you muſt go with us now. But the ſaid John Noyes anſwered, No, but take you heed your maſter deceive not you. And ſo they took him and carried him to the juſtices the next day. After his appearance and ſundry cauſes alledged, the juſtices and the ſheriff together caſt him into Eye-dungeon, and there he lay a certain time; and then was carried from thence to Norwich, and ſo came before the biſhop, where were miniſtered unto him theſe poſitions following:

Firſt, Whether he believed that the ceremonies uſed in the church were good and godly, to ſtir up men's minds to devotion.

2. Item, Whether he believed the pope to be ſupreme head of the church here on earth.

3. Item, Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be in the ſacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of conſecration.

Whereunto he anſwered, That he thought the natural body of Chriſt to be only in heaven, and not in the ſacrament, &c.

For which, ſentence at laſt was read by the biſhop againſt him, in the preſence of theſe there ſitting the ſame time, Dr. Dunning, chancellor, ſir W. Woodhouſe, ſir Thomas Woodhouſe, Mr. George Heyden, Mr. Spencer, W. Farrar, alderman of Norwich, Mr. Thurſton, Mr. Wineſden, with divers others.

No more of his examination than this came to our hands.

In the mean time his brother-in-law, Nicholas Fiſk, of Dinnington, going to comfort him at ſuch time as he remained in the Guildhall of Norwich, after chriſtian exhortation, aſked him if he did fear death when the biſhop gave judgment againſt him, conſidering the terror of the ſame; and the ſaid Noyes anſwered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at liberty. Then the ſaid Nicholas required of him to ſhew the cauſe of his condemnation. Upon which requeſt the ſaid John Noyes wrote with his own hands as follows.

I ſaid, That I could not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Chriſt, that ſame body that was born of the virgin Mary. But I ſaid, that the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt is received by chriſtian people in the remembrance of Chriſt's death, as a ſpiritual food, if it be miniſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution.

But they ſaid, That I could not tell what ſpiritual meant.

The biſhop ſaid, That the ſacrament was God, and muſt be worſhipped as God. So ſaid the chancellor alſo.

Then anſwered I, and ſaid, My lord, I cannot ſo believe.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Why? Then ſay thou doſt believe. Notwithſtanding, theſe colluſions could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was ſent again from Norwich to Eye-priſon, and about the 21ſt day of September, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxefield, to be burned; and on the next morning was brought to the ſtake, where were waiting for his coming, the aforeſaid juſtice, Mr. Thurſton, one Mr. Waller, being then under-ſheriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovell, high conſtable, as is before expreſſed; who commanded men to make ready all things meet for this ſinful purpoſe. Now the fires in moſt houſes of the ſtreet were put out, ſaving that a ſmoak was eſpied by the ſaid Thomas Lovell, proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which houſe the ſheriff and Grannow his man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the ſame to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he ſhould be burned, he kneeled down and ſaid the 50th Pſalm, with other prayers, and then they making haſte bound him to the ſtake, and being bound, the ſaid John Noyes ſaid, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and ſoul, and caſt it into everlaſting fire."

When he ſaw his ſiſter weeping and making moan for him, he told her that ſhe ſhould not weep for him, but weep for her ſins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman brought a faggot and ſet againſt him; and the ſaid John Noyes took up the faggot and kiſſed it, and ſaid, Bleſſed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his pſalter to the under-ſheriff, deſiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that ſame book; and the ſheriff promiſed him that he would, notwithſtanding he never performed his promiſe. Then the ſaid John Noyes ſaid to the people, They ſay they can make God of a piece of bread, believe them not.

Then ſaid he, Good people, bear witneſs that I do believe to be ſaved by the merits and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by mine own deeds; and ſo the fire was kindled, and burning about him, he then ſaid, Lord, have mercy upon me. Chriſt have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me.

And ſo he yielded up his life, and when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and aſhes, and amongſt the ſame they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the ancle with the hoſe on, and that they buried with the reſt.

Now while he was burning, there ſtood by one John Jarvis, a ſervant in the ſame town, a plain fellow, who ſaid, Good Lord, how the ſinews of his arms ſhrink up. And there ſtood behind him Grannow and Benet, the ſheriff's men, and they told their maſter, that John Jarvis ſaid, What villainous wretches are theſe? And their maſter ordered them to apprehend him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the juſtice that ſame day, and the juſtice did examine him of the words aforeſaid, but he denied them, and anſwered that he ſaid nothing but this, Good Lord, how the ſinews of his arms ſhrink up. But for all this the juſtice did bind his father and his maſter in 5l. a piece, that he ſhould be forthcoming at all times. And on the Wedneſday following, he was brought again before the juſtices, Mr. Thurſton and Mr. Kene, ſitting at Freſingfield, Hoxton Hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the ſaid John Jarvis ſhould be ſet in the ſtocks the next market-day, and whipt about the market naked. But his maſter, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendſhip of the conſtables, and they did not ſet him in the ſtocks till Sunday morning, and in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords, and ſo they let him go.

A LETTER

From JOHN NOYES *to his* Wife, *to comfort her at ſuch Time as he lay in* Priſon.

WIFE, you deſired me that I would ſend you ſome tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Teſtament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the ſcripture for a remembrance. St. Peter ſaith, 1 Pet. iv. "Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though ſome ſtrange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, inſomuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings, that when his glory appeareth ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory, and the Spirit of God reſteth upon you.

"It is better, if the will of God be ſo, that ye ſuffer for well doing than for evil doing.

"See that none of you ſuffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil doer, or as a buſy body in other men's matters; but if any man ſuffer as a chriſtian man, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the time is come that judgment muſt begin at the houſe of God. If it firſt begin with us, what ſhall the end of them be, that believe not the goſpel of God? Wherefore let them that ſuffer according to the will of God, commit their ſouls unto him in well doing."

St. Paul ſaith, 2 Tim. iii. "All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution."

St. John ſaith, 1 John ii. "See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the luſt of the fleſh, the luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vaniſheth away and the luſt thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever.

St. Paul ſaith, Col. iii. "If ye be riſen again with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things which are above, where Chriſt ſitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth."

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Matt. xviii. "Whoſoever ſhall offend one of theſe little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the ſea."

The prophet David ſaith, Pſal. xxxiv. "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.

"Fear the Lord, ye ſaints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

"When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles: but miſfortune ſhall ſlay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous ſhall periſh.

"Hear, O my people. I aſſure thee, O Iſrael, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there ſhall no ſtrange god be in thee, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God. Oh that my people would obey me: for if Iſrael would walk in my ways, I ſhould ſoon put down their enemies, and turn mine hand againſt thine adverſaries."

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, "The diſciple is not above the maſter, nor yet the ſervant above his lord. It is enough for the diſciple to be as his maſter is, and that the ſervant be as his lord is. If they have called the maſter of the houſe Beelzebub, how much more ſhall they call them of his houſhold ſo? fear not them therefore."

St. Paul ſaith, 2 Cor. iv. "Set yourſelves there at large, and bear not a ſtranger's yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? what company hath light with darkneſs? or what part hath the believer with the infidel? &c. wherefore come out from among them, and ſeparate yourſelves now (ſaith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing; ſo will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty.

"For neither eye hath ſeen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him." 1 Cor. ii.

"Ye are bought neither with ſilver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Chriſt," 1 Pet. i.

"There is none other name given to men wherein we muſt be ſaved," Acts iv.

So fare ye well, wife and children; and leave worldly care, and ſee you be diligent to pray.

"Take no thought, (ſaith Chriſt, Matt. vi.) ſaying, What ſhall we eat, or what ſhall we drink, or wherewith ſhall we be clothed? (for after all theſe things ſeek the Gentiles) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all theſe things, but ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of heaven, and the righteouſneſs thereof, and all theſe things ſhall be miniſtered unto you."

The Martyrdom *of* CICELY ORMES, *at* Norwich.

ABOUT the 23d day of the ſaid month of September, next after the others above-mentioned, ſuffered at Norwich, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worſted-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence pariſh in Norwich: ſhe being of the age of twenty-two, or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above-mentioned, in a place called Lollard's Pit, without Biſhopſgate, at the ſaid Norwich, for that ſhe ſaid that ſhe would pledge them of the ſame cup that they drank of. For ſo ſaying, one Mr. Corbet, of Sprowſon, by Norwich, took her and ſent her to the chancellor. When ſhe came before him, he aſked her what ſhe ſaid unto the ſacrament of Chriſt's body? And ſhe ſaid, ſhe did believe that it was the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt. Yea, ſaid the chancellor, but what is that that the prieſt holdeth over his head? ſhe anſwered him and ſaid, It is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worſe. At which words the chancellor ſent her to the biſhop's priſon, to the keeper called Fellow, with many threatenings and hot words, as a man being in great rage.

The 23d of July ſhe was called before the chancellor again, who ſat in judgment with Mr. Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if ſhe would go to the church and keep her tongue, ſhe ſhould be at liberty, and believe as ſhe would. But ſhe told him ſhe would not conſent to his wicked deſire therein, do with her what he would; for if ſhe ſhould, ſhe ſaid, God would ſurely plague her. Then the chancellor told her, he had ſhewed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, conſidering that ſhe was an ignorant, unlearned, and fooliſh woman. But ſhe, not weighing his words, told him, if he did, he ſhould not be ſo deſirous of her ſinful fleſh, as ſhe would (by God's grace) be content to give it in ſo good a quarrel. Then he roſe and read the bloody ſentence of condemnation againſt her, and ſo delivered her to the ſecular care of the ſheriffs of the city, Mr. Thomas Sutherton, and Mr. Leonard Sutherton, brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where ſhe remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very ſimple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cauſe, being born in Eaſt Deram, and was the daughter of one Thomas Haund, taylor. She was taken the 5th day of July, and did for a twelvemonth before ſhe was taken recant, but never after was ſhe quiet in conſcience, until ſhe was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that ſhe recanted, and that ſhe was taken, ſhe had got a letter written to give to the chancellor, to let him know that ſhe repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while ſhe lived. But before ſhe exhibited her bill, ſhe was taken and ſent to priſon as is before ſaid. She was burnt the 23d of September, between ſeven and eight in the morning, the ſaid two ſheriffs being there, and to the number of two hundred people. When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant; but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popiſh prieſts I utterly refuſe, and never will have to do with them again, by God's grace. And, good people, I would you ſhould not think of me, that I believe to be ſaved in that I offer myſelf here unto the death of the Lord's cauſe, but I believe to be ſaved by the death and paſſion of Chriſt; and this my death is and ſhall be a witneſs of my faith unto all here preſent. Good people, as many of you that believe as I believe, pray for me.

Then ſhe came to the ſtake, and laid her hand on it, and ſaid, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt." Which being done, ſhe looked on her hand, and ſeeing it blacked with the ſtake, ſhe wiped it upon her ſmock, for ſhe was burnt at the ſame ſtake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper were. Then after ſhe had touched it with her hand, ſhe came and kiſſed it, and ſaid, "Welcome the ſweet croſs of Chriſt," and ſo gave herſelf to be bound thereto. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, ſhe ſaid, "My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, and my ſpirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour:" and in ſaying ſo ſhe ſet her hands together right againſt her breaſt, caſting her eyes and head upward, and ſo ſtood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very ſinews of her arms did break aſunder, and then they fell; but ſhe yielded her life unto God, as quietly as if ſhe had been in a ſlumber, or as one feeling no pain; ſo wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his name therefore be praiſed evermore. Amen.

After the death and martyrdom of Mrs. Joyce Lewes, a little above ſpecified, divers good men and women in the ſame town of Litchfield, were had up before the biſhop and his chancellor, for kiſſing the ſaid Joyce Lewes and drinking with her about the time of her death; the names of which perſons were theſe; John Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddle, Helen Bouring, Margaret Cotesfore, Nicholas Bird, John Harriſtone and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Peniſather, &c. Theſe with others were produced to their examination before the biſhop and his chancellor for the cauſe above-named, and therefore adjudged for heretics, becauſe they did pray and drink with the ſaid Mrs. Lewes, but eſpecially Agnes Peniſather ſuſtained the moſt trouble, for that ſhe accompanied the ſaid Joyce Lewes going to her death. Which Agnes being examined further of the ſaid biſhop, what words ſhe had ſpoken to two prieſts of the church of Litchfield, called John Ady and James Fox, concerning the ſaid Joyce Lewes after her burning, ſaid as followeth, That ſhe being aſked by the ſaid two prieſts being at her father's houſe in the city of Litchfield, at ſuch time as ſhe came from the burning of the ſaid Joyce Lewes, why ſhe the ſaid Agnes did weep for ſuch an heretic, meaning Joyce Lewes, whoſe ſoul they ſaid was in hell; the ſaid Agnes Peniſather to their demand made this anſwer, That ſhe thought the ſaid bleſſed martyr to be in better caſe than the ſaid two prieſts were.

With which words being charged, and deſired to ſubmit herſelf as the others had done above, rehearſed to ſuch penance as they ſhould enjoin unto her, ſhe refuſed ſo to do, and therefore was commanded to cloſe priſon, the ſheriffs being charged with her under pain of an hundred pounds, that none ſhould have any acceſs unto her. At length, at the perſuaſion of her friends, ſhe was compelled to do as the others had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Litchfield.

And now from Litchfield we come to Chicheſter, although we have but little to report thereof, for want of certain relation and records of that county, yet it ſeemeth no little trouble and perſecution have there raged alſo, as in other countries. For what place was there almoſt in all the realm, where the pope's miniſters did not beſtir them, murdering ſome or other, as in the acts of this eccleſiaſtical hiſtory may ſufficiently appear? Wherefore as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all other people and counties of England, ſo likewiſe in the dioceſe of Chicheſter, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true teſtimony of righteouſneſs within the compaſs of queen Mary's reign. In the number of whom were theſe: John Foreman, of Eſtgreneſted; John Warner, of Berne; Chriſtian Grover, of the archdeaconry of Lewes; Thomas Athoth, prieſt; Thomas Avington, of Erdingly; Dennis Burgis, of Buxſted; Thomas Ravenſdale, of Rye; John Milles, of Hellinglegh; Nicholas Holden, of Withiam; John Hart, of Withiam; Margery Morice, of Hethfield; Anne Try, of Eſtgreneſted; John Oſeward, of Woodmancote; Thomas Harland, of Woodmancote; James Morice of Hethfield; Thomas Dougate, of Eſtgreneſted; John Aſhedon, of Katherfield.

The greateſt actors againſt theſe faithful martyrs were theſe: Chriſtopherſon, the biſhop of Chicheſter, Richard Brieſly, doctor of law, and chancellor of Chicheſter, Robert Taylor, bachelor of the law, his deputy, Thomas Piccard, civilian, Anthony Clarke, Albane Longdale, bachelor of divinity, &c.

The Examination *of* THOMAS SPURDANCE, *one of* Queen Mary's Servants, *before the* Chancellor *of* Norwich.

THE biſhop's chancellor aſked me, if I had been before the prieſt, and confeſſed my ſins unto him?

And I ſaid, No, I had confeſſed my ſins to God, and God ſaith, in what hour ſoever a ſinner repenteth and is ſorry for his ſins, and aſketh forgiveneſs, willing no more ſo to do, he will no more reckon his ſin unto him; and that is ſufficient for me.

Then ſaid the chancellor, Thou denieſt the ſacrament of penance.

I ſaid, I deny not penance, but I deny that I ſhould ſhew my ſins to the prieſt.

Then ſaid the chancellor, That is denying of the ſacrament of penance.

Write this article.

Have you received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar (ſaid he) at this time of Eaſter?

And I ſaid, No.

And why have you not? ſaid he.

I ſaid, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you uſe it.

Why, do we not uſe it truly? ſaid he.

I ſaid, No: for the holy ſupper of the Lord ſerveth for the Chriſtian congregation, and you are none of Chriſt's members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, leſt I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Chriſt's members? ſaid the chancellor.

I ſaid, Becauſe you teach laws contrary to God's laws.

What laws are thoſe? ſaid he.

I ſaid, Theſe three articles, that you ſwear the people unto here, be falſe and untrue, and you do evil to ſwear the people unto them.

Then ſaid he, Good people, take no heed unto his words; for he is an heretic, and teacheth you diſobedience: and ſo he would no more ſpeak of that matter.

Then ſaid he, How believeſt thou in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar: doſt thou not believe that after it is conſecrated, it is the very ſame body that was born of the Virgin Mary?

I ſaid, No, not the ſame body in ſubſtance; for the ſame body hath a ſubſtance in fleſh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody ſacrifice, and this is a dry ſacrifice.

And I ſaid, Is the maſs a ſacrifice?

Unto which a doctor anſwered that ſat by him, It is a ſacrifice both for the quick and the dead.

Then ſaid I, No, it is no ſacrifice; for St. Paul ſaith, that Chriſt made one ſacrifice once for all; and I do believe in none other ſacrifice, but only in that one ſacrifice that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made once for all.

Then ſaid the doctor, That ſacrifice that Chriſt made was a wet ſacrifice, and the maſs is a dry ſacrifice.

Then ſaid I, That ſame dry ſacrifice is a ſacrifice of your own making, and it is your ſacrifice, it is none of mine.

Then ſaid the chancellor, He is an heretic, he denieth the ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid I, Will ye know how I believe in the holy ſupper of the Lord?

And he ſaid, Yes.

Then ſaid I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the holy ſupper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, as by believing in him. But the bread being received is not God, and the bread that is yonder in the pyx is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will he be worſhipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cauſe the people to kneel down and worſhip the bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apoſtles ſuch uſe.

Then ſaid the chancellor, He denieth the preſence in the ſacrament. Write this article alſo. He is a very heretic.

The ſaid I, The ſervant is not greater than his maſter. For your predeceſſors killed my maſter Chriſt, the prophets and apoſtles, and holy virtuous men, and now you alſo kill the ſervant of Chriſt, ſo that all the righteous blood that hath been ſhed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, ſhall be required at your hands.

Well, ſaid the chancellor, have him away.

Another Examination *of* SPURDANCE, *before the* Biſhop *in his* Houſe.

Biſhop. SIRRAH, doſt thou not believe in the catholic faith of the holy church?

Spurd. I believe Chriſt's catholic church.

Biſhop. Yea, in Chriſt's church, of which the pope is head? Doſt thou not believe that the pope is ſupreme head of the catholic church?

Spurd. No. I believe not that he ſhould be above the apoſtles, if he takes them to be his predeceſſors. For when there came a thought among the apoſtles, who ſhould be the greateſt when their maſter was gone, Chriſt anſwered them unto their thoughts, "The kings of the earth bear dominion above each other, but ye ſhall not do ſo, for he that will be greateſt among you ſhall become ſervant unto you all. How is it then (ſaid I) that he will climb ſo high above his fellows? And alſo we were ſworn in my maſter king Henry's time, that we ſhould, to the utmoſt of our power, never conſent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, ſo neither hath he in his own country more than a biſhop hath in his dioceſe.

Biſhop. Yea, what of that? We were then in error and ſin, now we are in the right way again, and therefore thou muſt home again with us, and acknowledge thy fault, and become a chriſtian man, and be ſworn unto the pope as our ſupreme head. Wilt thou be ſworn unto the pope? How ſayeſt thou?

Spurd. No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the ſcripture that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what he liſteth.

Biſhop. No? yes I trow; for as the bell-wether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of ſheep, even ſo is the pope the head of the church of Chriſt. And as the bees in the hive have a maſter bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home to the hive; even ſo the pope, when we be gone aſtray, and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c. then is ordered our head by ſucceſſion of Peter, to bring us home again to the true church; as thou now, my good fellow, haſt long wandered out of the way, like a ſcattered ſheep, &c. Hear therefore that bell-wether, the maſter bee, &c. and come home with us again to thy mother the church.

Spurd. My lord, all this is but natural reaſon, and no ſcripture: but ſince you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by ſcripture, you anſwer me not as I thought you would.

Biſhop. Ha, I ſee well you will be ſtout, and will not be anſwered: therefore you ſhall be compelled by law, whether you will or no.

Spurd. My lord, ſo did your forefathers treat Chriſt and his apoſtles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and ſo likewiſe you have a law which is tyranny, and by that you would enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord, I truſt, will aſſiſt me againſt all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your fooliſhneſs known to all the world.

Biſhop. When were you at church, or joined in the proceſſion, and did the ceremonies of the church?

Spurd. Never ſince I was born.

Biſhop. No? How old are you?

Spurd. I think about forty.

Biſhop. Why, how did you uſe yourſelf at church twenty years ago?

Spurd. As you do now.

Biſhop. And even now, you ſaid you did not uſe the ceremonies ſince you were born.

Spurd. No more I did, ſince I was born anew; as Chriſt ſaid unto Nicodemus, "Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Then ſaid a doctor that ſat by, He is a very anabaptiſt: for that is their opinion plain.

Spurd. No, ſir, you ſay falſely, for I am no anabaptiſt: for they deny children to be baptized, which I do not.

Biſhop. Well, why doſt thou not go to church, and do the ceremonies?

Spurd. Becauſe they are contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourſelf have taught: but now you ſay it is good again: and I think if there were a return to-morrow, you would ſay that was falſe again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well ſay, there is no truth in you.

Biſhop. Then thou art a ſtubborn fellow, and an heretic, and a traitor.

Spurd. No, I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better ſervice for the crown imperial of England than you.

Biſhop. If you had done ſuch good ſervice, you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.

Spurd. So I am. There is no man alive, I thank God, that can accuſe me juſtly that ever I was diſobedient to any civil laws. But you muſt conſider, my lord, that I have a ſoul and body, and my ſoul is none of the queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I muſt give God my ſoul, and all that belongeth unto it, that is, I muſt do the laws and commandments of God; and whoſoever commandeth laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for fear of loſing my ſoul, but rather obey God than man.

Biſhop. Why doſt thou not theſe laws then? Are they not agreeable to God's law?

Spurd. No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.

Biſhop. Yes, that I can.

Spurd. Then if you can prove by the word of God, that you ſhould have any graven images made to ſet in your churches for laymen's books, or to worſhip God by them, or that you ſhould have the ceremonies in your church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.

Biſhop. Then it is a good and decent order to furniſh the church: as when you ſhall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table to furniſh the table before the meat ſhall come upon it; ſo are theſe ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the church among chriſtian people.

Spurd. Theſe are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God ſaith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my ſight. And theſe ceremonies are againſt God's laws. For St. Paul ſaith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.

Biſhop. Well, if you will not do them, ſeeing they be the laws of the realm, you are an heretic and diſobedient: and therefore come home again and confeſs your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do ſo?

Spurd. No, I have been in no error: for the ſpiritual laws were never more truly ſet forth than in my maſter king Edward's time, and I truſt unto God I ſhall never leave them while I live.

Then came a gentleman to me and ſaid, Are you wiſer than all men? and have you more knowledge than all men? Will you caſt away your ſoul willingly? My lord and other men alſo would fain you would ſave yourſelf: therefore chuſe ſome man where you will, either ſpiritual or temporal, and take a day, my lord will give it you.

Spurd. If I ſave my life, I ſhall loſe it; and if I loſe my life for Chriſt's ſake, I ſhall find it in life everlaſting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I muſt ſay then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, ſaid the biſhop.

This above-named Thomas Spurdance was one of queen Mary's ſervants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the ſaid queen's ſervants, named John Haman, otherwiſe called Barker, and George Looſon, both dwelling in Codman, in the county of Suffolk, who carried him to one Mr. Goſnal, dwelling in the ſaid Codman, and by him he was ſent to Bury, where he remained in priſon, and was afterwards burned in the month of November.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW, *and* RICHARD GIBSON.

SOON after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colcheſter, the three above-mentioned perſons were put to death in Smithfield, at London, the 18th of November.

Being brought before Bonner, biſhop of London, the 5th day of November, 1557, the following articles were exhibited unto them.

Articles *miniſtred unto* JOHN HALLINGDALE.

FIRST, That the ſaid John Hallingdale is of the dioceſe of London, and ſo ſubject to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.

Secondly, That the ſaid John, before the reign of king Edward the Sixth, late king of England, was of the ſame faith and religion that was then obſerved, believed, taught and ſet forth in this realm of England.

Thirdly, That during the reign of the ſaid king Edward the Sixth, the ſaid John Hallingdale, upon occaſion of the ſaid preaching of certain miniſters in that time, did not abide by his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and ſo did and doth continue till this preſent day, and ſo determineth to do (as he ſaith) till his life's end.

Fourthly, That the ſaid John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and ſpoken divers times, that the faith, religion, and eccleſiaſtical ſervice received, obſerved, and uſed now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but againſt God's commandment and word, eſpecially concerning the maſs, and the ſeven ſacraments; and that he the ſaid John, will not in any wiſe conform himſelf to the ſame, but ſpeak and think againſt it during his natural life.

Fifthly, That the ſaid John abſenteth himſelf continually from his own pariſh church of St. Leonard's, neither hearing maſs, mattins, nor even-ſong, nor yet confeſſing his ſins to the prieſt, nor receiving the ſacrament of the altar at his hands, or uſing other ceremonies as they are now uſed in this church and realm of England: and as he remembereth, he never came but once to the pariſh church of St. Leonard, and careth not if he never comes there any more, the ſervice being as it is there, and ſo many abuſes being there, eſpecially the maſs, the ſacraments, and the ceremonies and ſervice being ſet forth in Latin.

Sixthly, That the ſaid John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a male child, cauſed the ſaid child to be chriſtened in Engliſh, after the ſame manner and form in all points, as it was uſed in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth, as aforeſaid, and cauſed it to be called Joſue, and would not have the ſaid child chriſtened in Latin, after the form and manner as it is now uſed in the church and realm of England, nor will have it by his will to be confirmed by the biſhop.

Unto all which articles the ſaid John Hallingdale made anſwer, confeſſing them all, and every part of them to be true, and ſaying that he would not revoke his ſaid anſwers, but ſtand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

Furthermore, the ſaid John Hallingdale being demanded by the ſaid Bonner, whether he firmly believed, that in the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt, or no; made anſwer, that he neither in the time of the ſaid king Edward the Sixth, nor at that preſent did believe, that in the ſaid ſacrament there is really the very body and blood of Chriſt. For he ſaid, that if he had ſo believed, he would (as others had done) have received the ſame, which he did not, becauſe he had and then did believe, that the very body of Chriſt is only in heaven and no where elſe. And furthermore the ſaid John Hallingdale ſaid, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that have of late been burned for heretics, were no heretics at all, becauſe they did truly preach the goſpel; upon whoſe preaching he grounded his faith and conſcience, as he ſaid, according to the ſaying of St. John, Rev. xviii. where he ſaith, That the blood of the prophets, and of the ſaints, and of all them that were ſlain upon earth, was found in the Babylonical church, by which, he ſaid, is underſtood the church where the pope is the head.

After which examination, the ſaid John was ſent unto priſon again. And the next day, being the ſixth of the ſaid month, he was called before the biſhop again, who perſuading him with ſome wreſted ſentences of the ſcripture, the ſaid John Hallingdale anſwered, Becauſe I will not, ſaith he, come to your Babylonical church, therefore (ſpeaking unto Bonner), you go about to condemn me. And being further demanded by biſhop Bonner, whether he would perſevere and ſtand in his opinions or no: he made anſwer, that he would continue and perſiſt in them unto his death. Then Bonner read the ſentence of condemnation. At which time the ſaid John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church ſince the abomination came into it, and ſo he was ſent to priſon again.

Upon the ſame forenoon, William Sparrow was brought before the biſhop, and had the following articles laid to him.

Articles *miniſtred to* WILLIAM SPARROW.

FIRST, That thou, William Sparrow, waſt in times detected and preſented lawfully unto thy ordinary, the biſhop of London, called Edmund, who alſo is now thine ordinary of the ſaid dioceſe, and thou waſt preſented and detected unto him for hereſy, error, and unlawful opinions, which thou didſt believe, ſet forth, and hold.

Secondly, That thou before the ſaid ordinary didſt openly and judicially confeſs the ſaid hereſies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appears plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the ſaid ordinary.

Thirdly, That thou, after the premiſes, didſt make thy ſubmiſſion in writing, and didſt exhibit and deliver the ſame as thy deed, to thy ſaid ordinary; openly confeſſing and recognizing thy hereſies, errors, unlawful opinions, and thine offences and tranſgreſſions in that behalf.

Fourthly, That thou, after the premiſes, didſt promiſe unto thy ſaid ordinary, voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the ſaid ſubmiſſion, thou wouldſt in all points conform thyſelf unto the common order of the catholic church obſerved and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wiſe fall again to hereſies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

Fifthly, That thou, ſince thy ſaid ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly fallen into certain hereſies and errors, and haſt holden and ſet forth divers unlawful opinions, to the great hurt of thine own ſoul, and alſo to the great hindrance and loſs of ſeveral others, eſpecially againſt the ſacrament of the altar, againſt auricular confeſſion, with the other ſacraments of the catholic church.

Sixthly, That thou, ſince the ſaid commiſſion, haſt wilfully gone about divers places within the dioceſe of London, and ſold divers heretical, erroneous, and blaſphemous ballads about, and waſt apprehended and taken with the ſaid ballads about thee, and committed to priſon.

Unto the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles, he anſwered affirmatively.

To the fifth article he anſwered, That if he had ſpoke againſt them, he had ſpoke but the truth: for they are naught, meaning the contents of the ſaid article.

To the ſixth, he granted to the article, adding, that he did ſell the ſaid ballads, and that the ſame did contain God's word.

After which anſwers, the ſaid William Sparrow was ſent unto priſon. And the ſame day in the afternoon, being brought before the biſhop again, and there charged with his ſaid ſubmiſſion made the year before unto the biſhop, he anſwered thus: I am ſorry, ſaid he, that ever I made it, and it was the worſt deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your abomination as long as you can. Alſo being laid unto him, and charged by the biſhop that he went to church, and there was confeſſed and heard maſs: he made anſwer and confeſſed, that he did ſo, but with a troubled conſcience, he ſaid, God knoweth.

And being further demanded of Bonner, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame; he made anſwer, That he would not go from his opinions: and adding thereunto, he ſaid, That which you call hereſy, ſpeaking to the biſhop, is good and godly, and if every hair of my head were a man, ſaid he, I would burn them all rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded, What ground of learning he had to cleave to his opinions: he made anſwer and ſaid, That all the laws now uſed (meaning the eccleſiaſtical laws) are naught and abominable. Which words being ſpoken, the biſhop immediately read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, and ſo delivered him to the ſecular power, by whom he was ſent to priſon again.

An Account *of* Mr. RICHARD GIBSON, Martyr.

WITH the other two above named, ſuffered alſo in the ſame fire, Richard Gibſon, who firſt was caſt into the Compter, in the Poultry (where he had been priſoner for the ſpace of two years for a ſurety in a matter of debt, and then ſtood upon his deliverance), then upon ſuſpicion and evil will was accuſed to biſhop Bonner, becauſe he was never confeſſed in the priſon, nor received at the popiſh altar: by reaſon whereof he was called for, and ſuſtained divers conflicts and examinations in the cauſe of his faith and religion. But firſt he ſeemed to make a certain ſubmiſſion which he alſo exhibited with the other twenty-eight before-mentioned: but becauſe it ſeemed in words to differ ſomething from the other, it appeareth not to be received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his ſubmiſſion was recorded in the biſhop's regiſter, yet he was not delivered from impriſonment till the day of his burning.

The greateſt matter which he was charged with, was for not coming to confeſſion, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the ſacrament of the popiſh making, and for that he would not ſwear to anſwer to their interrogatories laid againſt him.

Notwithſtanding after theſe his firſt examinations he continued in the priſon of the Compter, from the month of May to November, when he was again produced againſt the final judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Mr. Gibſon being a very big and tall man, of a perſonable and heroical ſtature, was ſent for by Bonner by a little man, a promoter, like Robin Papiſt, called Robin Caley.

This Robin Caley having the conducting of the ſaid gentleman from the Poultry, would needs haul him through Cheapſide, the gentleman deſiring him to turn ſome other way. But the more the gentleman intreated, the more fierce was he upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arm, would needs haul him through the High-ſtreet, that all the world might ſee what he could do in his office. Mr. Gibſon, deſirous to go without holding, intreated him to let his arm looſe, and he would go quietly with him whither he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without being noticed by the people.

But he ſaucily anſwered him, Nay, thou ſhalt not eſcape me ſo, come on thy ways. Thou ſhalt not chuſe but come; and ſo reaching at his arm, would needs drag him unto the biſhop. The gentleman content to go, yet loth to be noted in the ſtreets, gently requeſted again and again, that refraining his hold, he would ſuffer him to go of his own free will, he ſhould not need to fear him, for he would not ſtart from him. To which he replied, Come on thy way, I will hold thee faſt, ſpite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. Gibſon beholding his intolerable bragging, and being greatly moved therewith, could bear no longer; but ſaid, Wilt thou? adding moreover, That if he did not immediately pluck away his hand, he would wring his head from his body. Whereupon he let go his hold, and ſo they proceeded unto the biſhop to be examined again before him.

After this, another day being aſſigned him to appear again, much talk paſſed between him and Darbyſhire, then chancellor. But in fine, being required to ſwear that he ſhould anſwer unto all they would demand, he denied to anſwer unto all things the biſhop ſhould command him as ordinary: For he is not, ſaith he, mine ordinary, and ſo bade him go tell the biſhop. Before which biſhop, he being then commanded to appear the Friday following, was brought into the Juſtice-hall, without Newgate, where he had the like conflicts with the aforeſaid biſhop and divers other juſtices. At length he was aſſigned the Saturday following, to be preſent at the biſhop's conſiſtory court, to hear his final ſentence. At which day and place, the ſaid examinate appearing as he was commanded, the biſhop, after other matter of communication, aſked him if he knew any cauſe why the ſentence ſhould not be read againſt him. To whom Mr. Gibſon anſwered, that the biſhop had nothing whereof juſtly to condemn him. The biſhop's reaſon was again objected to him, that men ſaid he was an evil man. To whom Gibſon replying again; Yea, ſaith he, and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. To be ſhort, after this and ſuch other talk, the biſhop haſted unto the ſentence. Which being read, Bonner yet again admoniſhed him to remember himſelf, and to ſave his ſoul: he ſaid, that he would not hear the biſhop's babbling; and ſaid moreover, boldly proteſting and affirming that he was contrary, and an enemy to them all in his mind and opinion, although he had before kept it ſecret in mind, for fear of the law. And ſpeaking to the biſhop, Bleſſed, ſaid he, am I, that am curſed at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: for as the biſhop ſaith, ſo muſt it be. And no hereſy it is to turn the truth of God's word into lies, and that do you, meaning the biſhop and his fellows.

Thus this valiant ſoldier, fighting for the goſpel and ſincere doctrine of Chriſt's truth and religion, againſt falſhood and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the ſecular power.

And ſo theſe three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Mr. Gibſon, being thus appointed to the ſlaughter, were, the 12th day after their condemnation (which was the 18th day of November), burnt in Smithfield. And being brought thither to the ſtake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chains, and wood ſet unto them, and after wood, fire, in which being encompaſſed about, and the fiery flames conſuming their fleſh, at laſt they yielded glorioufly and joyfully their ſouls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whoſe tuition and government I commend thee, good reader. Amen.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* JOHN ROUGH, Miniſter, *and* MARGARET MEARING, *burned at* London, December 22.

JOHN ROUGH was born in Scotland, who, (as himſelf confeſſeth in his anſwers to Bonner's articles) becauſe ſome of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of ſeventeen years, in deſpite (and rather to diſpleaſe his friends), profeſs himſelf into the order of the black friars at Sterling, in Scotland; where he remained the ſpace of ſixteen years, until ſuch time as the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland (as a favour unto him) did apply unto the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, to have him out of his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular prieſt he might ſerve him for his chaplain. At which requeſt the archbiſhop cauſed the provincial of that houſe, having thereto authority, to diſpenſe with him for his habit and order.

This ſuit being thus obtained by the earl, the ſaid Rough remained in his ſervice one whole year: during which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes, and to give him ſome knowledge of his truth, and was thereupon ſent by the ſaid governor to preach in the freedom of Ayre, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's, and there had aſſigned unto him a yearly penſion of twenty pounds from Henry the Eighth, king of England. However, at laſt weighing with himſelf his own danger, and alſo abhorring the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the country, and hearing of the freedom of the goſpel within this realm of England, he determined with himſelf not to tarry any longer there: and therefore, ſoon after the battle of Muſſelborough, he came firſt unto Carliſle, and from thence unto the duke of Somerſet, then lord protector of England, and by his aſſignment had appointed unto him out of the king's treaſury twenty pounds of yearly ſtipend, and was ſent (as a preacher) to ſerve at Carliſle, Berwick, and Newcaſtle, where he married. From whence he was called by the archbiſhop of York that then was, unto a benefice in the town of Hull, where he continued till the death of good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the perſecution that would thereupon ariſe, and feeling his own weakneſs) he fled with his wife into Friezeland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of caps, hoſe, and ſuch like things, till about the end of the month of October, before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other ſuch neceſſary proviſion for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into England, here to provide for the ſame, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the ſecret ſociety, and holy congregation of God's children there aſſembled, he joined himſelf unto them, and afterwards being elected their miniſter and preacher, did continue moſt virtuouſly exerciſed in that godly fellowſhip, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the goſpel of Chriſt. But in the end (ſuch was the providence of God, who diſpoſes all things to the beſt) the 12th day of December, he with Cutbert Simſon and others, through the crafty and traiterous ſuggeſtion of a falſe hypocrite and diſſembling brother, named Roger Serjeant, a taylor, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's houſe, at the Saracen's Head in Iſlington; where the congregation had then purpoſed to aſſemble themſelves to their accuſtomable exerciſes of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the ſafeguard of all the reſt, they yet at their examinations covered and excuſed, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simſon unto the council, who charged them to have aſſembled together to celebrate the communion or ſupper of the Lord, and therefore after ſundry examinations they ſent unto the biſhop of London, with a letter ſigned with their hands: the copy whereof here follows.

A LETTER

From the Queen's Council *to* BONNER, Biſhop *of* London, *concerning the* Examination *of* JOHN ROUGH, Miniſter.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good lordſhip, we ſend you here incloſed the examination of a Scottiſh man, named John Rough, who, by the queen's command, is juſt ſent to Newgate, being of the chief of them that upon Sunday laſt, under the colour of coming to ſee a play at the Saracen's Head, at Iſlington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there among other certain ſeditious and heretical perſons. And foraſmuch as by the ſaid Rough's examination, containing the ſtory and progreſs of his former life, it well appeareth of what ſort he is; the queen's highneſs hath willed us to remit him unto your lordſhip, to the end that being called before you out of priſon, as oft as your lordſhip ſhall think good, you may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwiſe ordering of him according to the laws, as the caſe ſhall require. And thus we bid your lordſhip heartily well to fare. From St. James's, December 15, 1557. Your lordſhip's loving friends, Nicholas Ebor, F. Shrewſbury, Edward Haſtings, Anthony Montague, John Bourne, Henry Iernegam.

Bonner, now minding to make quick diſpatch, did, within three days after the receipt of the letter, ſend for Rough out of Newgate, to be examined before him and others; who, when they perceived his conſtancy, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the conſiſtory, there to adjudge and condemn him as an heretic. Which purpoſe they accompliſhed: for the twentieth day in the afternoon, in the preſence of the biſhop of London, and St. David's, with Fecknam, abbot of Weſtminſter, and others, he was there produced. Where, after many perſuaſions, Bonner read unto him the articles and anſwers, in which they charged him to have received the orders of the church, and therefore might not marry: and that he had refuſed to conſent to the Latin ſervice then uſed in the church. Whereunto he then anſwered and ſaid, That their orders were nothing at all, and that he being a prieſt, might lawfully marry, and that the children which he had by his wife were lawful. And concerning the ſervice then uſed, he utterly deteſted it, ſaying, That if he ſhould live as long as did Methuſelah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable maſs and other ſervice being as it was then. Upon which words the biſhop proceeded to the degradation of the ſaid Rough; and after condemning him as an heretic, committed his body to the ſecular power, who taking him into their cuſtody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching the ſaid Mr. Rough, this is further to be noted, that he being in the north country in the days of king Edward VI. was the cauſe of ſaving Dr. Watſon's life (who in queen Mary's days was biſhop of London), for a ſermon that he had preached there. The ſaid Watſon after that, being with Bonner at the examination of the ſaid Mr. Rough, to requite him in ſaving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretic, who did hurt more in the north parts than an hundred beſides of his opinion. Unto whom Mr. Rough ſaid, Why, ſir, is this the reward I have for ſaving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the days of king Edward VI.? This Mr. Rough ſaid, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal: and being before Bonner, among other talk he affirmed, that he had been twice at Rome, and there had ſeen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very Antichriſt; for there he ſaw him carried on men's ſhoulders, and the falſe-named ſacrament borne before him. Yet there was more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, riſing up, and making as though he would have torn his garment, Haſt thou, ſaid he, been at Rome, and ſeen our holy father the pope, and doſt thou blaſpheme him after this ſort: and with flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard, and after making ſpeedy haſte to his death, he burnt him half an hour before ſix o'clock in the morning, becauſe the day belike ſhould not be far ſpent before he had done a miſchievous deed.

LETTER I.

From JOHN ROUGH, *to ſome of his* Friends, *confirming and ſtrengthening them in the* Truth, *which he had before taught.*

THE comfort of the Holy Ghoſt make you able to give conſolation to others in theſe dangerous days, when Satan is let looſe, but to the trial only of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſiſt his wheat from the chaff. I have not leiſure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I ſpeak to God's glory; my care was to have the ſenſes of my ſoul open, to perceive the voice of God, ſaying, Whoſoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to ſave the life corporal, is to loſe the life eternal. And he that will not ſuffer with Chriſt, ſhall not reign with him. Therefore, moſt tender ones, I have by God's Spirit given over the fleſh, with the fight of my ſoul, and the ſpirit hath the victory. The fleſh ſhall now before it be long, leave off to ſin, the ſpirit ſhall reign eternally. I have choſen death to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do more? Conſider with yourſelves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unto the end. The greateſt part of the aſſault is paſt, I praiſe my God. I have in all my aſſaults felt the preſent aid of my God, I give him moſt hearty thanks therefore. Look not back, nor be ye aſhamed of Chriſt's goſpel, nor of the bonds I have ſuffered for the ſame, thereby you may be aſſured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been ſealed with the ſame mark. It is no time for the loſs of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts, down with the daubed walls of hereſy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal reſiſtance, but pray, and ye ſhall have Elias's defence, and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cauſe is the Lord's. Now, my brethren, I can write no more, time will not ſuffer, and my heart with pangs of death is aſſaulted; but I am at home with my God, yet alive. Pray for me, and ſalute one another with the holy kiſs. The peace of God reſt with you all, Amen. From Newgate priſon in haſte, the day of my condemnation.

John Rough.

LETTER II.

From JOHN ROUGH, *written unto the* Congregation *two* Days *before he ſuffered.*

THE Spirit of conſolation be with you, aid you, and make you ſtrong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himſelf, by coupling to their head Jeſus Chriſt; in whom, whoſo deſireth to live godly, the ſame muſt needs ſuffer perſecution. For it is given unto them, not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer. And the ſervant or ſcholar cannot be greater than his lord and maſter: but by the ſame way the head is entered, the members muſt follow: no life is in the members which are cut from the body: likewiſe we have no life but in Chriſt; for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear ſons, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like unto the corn caſt into the ground, which except it die firſt, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to me great advantage: for thereby the body ceaſeth from ſin, and after turneth into the firſt original; but after ſhall be changed, and made brighter than the ſun or moon. What ſhall I write of this corporal death, ſeeing it is decreed of God, that all men ſhall once die? Happy are they which die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Chriſt, profeſſing and confeſſing the ſame before many witneſſes. I praiſe God I have paſſed the ſame journey by many temptations, the devil is very buſy to perſuade, the world to entice with promiſes and fair words: which I omit to write leſt ſome might think I did hunt after vain-glory, which is fartheſt from my heart. Laſtly, the danger of ſome falſe brethren, who before the biſhop of London purpoſed to confeſs an untruth to my face: yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts; where they thought to ſpeak to my accuſation, he made them ſpeak to my purgation. What a journey (by God's power) I have made theſe eight days before this day, it is above fleſh and blood to bear: but as St. Paul ſaith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jeſus Chriſt. My courſe, brethren, have I run, I have fought a good fight, the crown of righteouſneſs is laid up for me, my day to receive it is at hand. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet aſſault. Stand conſtant unto the end, then ſhall you poſſeſs your ſouls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not aſhamed of the goſpel of the croſs, by me preached, nor yet of my ſuffering; for with my blood I affirm the ſame. I go before, I ſuffer firſt the baiting of the butcher's dogs; yet I have not done what I ſhould have done; but my weakneſs, I doubt not, is ſupplied in the ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt; and your wiſdom and learning will accept the ſmall talent, which I have diſtributed unto you, (as I truſt) as a faithful ſteward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me, my heart burſteth for the love of you. Ye are not without the great paſtor of your ſoul, who ſo loveth you, that if men were not to be ſought out, (as God be praiſed there is no want of men) he would cauſe ſtones to miniſter unto you. Caſt your care on that rock, the wind of temptation ſhall not prevail: faſt and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedneſs hath deſerved that I ſhall not ſee it). And alſo that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which ſhall alſo be

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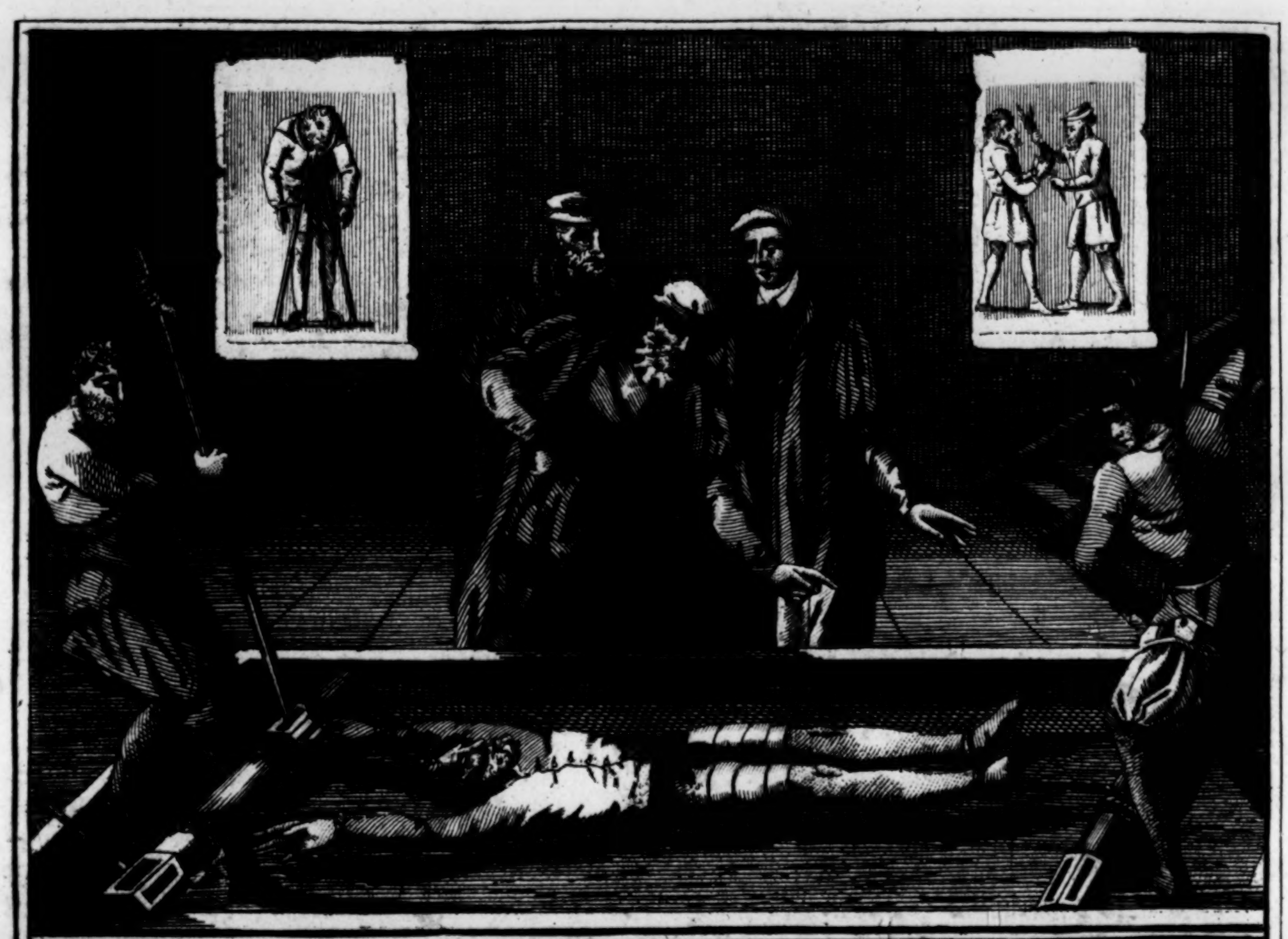
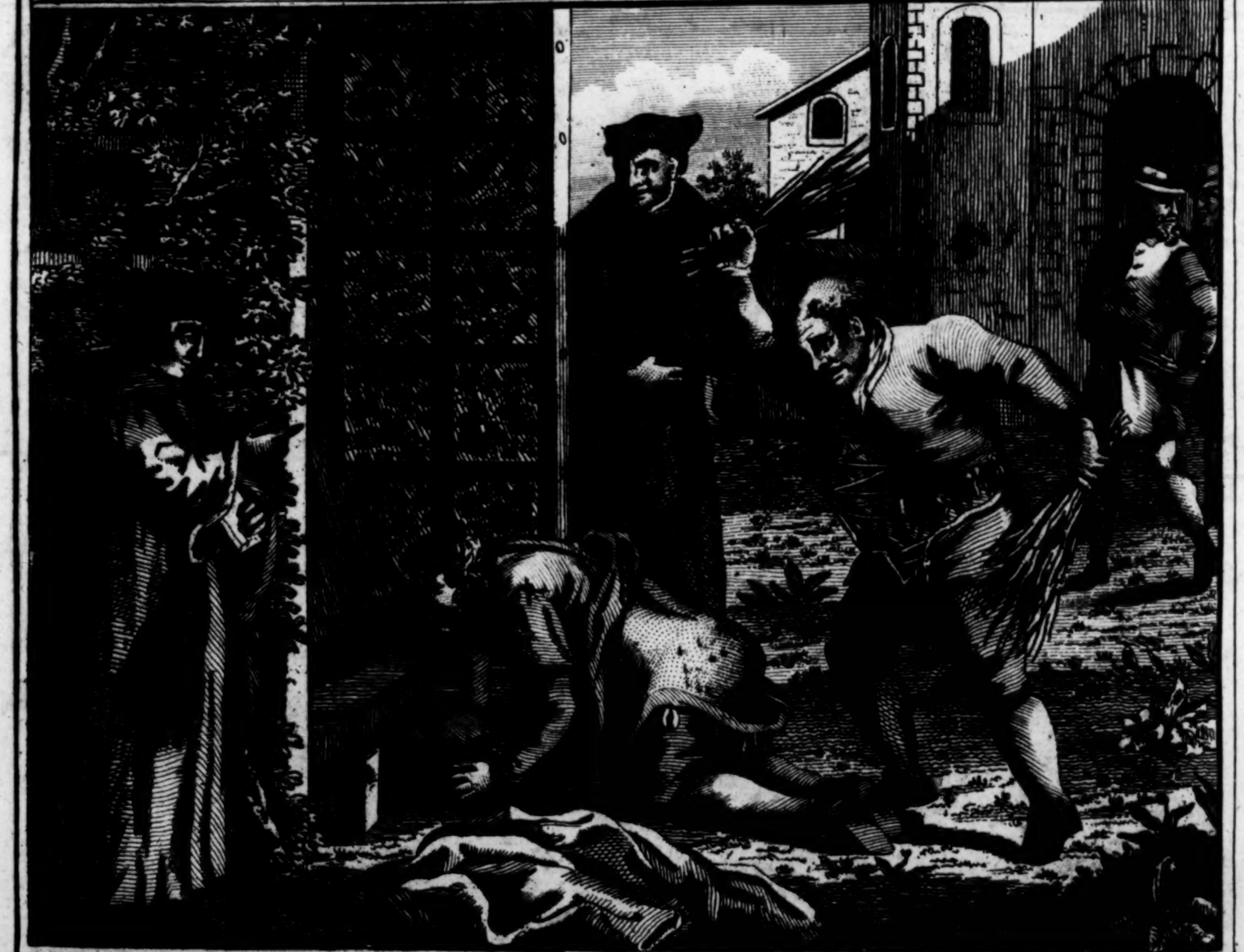


Representation of M^r. Cuthbert Sympson *on the* Rack —— *in an* Engine *of* Iron —— *and having an* Arrow *thrust through his* Fingers.



M^r. THO^s. HINSHAW ſcourged *by* BISHOP BONNER *in his* Orchard *at* Fulham.

Face 7

be laid under the altar, ſhall cry for your relief. Time will not now ſuffer me to write long letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, riſing and ſitting, cover you with the ſhadow of his wings, defend you againſt the tyranny of the wicked, and bring you happily unto the port of eternal felicity, where all tears ſhall be wiped from your eyes, and you ſhall always abide with the Lamb.

JOHN ROUGH.

An Account *of* MARGARET MEARING, Martyr.

IT is before related, that in the company of John Rough, was burned one Margaret Mearing, who, as the regiſter maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the ſaid Rough forth to examination: where the biſhop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the 18th day of December object againſt her thoſe common and accuſtomable articles mentioned before; to which ſhe anſwered as follows.

1. That there is here on earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Chriſt obſerved and kept in the ſame church.

2. Item, That there were only two ſacraments in the church, namely, the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

3. Item, That ſhe was baptized in the faith and belief of the ſaid church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works, &c.

4. Item, That when ſhe came to the age of fourteen years, ſhe did not know what her true belief was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to underſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5. Item, That ſhe had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but ſhe ſaid that the maſs was abominable before the ſight of God, and before the ſight of all true chriſtian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe ſaid, ſhe believed there was no ſuch ſacrament in the catholic church. Alſo ſhe ſaid, that ſhe utterly abhorred the authority of the biſhop of Rome, with all the religion obſerved in the ſame Antichriſt's church.

6. Item, She anſwered to the 6th article, as to the firſt, before ſpecified.

7. Item, That ſhe hath refuſed to come to her pariſh church, becauſe the true religion of Chriſt was not then uſed in the ſame; and further ſaid, that ſhe had not come unto the church for the ſpace of one year and three quarters then laſt paſt, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the ſame in theſe idolatrous days.

8. Item, As touching the manner of her apprehenſion, ſhe ſaid, That Cluney, the biſhop's ſumner, did fetch her to the biſhop.

Theſe anſwers being then regiſtered, they were again (with the ſaid articles) propounded againſt her the 20th day of December, and there being demanded if ſhe would ſtand unto thoſe her anſwers, ſhe ſaid, I will ſtand to them unto death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to ſcorn, to ſee your abomination that you uſe in the church. After which words, the biſhop pronounced the ſentence of condemnation againſt her; and then delivering her unto the ſheriffs, ſhe was, with the before-mentioned John Rough carried unto Newgate. From whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the 22d of December, and there moſt joyfully gave their lives for the profeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel.

C H A P. II.

Continuation of the Perſecution *of* PROTESTANTS *during the Reign of* QUEEN MARY I. *with the providential Deliverances of many from their cruel Enemies the* PAPISTS.

An Account *of the* Sufferings *and cruel* Torments *of* CUTBERT SYMSON, Deacon *of the* Chriſtian Congregation *in* London.

CUTBERT SYMSON was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Chriſt and his true flock, inſomuch that he never ceaſed labouring, and ſtudying moſt earneſtly, not only how to preſerve them without corruption of the popiſh religion, but alſo his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without danger or peril of perſecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this congregation, as it is not eaſily to be expreſſed; ſo it is wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by viſion, concerning the troubles of this faithful miniſter and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday night before Mr. Rough, miniſter of the congregation (of whom mention was made before), was taken, being in his bed he dreamed, that he ſaw two of the guards leading Cutbert Symſon, deacon of the ſaid congregation, and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon, being ſore troubled he awaked, and called his wife, ſaying, Kate, ſtrike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night. When ſhe had ſo done, he began to read in his book a while, and there feeling ſleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and ſo gave himſelf again to reſt. Being aſleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he ſaid, Oh, Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone. So they lighted a candle again, and roſe. And as the ſaid Mr. Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert to ſee how he did, in the mean time the ſaid Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation. Whom when Mr. Rough had ſeen, ſaid he, Brother Cutbert, you are welcome; for I have been ſore troubled with you this night, and ſo told him his dream. After he had ſo done, he deſired him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert anſwered, he would not ſo do; for dreams, he ſaid, were but fancies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. Rough ſtraitly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the ſaid Cutbert took ſuch notes out of the book as he had deſired him to do, and immediately left the book with Mr. Rough's wife.

The next night following, the ſaid Mr. Rough had another dream in his ſleep, concerning his own trouble. The matter whereof was this: he thought in his dream that he was carried himſelf forcibly to the biſhop, and that the biſhop pluckt off his beard, and caſt it into the fire, ſaying theſe words, Now I may ſay I have had a piece of an heretic burned in my houſe, and ſo accordingly it came to paſs.

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched ſomething concerning theſe viſions, ſo now remaineth to mention his pains and ſufferings upon the rack, and otherwiſe, like a good Laurence for the congregation's ſake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A true Account *how he was uſed in the* Tower *of* London, *being ſent thither by the* Council, *the* 13*th Day of* December.

ON the Thurſday after, I was called into the Warehouſe, before the conſtable of the Tower, and the recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the Engliſh ſervice. I anſwered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was ſet in a rack of iron, the ſpace of three hours, as I judged.

Then they aſked me if I would tell them. I anſwered as before. Then was I looſed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the ſame place again, before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had ſaid, I anſwered. Then the lieutenant did ſwear by God I ſhould tell. Then did they bind my two fore fingers together, and put a ſmall arrow betwixt them, and drew it through ſo faſt that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant aſked me if I would not confeſs that which they had before aſked me. I anſwered, I had ſaid as much as I would. Then five weeks after he ſent me unto the high prieſt, where I was greatly aſſaulted, and at whoſe hand I received the pope's curſe, for bearing witneſs of the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the name of Jeſus, deſiring God of his endleſs mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, to bring us all to his everlaſting kingdom, Amen. I praiſe God for his great mercy ſhewed upon us. Sing Hoſanna unto the higheſt with me Cutbert Symſon. God forgive me my ſins. I aſk all the world forgiveneſs, and I do forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful reſurrection.

A Note of CUTBERT SYMSON's Patience.

NOW as touching this Cutbert Symſon, this is further to be noticed, that Bonner in his conſiſtory, ſpeaking of Cutbert Symſon, gave this teſtimony of him there to the people, ſaying, You ſee this man, ſaith he, what a perſonable man he is; and after he had thus commended his perſon, added moreover, And furthermore concerning his patience, I ſay unto you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greateſt patience that ever yet came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Alſo in my houſe he hath felt ſome ſorrow, and yet I never ſaw his patience broken, &c.

It is thought and ſaid by ſome, that that arrow which was grated between his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the biſhop's houſe.

The day before this bleſſed deacon and martyr of God, Cutbert Symſon, after his painful racking, ſhould go to his condemnation before Bonner to be burned, being in the ſtocks in the biſhop's Coal-houſe, he had a very ſtrange viſion or apparition, which he himſelf with his own mouth declared to that learned man Mr. Auſten, to his own wife, and Thomas Symſon, and to others beſides, in the priſon of Newgate a little before his death. The relation whereof I ſtand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, conſidering with myſelf the great diverſity of men's judgments, by the reading of hiſtories, and variety of affections. Some I ſee will not believe it, ſome will deride the ſame, ſome alſo will be offended with ſetting forth ſuch uncertain things of that ſort, eſteeming all things to be uncertain and incredible which appear any way ſtrange from the common order of nature.

Others will be perhaps grieved, thinking with themſelves, or elſe thus reaſoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet, foraſmuch as the common error of believing thoſe raſh miracles, fancies, viſions, dreams, and apparitions, thereby may be confirmed, it is thought more expedient for the ſame to be omitted.

Theſe, and ſuch like, will be, I know, the ſayings of many. Whereunto I briefly anſwer, granting firſt, and admitting with the words of Baſil, Not every dream is ſtraightway a propheſy. Again, neither am I ignorant that the papiſts in their books and legends of ſaints have their prodigious viſions and apparations of angels, of our lady, of Chriſt, and other ſaints: which as I will not admit to be believed as true; ſo will they aſk me, why ſhould I require more to be credited by them, than their's by us.

Firſt, I write not this, to oblige any man preciſely to believe the ſame, as they do their's, but only report it as it hath been heard of perſons known, naming alſo the parties who were the hearers hereof, leaving the judgment thereof notwithſtanding free unto the arbitrament of the reader. Although it is no good argument, proceeding from the ſingular or particular, to the univerſal, to ſay that viſions be not true in ſome: Ergo, they be true in none. And if any ſhall muſe, or object again, Why ſhould ſuch viſions be given to him, or a few other ſingular perſons, more than to all the reſt, ſeeing the others were in the ſame cauſe and quarrel, and died alſo martyrs as well as he? To this, I ſay, concerning the Lord's times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaſeth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the others with ſingular conſolation to reſpect him, who is chiefly above the other, and ſingularly did ſuffer moſt exquiſite torments for his ſake? What great marvel herein? But, as I ſaid, of the Lord's ſecret times I have not to reaſon. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, ſo as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge thereof as God ſhall rule his mind. The matter is this.

The day before Symſon was condemned, he being in the ſtocks, Cluney, his keeper, cometh in with the keys about nine o'clock at night (after his uſual manner) to view his priſon, and ſee whether all were preſent, who when he eſpied the ſaid Cutbert to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven o'clock toward midnight, the ſaid Cutbert (whether being in a ſlumber, or being awake I cannot ſay) heard one coming in, firſt opening the outward door, then the ſecond, after the third door, and ſo looking in to the ſaid Cutbert, having no candle or torch that he could ſee, but giving a brightneſs and light moſt comfortable and joyful to his heart, ſaying unto him, Ha, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither dare I define. This that he ſaw he himſelf declared four or five times to the ſaid Mr. Auſten, and to others. At the ſight whereof he received ſuch joyful comfort, that he alſo expreſſed no little ſolace in telling and declaring the ſame.

A LETTER

From CUTBERT SYMSON *to his* Wife, *written in the* Coal-Houſe.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I cannot write as I do wiſh unto you.

I beſeech you with my ſoul, commit yourſelf under the mighty hand of our God, truſting in his mercy, and he will ſurely help us, as ſhall be moſt unto his glory and our everlaſting comfort, being ſure of this, that he will ſuffer nothing to come unto us, but that which ſhall be profitable for us.

For it is either a correction for our ſins, or a trial of our faith, or to ſet forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore muſt needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by fortune or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence. And therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to conſider it. Let us give him moſt hearty thanks for theſe his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loveth he correcteth. And I beſeech you now be of good cheer, and count the croſs of Chriſt greater riches, than all the vain pleaſures of England. I do not doubt (I praiſe God for it), but that you have ſupped with Chriſt at his Maundy; I mean, believe in him: for that is the effect, and then muſt you drink of his cup, I mean his croſs (for that doth the croſs ſignify unto us). Take the cup with a good ſtomach, in the name of God, and then ſhall you be ſure to have the good wine, Chriſt's blood, to thy poor thirſty ſoul. And when you have the wine, you muſt drink it out of this cup. Learn this when you come to the Lord's ſupper. In all things give thanks.

In the name of Jeſus ſhall every knee bow,

Cutbert Symson.

The Martyrdom *of* HUGH FOXE *and* JOHN DEVENISH.

WITH Cutbert Symſon likewiſe were apprehended and alſo ſuffered Hugh Foxe and John Deveniſh; who being brought unto their examinations with the ſaid Cutbert, before Bonner, biſhop of London, March 19, had articles and interrogatories miniſtered unto them by the ſaid officer.

The general Anſwers *of* CUTBERT SYMSON, HUGH FOXE, *and* JOHN DEVENISH, *to the* Articles *propoſed to them by the* Biſhop.

TO the firſt article they all anſwered affirmatively: but John Deveniſh added, That that church is grounded upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone, and how in that church there is the true faith and religion of Chriſt.

To the ſecond article they all confeſſed and believed, That in Chriſt's catholic church, there are but two ſacraments, namely, baptiſm, and the ſupper of the Lord; otherwiſe they do not believe the contents of this article to be true in any part thereof.

To the third, fourth, and fifth articles they all anſwered affirmatively.

To the ſixth article they all anſwered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the ſee of Rome to be lawful and good, or yet his religion.

To the ſeventh article they all anſwered affirmatively, that they have and will do ſtill while they live; and John Deveniſh adding thereto, ſaid that the ſacrament of the altar, as it is now uſed, is no ſacrament at all.

To the eighth article they all confeſſed, and believed all things above by them acknowledged and declared to be true, and that they are of the dioceſe of London, and juriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe three above-named perſons, Symſon, Foxe, and Deveniſh, as they were altogether apprehended at Iſlington, ſo they all three ſuffered together in Smithfield, about the 28th day of March, in whoſe perfect conſtancy the ſame Lord (in whoſe cauſe and quarrel they ſuffered) giver of all grace, and governor of all things, be exalted for ever. Amen.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* WILLIAM NICHOL, *of* Haverford-Weſt, *in* Wales.

WE find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceaſed at all times to moleſt the church of Chriſt with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith, but yet never ſo apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his ſaints to the ſhedding of their blood, and perverting of their religion; for then ſleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the ſame, unleſs they will fall down with Ahab and Jezabel to worſhip him, and ſo kill and poiſon their own ſouls eternally; as in theſe miſerable latter days of queen Mary we have felt, heard, and ſeen practiſed upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded an honeſt poor man, named William Nichol, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for ſpeaking certain words againſt the cruel kingdom of Antichriſt, and on the 9th day of April, 1558, was burnt in Wales, ending his life in a moſt happy and bleſſed ſtate, gloriouſly giving his ſoul into the hands of that God, whoſe goodneſs be praiſed for ever. Amen.

This William Nichol (as we are informed) was ſo ſimple a good ſoul, that many eſteemed him half fooliſh. But what he was in that reſpect we know not, but this we are ſure, that he died a good man, and, in a good cauſe, whatſoever they judge of him. And the more ſimplicity and feebleneſs of wit appeared in him, the more beaſtly and wretched doth it declare their cruel tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them repentance, if it be his bleſſed will. Amen, Amen.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, *and* THOMAS HUDSON, *at* Norwich, *in the County of* Norfolk.

IMMEDIATELY after William Nichol, ſucceeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom three conſtant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk, who were cruelly put to death for the true teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, the 19th of May, 1558, whoſe names are theſe: William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon.

William Seaman was an huſbandman, of the age of 26 years, dwelling in Mendleſham, in the county of Suffolk, who was divers times ſought after at the command of ſir John Tyrrel, knight, and at laſt he himſelf ſearched his houſe and other places for him; notwithſtanding he ſomewhat miſſed of his purpoſe, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his ſervants, Robert Baulding and James Clarke, with others, to ſeek for him. They, having no officer, went in the evening to his houſe, he being at home, took him and carried him to their maſter, ſir John Tyrrel. This Baulding being Seaman's near neighbour, and one whom Seaman truſted as an extraordinary friend, notwithſtanding, to do his maſter a pleaſure, now became an enemy to his chief friend, and was one of the buſieſt in the taking of him. And as they were going to carry him to their maſter, ſir John Tyrrel, in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the elements, and parted them, this Baulding being in company with the reſt when the light fell; and although he was then in the prime of his age, yet after that time never enjoyed a good day, but pined away even unto death.

Well, for all that ſtrange ſight (as I ſaid), they carried him to their maſter. Who, when he came, aſked him why he would not go to maſs, and receive the ſacrament, and ſo worſhip it? To which William Seaman anſwered (denying it to be a ſacrament) and ſaid, It was an idol, and that he would not receive it. After which words ſir John Tyrrel ſent him to Norwich, to Hopton, then biſhop, and there after conference and examination had with him, the biſhop read his bloody ſentence of condemnation againſt him; and afterwards delivered him to the ſecular power, who kept him till the day of martyrdom.

The ſaid William Seaman left behind him, when he died, a wife and three children very young; and with the ſaid young children his wife was perſecuted out of the ſaid town of Mendleſham, becauſe ſhe would not go to hear maſs, and all her corn and goods ſeized and taken away, by Mr. Chriſtopher Cole's officers, he being lord of the ſaid town.

Thomas Carman, (who, as is ſaid, pledged Richard Craſhfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended), being priſoner in Norwich, was one time with the reſt examined and brought before the ſaid biſhop, who anſwered no leſs in his Maſter's cauſe than the others; and therefore had the like reward that the others had, which was the biſhop's bloody bleſſing of condemnation, and delivered to the ſecular power, who kept him with the others until the day of ſlaughter, which was not long after.

Thomas Hudſon was of Aileſham, in Norfolk, by his occupation a glover, a very honeſt poor man, having a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being thirty years of age, and bearing ſo good a will to the goſpel, that he in the days of king Edward the Sixth, two years before queen Mary's reign learned to read Engliſh of Antony and Thomas Norgate, of the ſame town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of the alteration of religion:

for when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the ſervice of the church, putting in for wheat, chaff and darnel, and for good preaching, blaſphemous crying out againſt truth and godlineſs; he then avoiding all their ceremonies of ſuperſtition, abſented himſelf from his houſe, and went into Suffolk a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occaſion offered. At laſt he returned back to his houſe at Aileſham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavy and troubleſome with his abſence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife deviſed to make him a place among his faggots to hide himſelf in, where he remained all the day reading and praying continually, for the ſpace of half a year, and his wife, like an honeſt woman, being careful for him, uſed herſelf faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town (who was one of the biſhop's commiſſaries, a very wicked man) and inquired of Thomas Hudſon's wife for her huſband. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, as not knowing where he was. Then the ſaid Berry waxed angry, and threatened to burn her, becauſe ſhe would not tell where her huſband was. After that when Hudſon underſtood it, he grew every day more zealous than before, and continually read and ſung pſalms, the people openly reſorting to him, to hear his exhortations and prayers.

At laſt he walked abroad for certain days openly in the town, crying out continually againſt the maſs and all their trumpery, and in the end coming home to his houſe, he ſat him down, having his book by him, reading and ſinging pſams continually without ceaſing, for three days and three nights together, to the great wonder of many.

Then one John Crouch, his next neighbour, went to the conſtables, Robert Marſham and Robert Lawes, in the night, to certify them thereof: for Berry commanded openly to watch for him, and the conſtables underſtanding the ſame, went to catch him at break of day, the 22d of April, 1558.

And when Hudſon ſaw them come in, he ſaid, Now mine hour is come: welcome friends, welcome. You be they that ſhall lead me to life in Chriſt. I thank God for it, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercy's ſake. Then they took him and led him to Berry, the commiſſary, who was vicar of the town, and the ſaid Berry aſked him, firſt, Where he kept his church for four years before? To which the ſaid Hudſon anſwered thus, Whereſoever he was, there was the church.

Doſt thou not believe, ſaid Berry, in the ſacrament of the altar? What is it?

Hudſon. It is worms meat: my belief is in Chriſt crucified.

Berry. Doſt thou not believe the maſs to put away ſins?

Hudſon. No, God forbid; it is a patched monſter, and a diſguiſed puppet, more tedious a piecing than ever was Solomon's temple.

At which words Berry ſtamped, fumed, and ſhewed himſelf as a madman, and ſaid, Well, thou villain, thou: I will write to the biſhop, my good lord, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt be handled according to thy deſerts. O, ſir, ſaid Hudſon, there is no Lord but God, though there be many lords and many gods. With that Berry thruſt him back with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar, ſtanding by, ſaid, I pray you, ſir, be good to the poor man. At which words Berry was more mad than before, and would have had Cliffar bound in a recognizance of forty pounds for his good behaviour both in word and deed; but his deſire took no effect. Then he aſked Hudſon whether he would recant, or not: to which Hudſon anſwered, The Lord forbid! I had rather die many deaths than do ſo.

Then after long talk, the ſaid Berry, ſeeing it to no purpoſe to perſuade him, took his pen and ink, and wrote letters to the biſhop thereof, and ſent this Hudſon to Norwich, bound like a thief, to him, which was eight miles from thence, who went thither ſinging with joy, as merry as ever he was in his life before. He was a month in priſon, where he ſpent his time in reading and invocating the name of God.

Theſe three chriſtians and conſtant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, after they were, (as you have heard) condemned the 19th day of May, 1558, were carried out of priſon to the place where they ſhould ſuffer, which was without Biſhopſgate, at Norwich, called Lollard's Pit. And being all there, they made their humble petitions to the Lord. That being done, they aroſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtanding all there with their chains about them, immediately Thomas Hudſon came forth from them under the chain, to the great ſurpriſe of all the ſpectators; many doubted his conſtancy, fearing he ſhould recant; others thought he wanted a reprieve for further conference; and ſome imagined he came forth to aſk his parents bleſſing. In the midſt of this confuſion his two companions at the ſtake did all they could to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him in the bowels of Chriſt to be of good cheer, &c. But alas! he felt more in his conſcience than they could conceive, for he was encompaſſed with intolerable grief of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of an inward ſenſible feeling of the love of his Saviour: and therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell upon his knees, and vehemently prayed to God, who at laſt (according to his old mercies) ſent him comfort; and then he aroſe in extacy of joy, as a new man changed even from death to life, and ſaid, Now I thank God I am ſtrong, and care not what man can do unto me. So going again to his companions at the ſtake, they all ſuffered death moſt joyfully, conſtantly, and manfully together, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of good people, and the glory of God, whoſe name be praiſed for ever. Amen.

After this, the aforeſaid commiſſary Berry made a great ſtir about others who were ſuſpected in the town of Aileſham, and cauſed two hundred to creep to the croſs at Pentecoſt, beſides other puniſhments which they ſuſtained.

On a time this Berry gave a poor man of his pariſh of Marſham a blow with a flail, for a word's ſpeaking, that preſently thereon he died; and it is reported that the ſaid Berry held up his hand at the bar for the ſame.

At another time one Alice Oxes, of the ſame pariſh, came to his houſe, and going into the hall he met her, and, being in an ill humour, ſtruck her with his fiſt, whereupon ſhe was fain to be carried home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

The number of whores and concubines he had is incredible to all, but thoſe who lived near him. He was rich, and of great authority, and as great a reprobate, perſecuting the goſpel, and compelling men to idolatry; he burnt all the good books he could lay hands on, and divorced many men and women for religion.

When he heard that queen Mary was dead, and the glory of her triumph quelled, the Sunday after (being the 19th of November, 1558) he made a great feaſt, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after dinner until even-ſong. Then went to church, where he had miniſtered baptiſm, and in his return from even-ſong, between the church-yard and his houſe, being but a little ſpace (about the breadth of a church-yard) he fell down ſuddenly to the ground with a groan, and never ſtirred after, neither ſhewed any one token of repentance. And thoſe that had his great riches ſince his death have ſo conſumed them, that they be poorer now than they were before they had them.

Now let the reader obſerve the difference between the end of a martyr, and the end of a perſecutor.

About this time Joan Seaman, mother to the aforeſaid William Seaman, being of the age of 66 years, was perſecuted by the ſaid ſir John Tyrrel alſo, becauſe ſhe would not go to maſs and receive againſt her conſcience; which good old woman being from her houſe, was glad ſometime to lie in buſhes, groves, and fields, and ſometimes in her neighbour's houſe when ſhe could. And her huſband being at home, about 80 years old, fell ſick; and ſhe hearing thereof, with ſpeed returned home to her houſe again, not regarding her life, but conſidering her duty, and ſhewed her diligence to her huſband moſt faithfully, till God took him away by death. Then by God's providence ſhe fell ſick alſo, and died in her own houſe ſoon after. When one Mr. Symonds, the commiſſary, heard of it, he (dwelling in a town hard by, called Thorndon) commanded that ſhe ſhould not have chriſtian burial (as they termed it), and her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a moat's ſide. Her huſband and ſhe kept a good houſe, and had a good report amongſt their neighbours, willing always to receive ſtrangers, and to comfort the poor and ſick, and lived together in the holy eſtate of matrimony very honeſtly above forty years; and ſhe departed this life willingly and joyfully, with a ſtedfaſt faith and a good remembrance of God's promiſe in Jeſus Chriſt.

A woman, called Mother Bennet, a widow, who lived in the town of Wetherſet, near Mendleſham, was perſecuted out of the town for not going to maſs, but at laſt ſhe returned home again ſecretly to her houſe, and there departed this life joyfully. But ſir John Tyrrel, and Mr. Symonds, the commiſſary, would not let her be buried in the church-yard. So ſhe was laid in a grave by the highway ſide.

This good old woman met one of mother Seaman's neighbours, and aſked her how mother Seaman did; and the neighbour anſwered, that ſhe did very well, God be thanked. O, ſaid mother Bennet, mother Seaman hath ſtepped a great ſtep before me; for ſhe was never covetous, that I could perceive.

Her huſband in his mirth would ſay unto her, O woman, if thou wert ſparing, thou mighteſt have ſaved me an hundred marks more than thou haſt. To which ſhe would gently anſwer, O man, be content, and let us be thankful, for God hath given us enough, if we can ſee it. Alas, good huſband, would ſhe ſay, I tell you truth, I cannot firkin up my butter, and keep my cheeſe in the chamber, waiting for a great price, and let the poor want, and ſo diſpleaſe God. But, huſband, let us be rich in good works, and ſo ſhall we pleaſe the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c.

In the month of May likewiſe, William Harris, Richard Day, and Chriſtian George, ſuffered at Colcheſter, and there joyfully and fervently made their prayers to God.

And being ſettled at the ſtake, and chained to the poſts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they, like conſtant chriſtians, triumphantly praiſed God within the ſame, and offered up their bodies a lively ſacrifice unto his holy Majeſty, in whoſe habitation they have now their everlaſting tabernacles: his name be therefore praiſed for evermore. Amen.

The ſaid Chriſtian George's huſband had another wife burnt before this Chriſtian, whoſe name was Agnes George, who ſuffered as you have heard, at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the ſaid Chriſtian, he married an honeſt godly woman again, and ſo they both (I mean the ſaid Richard George and his laſt wife) in the end were taken alſo, and laid in priſon, where they remained till the death of queen Mary, and at laſt were delivered by our moſt gracious ſovereign lady queen Elizabeth.

In the month of June came out a proclamation from the king and queen, againſt wholeſome and godly books, which under the falſe title of hereſy and ſedition were wrongfully condemned in the ſaid proclamation, which here follows.

By the King *and* Queen.

WHEREAS divers books, filled both with hereſy, ſedition, and treaſon, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the ſeas, and ſome alſo covertly printed within this realm, and caſt abroad in ſundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is diſhonoured, but alſo an encouragement given to diſobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's majeſties, for redreſs hereof, do by this their preſent proclamation declare and publiſh to all their loving ſubjects, that whoſoever ſhall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the ſaid wicked and ſeditious books, or finding them do not forthwith burn the ſame, without ſhewing or reading the ſame to any other perſon, ſhall in that caſe be reputed and taken as a rebel, and ſhall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

Given at our manor of St. James's, June the ſixth.
JOHN CAWOOD, Printer.

The Apprehenſion *of certain godly* Men *and* Women, *praying together in the* Fields *about* Iſlington.

SECRETLY in a back cloſe in a field by Iſlington, were gathered together a company of innocent perſons, to the number of forty men and women. Who there ſitting together at prayer, and virtuouſly occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, firſt cometh a certain man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, ſtayed and ſaluted them, ſaying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the ſaid company aſked the man if he could tell whoſe cloſe that was, and whether they might be ſo bold to ſit there. Yea, ſaid he, becauſe ye ſeem to be ſuch perſons as intend no harm; and ſo departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, came the conſtable of Iſlington, named King, with ſix or ſeven more, one with a bow, another with a bill, and the reſt with weapons. Six or ſeven of this company were left behind in a private place, to be ready in caſe they were wanted, while the conſtable, and one with him went before to view them; they both went amongſt them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had: and ſo going a little forward, and returning back again, ordered them to deliver their books. They underſtanding that he was a conſtable, refuſed not ſo to do. Then came up the reſt of their fellows before-mentioned, who bade them ſtand and not depart. They anſwered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whitherſoever they would have them, and they were firſt carried to a brewhouſe at a ſmall diſtance, while ſome of the company went to the neareſt juſtice; but he being not at home, they were carried before ſir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time ſome of the women eſcaped away from them, ſome in the cloſe where they ſat, and others before they came to the brewhouſe. For ſo they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another, with ſome more, with others leſs, in ſuch a manner as it was not hard for them to eſcape that would. In fine, they that were carried to ſir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-ſeven, and ſir Roger and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, ſo many as anſwered to their names he ſent to Newgate, which were twenty-two out of twenty-ſeven. They continued in priſon ſeven weeks; and before they were examined, word was ſent by Alexander, the keeper, that if they would hear a maſs, they ſhould all be delivered, but thirteen of them were burnt, ſeven in Smithfield, and ſix at Brentford; two died in priſon, and the other ſeven, with much trouble (through God's providence) eſcaped death. Their names were theſe:

John Willes,
Thomas Hinſhaw,
R. Baily, woolpacker,
Robert Willes,
Hudleys,
T. Coaſt, haberdaſher,
Roger Sandy.

The names of the ſeven martyrs that were apprehended amongſt others, in the cloſe at Iſlington, and afterwards burnt in Smithfield, were as follows:

Henry Pond,
Rainol Eaſtland,
Robert Southam,
Matthew Ricarby,
John Floyd,
John Holiday,
Roger Holland.

Theſe ſeven godly men had ſeveral articles adminiſtered to them by biſhop Bonner, in the uſual form; to which they returned their anſwers, and abſolutely refuſing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romiſh church, were altogether condemned, the ſentence being read againſt them, and ſo all ſeven by ſecular magiſtrates being ſent to Newgate the 17th of June, not long after, about the 27th of the ſaid month were brought to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cauſe of Chriſt's goſpel. Their particular examinations never came to our hands, except only thoſe of Roger Holland, which here follow in the order and manner as we have received them by the information of ſome that were preſent at the ſame.

The Examination *and* Condemnation *of* ROGER HOLLAND.

THIS Roger Holland, a merchant-taylor of London, was firſt an apprentice with one Mr. Kempton, at the Black Boy in Watling-ſtreet, where he ſerved his apprenticeſhip with much trouble to his maſter, in breaking him of the licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himſelf to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banquetting, and wanton company; and beſides all this, being a ſtubborn and an obſtinate papiſt, far unlike to come to any ſuch end as God called him unto.

His maſter, notwithſtanding his lewdneſs, truſted him with his accompts; and on a time he received the ſum of thirty pounds for his maſter, and falling into ill company, loſt every groat at dice, being paſt all hope which way to anſwer it, and therefore he purpoſed to convey himſelf beyond the ſeas, either into France or Flanders.

Having determined with himſelf thus to do, he called betimes in the morning on a ſervant in the houſe, an ancient and diſcreet maid, whoſe name was Elizabeth, who profeſſed the goſpel, with a life agreeing unto the ſame, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obſtinate papiſtry, as alſo the licentious living of this Roger Holland. To whom he ſaid, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle perſuaſions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this ſhame and miſery which I am now fallen into; for this night I have loſt thirty pounds of my maſter's money, which to pay him and to make up mine accounts I am not able. But this much, I pray you, deſire my miſtreſs, that ſhe would entreat my maſter to take this note of my hand, that I am thus much indebted to him; and if I am ever able, I will ſee him paid, deſiring him that the matter may paſs with ſilence, and that none of my kindred and friends may ever underſtand this my lewd part: for if it ſhould come to my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs with ſorrow to the grave; and ſo was he departing.

The maid conſidering that it might be his utter ruin, Stay, ſaid ſhe; and having a ſum of money by her, which was left her by a kinſman at his death, who was thought to be Dr. Redman, ſhe brought unto him thirty pounds, ſaying, Roger, here is thus much money, I will let thee have it, and I will keep this note. But ſince I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to ſave thy honeſty, thou ſhalt promiſe me to refuſe all lewd and wild company, all ſwearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelvepence at either dice or cards, then will I ſhew this thy note unto my maſter. And furthermore thou ſhalt promiſe me to reſort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the ſermon at St. Paul's every Sunday, and to caſt away all thy books of popery and vain ballads, and get thee the Teſtament and book of ſervice, and read the ſcriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God ſtill for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray fervently to God, deſiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the ſins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majeſty. Then ſhall God keep thee, and ſend thee thy heart's deſire.

After this time, within one half year God had wrought ſuch a change in this man, that he was become an earneſt profeſſor of the truth, and deteſted all popery and ill company; ſo that he was in admiration to all them that had known him, and ſeen his former life and wickedneſs.

Then he repaired to his father in Lancaſhire, and brought divers good books with him, and beſtowed them among his friends, ſo that his father and others began to taſte the ſweetneſs of the goſpel, and to deteſt the maſs, idolatry, and ſuperſtition; and in the end his father gave him fifty pounds to begin the world withal.

Then he came to London again, and went to the maid that lent him the money to pay his maſter withal, and ſaid unto her, Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendſhip, good will, and good council I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able, otherwiſe than by making thee my wife; and ſoon after they were married, which was in the firſt year of queen Mary. And having a child by her, he cauſed Mr. Roſe to baptize it in his own houſe. Notwithſtanding he was betrayed to the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papiſts ſhould not have it in their anointing hands, Bonner cauſed his goods to be ſeized on, and moſt cruelly uſed his wife.

After this he remained cloſely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the laſt year of queen Mary. Then he with the ſix others before-named, were taken in, or not far from St. John's Wood, and ſo brought to Newgate upon May-day in the morning, 1558.

Then being called before the biſhop, Dr. Chedſey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty perſuaſions of Dr. Chedſey, to allure him to their Babylonical church; thus the biſhop began with him.

Holland, I for my part do wiſh well unto thee, and the more for thy friend's ſake. And as Dr. Standiſh telleth me, you and he were both born in one pariſh, and he knoweth your father to be a very honeſt catholic gentleman: and Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addicted to your own conceit. Divers of the city alſo have ſhewed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's ſervants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations; but ſince you be now in the danger of the law, I would wiſh you to act a wiſe man's part: ſo ſhall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for our own ſake, and alſo for your friends, who are men of worſhip and credit, and wiſh you well, and by my troth, Roger, ſo do I.

Then ſaid Mr. Egleſtone, a gentleman of Lancaſhire, and near kinſman to Roger, being there preſent, I thank your good lordſhip; your honour meaneth good unto my couſin, I beſeech God he have the grace to follow your counſel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beſeech God to open your eyes to ſee the light of his word.

Egleſtone. Roger, hold your peace, leſt you fare the worſe at my lord's hands.

Holland. No, I ſhall fare as it pleaſeth God, for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the biſhop and the doctors, with Johnſon, the regiſter, caſting their heads together, in the end ſaith Johnſon, Roger, how ſayeſt thou? wilt thou ſubmit thyſelf unto my lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to ſubmit myſelf unto the magiſtrates, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii. and ſo he recited the text.

Chedſey. Then I ſee you are no anabaptiſt.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a papiſt; for they and the anabaptiſts agree in this point, not to ſubmit themſelves to any other prince or magiſtrate, than thoſe that muſt firſt be ſworn to maintain them and their doings.

Chedſey. Roger, remember what I have ſaid, and alſo what my lord hath promiſed he will perform with further friendſhip. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeneſs of wit hath brought you into theſe errors.

Holland. Mr. Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no ſuch force to prevail with me.

Then they whiſpered together again, and at laſt Bonner ſaid, Roger, I perceive thou wilt not be ruled by good counſel, for any thing that either I or your friends can ſay.

Holland. I may ſay to you, my lord, as St. Paul ſaid to Felix and to the Jews, as doth appear in the 22d of the Acts, and in the 15th of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians. It is not unknown unto my maſter to whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of your blind religion that now is taught, and therein did obſtinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of king Edward, in manner, having that liberty under your auricular confeſſion, that I made no conſcience of ſin, but truſted in the prieſt's abſolution, he for money doing alſo ſome penance for me: which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he minded after he had my money, whether he taſted bread and water for me, or no: ſo that lechery, ſwearing, and all other vices, I accounted no offence of danger, ſo long as I could for money have them abſolved. So ſtraitly did I obſerve your rules of religion, that I would have aſhes upon Aſh Wedneſday, though I had uſed ever ſo much wickedneſs at night. And albeit I could not of conſcience eat fleſh upon the Friday, yet in ſwearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conſcience at all. And thus I was brought up, and herein I have continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life; for in Lancaſhire their blindneſs and whoredom is much more than may with chaſte ears be heard. Yet theſe my friends, which are not clear in theſe notable crimes, think the prieſt with his maſs can ſave them, though they blaſpheme God, and keep concubines beſides their wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know ſome prieſts very devout, my lord, yet ſuch as have ſix or ſeven children by four or five ſundry women.

Mr. Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and univerſality, (for theſe Dr. Chedſey alledged as notes and tokens of their religion) I am unlearned. I have no ſophiſtry to ſhift my reaſons withal; but the truth I truſt I have, which needeth no painted colours to ſet her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God ſaid unto Adam, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break the ſerpent's head; and ſo to faithful Noah, to Abraham, to Iſaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promiſed, that their ſeed ſhould multiply as the ſtars in the ſky; and ſo to Moſes, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Saviour Chriſt. All they that believed theſe promiſes were of the church, though their number were oftentimes but few and ſmall, as in Elias's days, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reſerved ſeven thouſand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I truſt there be ſeven hundred thouſand more than I know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your maſs, and your god Maozim; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, while you daily perſecute Elias and the ſervants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) cloſely to ſerve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongſt us, and that he would mitigate and ſhorten theſe idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, of our church have been the apoſtles and evangeliſts, the martyrs and confeſſors of Chriſt, that have at all times and in all ages been perſecuted for the teſtimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you ſhew? Yea, the maſs, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old, and ſome of your maſſes are younger, as that of St. Thomas Becket, the traitor, wherein you pray, That you may be ſaved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin ſervice, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that ſhould hear your prieſts mumble up their ſervice, although he did well underſtand Latin, yet ſhould he underſtand few words thereof, the prieſts do ſo champ them and chew them, and poſt ſo faſt, that they neither underſtand what they ſay, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the people, when they ſhould pray with the prieſt, are ſet to their beads to pray our lady's pſalter. So crafty is Satan to deviſe theſe his dreams (which you defend with faggot and fire), to quench the light of the word of God; which, as David ſaith, ſhould be a lanthorn to our feet. And again, wherein ſhall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? And yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather have five words ſpoken with underſtanding, than ten thouſand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin ſervice and praying in a ſtrange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of ſuch antiquity?

The Greek church, and a good part of Chriſtendom beſides, never received your ſervice in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people underſtand, neither yet your tranſubſtantiation, your receiving in one kind, your purgatory, your images, &c.

As for the unity that is in your church, what is it elſe but treaſon, murder, poiſoning one another, idolatry, ſuperſtition, and wickedneſs? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope? Here he was interrupted, and could not be ſuffered to proceed.

The biſhop then ſaid, Roger, theſe thy words are downright blaſphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou haſt been ſuffered to ſpeak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away.

The ſecond Examination *of* ROGER HOLLAND.

THE day that Henry Pond and the reſt were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedſey ſaid, Roger, I truſt you have now better conſidered of the church than you did before.

Holland. I conſider thus much: that out of the church there is no ſalvation, as divers ancient doctors ſay.

Bonner. That is well ſaid. Mr. Egleſtone, I truſt your kinſman will be a good catholic man. But, Roger, you mean, I truſt, the church of Rome.

Holland. I mean that church which hath Chriſt for her head; which alſo hath his word and his ſacraments according to his word and inſtitution.

Then Chedſey interrupted him, and ſaid, Is that a Teſtament you have in your hand?

Holland. Yea, Mr. Doctor, it is a New Teſtament. You will find no fault with the tranſlation (I think). It is your own tranſlation; it is according to the great Bible.

Bonner. How ſay you? How do you know that it is the Teſtament of Chriſt, but only by the church? For the church of Rome hath and doth preſerve it, and out of the ſame hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expoſitions.

No (ſaith Roger), the church of Rome hath and doth ſuppreſs the reading of the Teſtament. And what a true expoſition, I pray you, did the pope make thereof, when he ſet his foot on the emperor's neck, and ſaid, "Thou ſhalt walk upon the lion and the aſp; the young lion and the dragon ſhalt thou tread under thy foot," Pſalm xci.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expoſitors of the ſcripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there are ſome here as well as I) ſhould be taught of you?

Holland. Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildneſs hath been ſomewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But (my lord) I ſuppoſe ſome old doctors ſay, if a poor layman bring his reaſon and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, though they be ever ſuch great doctors. For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fiſhermen. Notwithſtanding, I am ready to be inſtructed by the church.

Bonner. That is very well ſaid, Roger. But you muſt underſtand that the church of Rome is the catholic church. Roger, for thy friend's ſake (I promiſe thee) I wiſh thee well, and I mean to do thee good. Keeper, ſee he want nothing. Roger, if thou lackeſt any money to pleaſure thee, I will ſee thou ſhalt not want. This he ſpake unto him alone, his companions being apart, with many other fair promiſes, and ſo he was ſent to priſon again.

The laſt Examination *of* ROGER HOLLAND.

THE laſt examination of Roger Holland was, when he with his fellow-priſoners were brought into the conſiſtory, and there all excommunicated except Roger, and ready to have their ſentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to affright them withal: the lord Strange, ſir Thomas Jarret, M. Egleſtone, eſq; and divers others of worſhip, both of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, that were Roger Holland's kinſmen and friends, being there preſent, who had been earneſt ſuitors to the biſhop in his favour, hoping for his ſafety of life. Now the biſhop hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner.

Bonner. Roger, I have divers times called thee before me at my own houſe, and have conferred with thee, and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me that thou haſt a good memory, and very ſenſible in talk, but ſomething over haſty, which is a natural impediment incident to ſome men. And ſurely they are not the worſt natured men. For I myſelf am now and then too haſty, but mine anger is ſoon over. So, Roger, ſurely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with theſe fellows caſt yourſelf headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here, very good catholics (as it is reported unto me). And as I mean thee good, ſo, Roger, play the wiſe man's part, and come home with the loſt ſon, and ſay, I have run into the church of ſchiſmatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome; and you ſhall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church that hath authority ſhall abſolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer withal, that is, in ſo doing, as meat doth refreſh and cheriſh the mind, ſo ſhalt thou find as much quietneſs of conſcience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry ſon that had been fed before with the hogs, as you have done with theſe heretics that ſever themſelves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worſe (putting his hand to his cap out of reverence) than hogs: for they know the church, and will not follow it. If I ſhould ſay thus much to a Turk, he would (I think) believe me. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have ſaid ſo much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you.

At theſe words his friends there preſent thanked the biſhop for his good will, and for the pains he had taken in his and their behalf.

Then the biſhop proceeded, ſaying, Well, Roger, how ſay you? Do you not believe, that after the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration, there remaineth the body of Chriſt really and corporally, under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the ſelf-ſame body as was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the croſs, that roſe again the third day.

Holland. Your lordſhip ſaith, the ſame body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the croſs, which roſe again the third day: but you leave out, which aſcended into heaven; and the ſcripture ſaith, he ſhall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, &c.

Bonner. Roger, I perceive my pains and good will will not prevail, and if I ſhould argue with thee, thou art ſo wilful (as all thy fellows be, ſtanding in thine own ſingularity and fooliſh conceit), that thou wouldſt ſtill talk to no purpoſe this ſeven years, if thou mighteſt be ſuffered. Anſwer whether thou wilt confeſs the real and corporal preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, or wilt not?

Holland. My lord, although God by his ſufferance hath here placed you, to ſet forth his truth and glory in us his faithful ſervants, notwithſtanding your meaning is far from the zeal of Chriſt; and for all your words, you have the ſame zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, truſting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.

Bonner. If I ſhould ſuffer him, he would fall from reaſoning to raving, as a frantic heretic.

Roger (ſaid the lord Strange), I perceive my lord would have you tell him, whether you will ſubmit yourſelf to him or no.

Yea, ſaid Bonner, and confeſs this preſence that I have ſpoken of.

With this Roger turned to the lord Strange and the reſt of his kinſmen and friends, and very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees and ſaid, God, by the mouth of his ſervant St. Paul, hath ſaid, "Let every ſoul ſubmit himſelf unto the higher powers, and he that reſiſteth receiveth his own damnation;" and as you are a magiſtrate appointed by the will of God, ſo do I ſubmit myſelf unto you, and to all ſuch as are appointed for magiſtrates.

Bonner. That is well ſaid, I ſee you are no anabaptiſt. How ſay you then to the preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar?

Holland. I ſay and beſeech you all to mark and bear witneſs with me (for ſo you ſhall do before the judgment-ſeat of God) what I ſpeak; for here is the concluſion: and ye, my dear friends (turning to his kinſmen), I pray you ſhew my father what I do ſay, that he may underſtand I am a chriſtian man. I ſay and believe, and am therein fully perſuaded by the ſcriptures, that the ſacrament of the ſupper of our Lord, miniſtered in the holy communion according to Chriſt's inſtitution, I being penitent and ſorry for my ſins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and ſo coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Chriſt. And though Chriſt in his human nature ſit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith I ſay) his death, his paſſion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the maſs, tranſubſtantiation, and the worſhipping of the ſacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.

I thought ſo much, ſaid Bonner, (ſuffering him to ſpeak no more) how he would prove a very blaſphemous heretic as ever I heard. How irreverently doth he ſpeak of the bleſſed maſs! And ſo read his ſentence of condemnation, adjuding him to be burned.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet, and when he ſhould depart, he ſaid, My lord, I beſeech you ſuffer me to ſpeak two words. The biſhop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithſtanding, being requeſted by one of his friends, he ſaid, Speak, what haſt thou to ſay?

Holland. Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his ſufferance: and now I tell you God hath heard the prayer of his ſervants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted ſaints, whom you daily perſecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to ſay, (by whoſe Spirit I am moved) that God will ſhorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you ſhall not moleſt his church. And this you ſhall in a ſhort time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be moſt true. For after this day, in this place there ſhall not be any by him put to the trial of fire and faggot. And after that day there were none that ſuffered in Smithfield for the truth of the goſpel.

Then ſaid Bonner, Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in theſe thy hereſies as ever was Joan Butcher. In anger and fume thou wouldſt become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the reſt of you would ſee me hanged, yet I ſhall live to burn, yea and I will burn all the ſort of you that come into my hands, that will not worſhip the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling: and ſo he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repent, and to think well of them that ſuffered for the teſtimony of the goſpel, and with that the biſhop came back, charging the keeper that no man ſhould ſpeak to them without his licence, and if they did, they would be committed to priſon. In the mean time Henry Pond and Roger ſpake ſtill unto the people, exhorting them to ſtand firm in the truth: adding moreover, that God would ſhorten theſe cruel and evil days for his elect's ſake.

The day they ſuffered, a proclamation was made, that none ſhould be ſo bold to ſpeak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of impriſonment, without either bail or mainprize; with other cruel threatening words contained in the ſame proclamation. Notwithſtanding the people cried out, deſiring God to ſtrengthen them: and they likewiſe ſtill prayed for the people, and the reſtoring of his word. At length Roger, embracing the ſtake and the reeds, ſaid theſe words:

"Lord, I moſt humbly thank thy Majeſty, that thou haſt called me unto the ſtate of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowſhip of thy ſaints, that I may ſing and ſay, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hoſts. And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my ſpirit. Lord bleſs theſe thy people, and ſave them from idolatry." And ſo he ended his life, looking up unto heaven, praying to, and praiſing God, with the reſt of his fellow-ſaints. For whoſe joyful conſtancy the Lord be praiſed.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* Six Men, *who ſuffered at* Brentford, *for the true* Teſtimony *of* Jesus Christ.

THESE ſix martyrs were of the company of thoſe who were apprehended in a cloſe, near Iſlington (as is before-mentioned), and ſent to priſon. Whoſe names here follow:

Robert Mills,
Stephen Cotton,
Robert Dynes,
Stephen Wight,
John Slade,
William Pikes, alias
Pikes the tanner.

Theſe ſix martyrs were burnt at Brentford, ſeven miles from London, on the 14th of July, 1558. They had their articles miniſtered to them by T. Darbyſhire, Bonner's chancellor, at ſundry times, to which they made their anſwers much after the ſame manner as others have done before.

When theſe good men came before Bonner's chancellor, Thomas Darbyſhire, and had the articles miniſtered unto them, and they anſwered unto the ſame; in the end the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the 11th day of July, at St. Paul's. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their opinions to the holy mother church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the ſentence of condemnation. Whereunto they all anſwered, That they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the ſame while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two o'clock, to hear the definitive ſentence read againſt them, according to the eccleſiaſtical laws then in force. At which time he ſitting in judgment, talking with theſe godly and virtuous men, at laſt came into the ſaid place, ſir Edward Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of queen Mary's officers of her houſe, and being there, they ſat them down over againſt the chancellor, in whoſe preſence the chancellor condemned thoſe poor innocent lambs, and delivered them over to the ſecular power, who received and carried them to priſon immediately, and there kept them in ſafety till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor ſlept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made a certificate unto the lord chancellor's office, from whence the next day after a writ was ſent to burn them at Brentford, which accordingly was accompliſhed. Whereunto being brought, they made their humble prayers to the Lord Jeſus, undreſſed themſelves, went joyfully to the ſtake, whereunto they were bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their ſouls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent God, for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and to whoſe protection I commend the gentle reader. Amen.

Among theſe ſix was one William Pikes, a tanner (as you have heard), who ſome time dwelt in Ipſwich, a very godly man, and of a virtuous diſpoſition, a good keeper of hoſpitality, and beneficial to the perſecuted in queen Mary's days. In the third year of queen Mary, a little after Midſummer, he (then being at liberty) went into his garden, and took with him a bible of Rogers's tranſlation, where he, ſitting with his face towards the South, reading in the ſaid bible, ſuddenly there fell, between eleven and twelve o'clock, at mid-day, four drops of freſh blood upon the bible, and he knew not from whence it came. At which he was ſore aſtoniſhed, and could by no means learn (as I ſaid) from whence it ſhould fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and ſaid, In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four ſacrifices? I ſee well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray, for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterwards he daily expected to be apprehended, and it came to paſs accordingly, as you have heard. Thus much I thought good to write, in order to ſtir up our dull minds in conſidering the wonderful works of the Lord, and reverently to honour the ſame.

When he was ſo ſick in Newgate that nobody expected him to live ſix hours, he expreſſed a great deſire of martyrdom, ſaying, that he had been twice in perſecution before, and that now he deſired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the ſtake; and ſo as he prayed it came to paſs at Brentford.

Verſes upon BONNER's Effigy.

MUSE not ſo much that nature's work
  Is thus deformed now:
With belly blown, and head ſo ſwoln,
  For I ſhall tell you how:
This cannibal in three years ſpace
  Two hundred martyrs ſlew:
They were his food, he ſo lov'd blood,
  He ſpared none he knew.
It ſhould appear that blood feeds fat,
  If men lie well and ſoft:
For Bonner's belly waxt with blood,
  Though he ſeemed to faſt oft.
O bloody beaſt, bewail the death
  Of thoſe that thou haſt ſlain:
In time repent, ſince thou canſt not
  Their lives reſtore again.

An Account *of the ſcourging of* THOMAS HINSHAW, *by* Biſhop BONNER.

WHEN biſhop Bonner found that his examinations, perſuaſions, threats, and impriſonments, were to no purpoſe with Thomas Hinſhaw, he (the ſaid biſhop) took him with him to Fulham, where immediately after his coming, he was ſet in the ſtocks, remaining there all the firſt night with bread and water.

The next morning the biſhop came and examined him himſelf, and perceiving no yielding in his mind, he ſent Mr. Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw peeviſh boy, and aſked him whether he thought he went about to damn his ſoul, or no, &c. Unto which the ſaid Thomas anſwered, That he was perſuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and deviliſh kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the biſhop thereof. Whereat the biſhop fumed and fretted, that for anger being ſcarce able to ſpeak, he ſaid, Doſt thou anſwer my archdeacon ſo, thou naughty boy? I ſhall handle thee well enough, be aſſured; ſo he ſent for a couple of rods, and cauſed him to kneel againſt a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the ſaid Thomas, without any inforcement of his part, offered himſelf to the beating, and did abide the fury of the ſaid Bonner, ſo long as the fat paunched biſhop could endure with breath, and through wearineſs was obliged to ceaſe, and give place to his ſhameful act. He had two willow rods, but he waſted but one, and ſo left off.

Now after this ſcourging, the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, notwithſtanding, did ſuſtain divers conflicts and examinations ſundry times. At laſt being brought before the ſaid biſhop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witneſſes, and gathered articles againſt him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or conſent to any interrogatory there and then miniſtered, do what they could.

About a fortnight after he fell ſick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered through much intreaty unto his maſter, Martin Pugſon, in St. Paul's church-yard; for then the biſhop thought verily he was more like to die than to live. Which ſickneſs endured a twelvemonth or more, ſo that in the mean time queen Mary died. Then he ſhortly after recovered health, and eſcaped death, being at the writing of this, both witneſs and reporter of the ſame; the Lord therefore be praiſed. Amen.

An Account *of the ſcourging of* JOHN WILLES, *by* Biſhop BONNER.

BESIDES the above-named, was ſcourged alſo by the hands of the ſaid biſhop, one John Willes, a capper, a right faithful and true honeſt man in all his dealings and conditions, who was brother to the aforeſaid Richard Willes, burned at Brentford, as is before ſaid. Who alſo was apprehended in the ſame number at Iſlington, as alſo is mentioned before: and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, but was commanded to the Coal-houſe, with the aforeſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, where they remained one night in the ſtocks. From whence he was ſent to Fulham, where he, with the ſaid Hinſhaw, remained eight or ten days in the ſtocks; during which time he ſuſtained divers conflicts with the ſaid Bonner, who had him often in examination, urging him, and with a ſtick which he had in his hand, often rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, ſaying he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had aſſayed all manner of ways to make him recant, and could not, at length taking him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands beat him firſt with a willow rod, and that being worn well nigh to the ſtumps, he called for a birch rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cauſe why he ſo beat him was this; Bonner aſked him when he had crept to the croſs. He anſwered, Not ſince he came to the years of diſcretion, neither would, though he ſhould be torn with wild horſes. Then Bonner deſired him to make a croſs on his forehead, which he refuſed to do. Whereupon he had him immediately to his orchard, and there calling for rods, ſhewed his cruelty upon him, as he had done upon Thomas Hinſhaw.

This done, he had him immediately to the pariſh church of Fulham, with the ſaid Thomas Hinſhaw, and Robert Willes, to whom there being ſeverally called before him, he miniſtered certain articles, aſking if he would ſubſcribe to the ſame. To which he made his anſwer according to his conſcience, denying them all except one article, which was concerning king Edward's ſervice in Engliſh. Shortly after this beating, Bonner ſent a certain old prieſt lately come from Rome, to him in priſon, to conjure the evil ſpirit out from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Willes marvelling at what the old man was about, ſaid, I truſt no evil ſpirit is in me, and laughed him to ſcorn.

As this John Willes was divers times called before Bonner, ſo much communication paſſed between them as is too tedious to recite. It is enough to make the reader laugh to ſee the blind and unſavoury reaſons with which that biſhop endeavoured to delude the ignorant, ſome of which were in the following manner: Bonner going about to perſuade Willes not to meddle with matters of ſcripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, who had more ſkill in the ſame, aſked him firſt, if he did believe the ſcripture? Yea, ſaid he, that I do. Then (quoth the biſhop) St. Paul faith, If the man ſleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert aſleep, having a wife, wouldſt thou be content that thy wife ſhould take to another man? And yet this is the ſcripture.

Alſo, if thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and ſuch, then thou canſt not go right: but if thou wilt believe me, &c. thou canſt not err: and if thou ſhouldſt err, yet thou art in no danger, thy blood ſhould be required at our hands. As if thou ſhouldſt go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am (theſe were his words) and aſk the way to the city, and he ſhould ſay, this way, and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther, and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou aſkeſt for? So if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, thou ſhalt be brought to deſtruction, and burn both body and foul.

As truly as thou ſeeſt the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, ſo truly their ſouls do burn in hell, becauſe they err from the true church.

Oft-times ſpeaking to the ſaid John Willes, he would ſay, They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all: I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would ſew up your mouths and put you in ſacks and drown you.

The ſame day that he was delivered, Bonner came to the ſtocks where he lay, and aſked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare.

Well (ſaid Willes), if it would pleaſe God, I might have a little ſtraw to lie or ſit upon.

Then (ſaid Bonner) thou wilt ſhew no token of a chriſtian man. And upon this his wife came in unknown to him, being very great with child, every hour expecting her labour, and intreated the biſhop for her huſband, ſaying, that ſhe would not go from thence, but that ſhe would there ſtay, and be delivered in the biſhop's houſe, unleſs ſhe had her huſband with her. How ſayeſt thou (quoth Bonner to Willes), if thy wife miſcarry, or thy child, or children, if ſhe be with one or two, ſhould periſh, the blood of them would he require at thy hands. Then to this agreement he came, that he ſhould hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her huſband ſhould go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinſman there preſent (one Robert Rouſe) ſhould bring the ſaid Willes to his houſe at St. Paul's the next day.

To which Willes would not agree, but inſiſted upon going then. At length, his wife being importunate for her huſband, and Bonner ſeeing ſhe would not ſtir without him, fearing belike the rumour that might come upon his houſe thereby, and alſo probably fearing to be troubled with a lying-in woman, bade Willes make a croſs, and ſay, *In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti,* Amen.

Then Willes began to ſay, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen. No, no (ſaith Bonner), ſay it me in Latin; Willes underſtanding the matter of that Latin to be good, ſaid the ſame, and ſo went home with his wife, his aforeſaid kinſman being charged to bring him the next day to St. Paul's; elſe, ſaid Bonner, if thou doſt not bring him, thou art an heretic as well as he. Notwithſtanding, the charge being no greater, his kinſman did not bring him, but he of his own accord came to the biſhop within a few days after, where he put to him a certain writing in Latin to ſubſcribe unto, containing, as it ſeemed to him, no great matter, that he needed greatly to ſtick at, although, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: ſo he ſubſcribed to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Iſlington.

The History *of* RICHARD YEOMAN, Dr. TAYLOR's Curate, *at* Hadley.

RICHARD YEOMAN, a devout old man, was Dr. Taylor's curate, at Hadley, and well verſed in the ſcriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people: with him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure. But as ſoon as Mr. Newall had gotten the benefice, he put out Mr. Yeoman, and ſet in a popiſh curate to maintain and continue their Romiſh religion, which now they thought fully eſtabliſhed. Then he wandered from place to place, exhorting all men to ſtand faithfully to God's word, earneſtly to give themſelves unto prayer, with patience to bear the croſs now laid upon them for their trial, with boldneſs to confeſs the truth before their adverſaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adverſaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins and points, and ſuch like things, he travelled from village to village, ſelling ſuch things, and by that ſhift ſubſiſted himſelf, his wife and children.

At laſt juſtice Moyle, of Kent, took Mr. Yeoman and ſet him in the ſtocks a day and a night, but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came ſecretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him ſecretly in a chamber of the town-houſe, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year. All which time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all the day, and ſpent his time in devout prayer, and reading the ſcriptures, and in carding of wool which his wife did ſpin. His wife did alſo go and beg bread and meat for herſelf and her children, and by ſuch poor means they ſuſtained themſelves. Thus the ſaints of God ſuſtained hunger and miſery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were coſtly pampered at Jezabel's table.

At laſt parſon Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was ſo kept by his poor wife, and taking with him the bailiff's deputies and ſervants, came in the night-time, and broke open five doors to get at Yeoman, whom he found in bed with his wife and children: whom when he had ſo found, he angrily cried, I thought I ſhould find an harlot and a rogue together. And he would have plucked the cloaths off from them: but Yeoman held faſt the cloaths, and ſaid unto his wife, Wife, ariſe, and put on thy cloaths. And unto the parſon he ſaid, Nay, parſon, no harlot, nor rogue, but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance, and bleſſed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for his great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery. Then they led Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and ſet him in the ſtocks until it was day.

There was then alſo in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had ſat there three or four days, becauſe when the ſaid parſon Newall with his curate uſed the Romiſh ſervice in the church, he ſpake openly unto him, and ſaid, O miſerable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never ſee the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promiſes enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your ſtony ſtomachs? O obdurate, hard-hearted, perverſe, and crooked generation! O damnable ſort, whom nothing can do good unto.

Theſe, or the like words, he ſpake in fervency of ſpirit againſt the ſuperſtitious religion of Rome. Wherefore parſon Newall cauſed him forthwith to be attached, and ſet in the ſtocks in a cage, ſo was he kept there till ſir Henry Doile, a juſtice, came to Hadley.

When poor Yeoman was taken, the parſon called earneſtly upon ſir Henry Doile to ſend them both to priſon. Sir Henry Doile earneſtly intreated the parſon to conſider the age of the men and their mean condition; they were neither perſons of note nor preachers; wherefore he would deſire him to let them be puniſhed a day or two, and ſo to let them go, at leaſt John Dale, who was no prieſt: and therefore ſeeing he had ſo long ſat in the cage, he thought it puniſhment enough for this time. When the parſon heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them peſtilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of chriſtians. Wherefore I beſeech you, ſir, (quoth he) according to your office, defend holy church, and help to ſuppreſs theſe heretics, &c. which are falſe to God, and thus boldly ſet themſelves, to the evil example of others, againſt the queen's gracious proceedings. Sir Henry Doile ſeeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing alſo the danger of meddling too much in it, made out the writ, and cauſed the conſtables to carry them to Bury gaol. For now all the juſtices, though ever ſo many, were afraid of a ſhaven crown, and ſtood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did of Annas and Caiaphas, and the phariſaical brood, who cried, "Crucify him, crucify him; if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæſar's friend."

Wherefore whatſoever their conſciences were, yet (if they would eſcape danger) they muſt needs be the popiſh ſlaves and vaſſals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale pinioned, and bound them like thieves, ſet them on horſeback, and bound their legs under the horſes bellies, and ſo carried them to Bury goal, where they were laid in irons; and becauſe they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the loweſt dungeon, where John Dale, through ſickneſs of the priſon, and evil keeping, died in priſon, whoſe body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-ſix years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy ſcriptures, faithful and honeſt in all his converſation, ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the true doctrine of Chriſt ſet forth in king Edward's time; for which he joyfully ſuffered priſon and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Chriſt to eternal glory, and the bleſſed paradiſe of eternal felicity.

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich priſon, where after ſtrait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and conſtantly confeſſed himſelf to be of the faith and confeſſion that was ſet forth by king Edward VI. and from that he would in no wiſe vary. Being required to ſubmit himſelf to the holy father the pope; I defy him (quoth he) and all his deteſtable abominations: I will in no wiſe have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage and the maſs ſacrifice. Wherefore when he continued ſtedfaſt in confeſſion of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but moſt cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miſerable life, and entered into the bleſſed boſom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietneſs that God hath prepared for his elect ſaints.

The Story *of* JOHN ALCOCK.

THIS young man was by occupation a ſheerman, and came to Hadley to ſeek work; he being in church one Sunday, and parſon Newall coming by with the proceſſion, would not once move his cap, nor ſhew any ſign of reverence, but ſtood behind the font. The parſon perceiving this, when he was almoſt out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the conſtable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man had wrought, and ſaid, What hath he done, Mr. Parſon, that you are in ſuch a rage with him?

He is an heretic and traitor (quoth the parſon), and deſpiſeth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the queen's name, have him to the ſtocks, and ſee he be forthcoming.

Well (quoth Rolfe) he ſhall be forthcoming, proceed in your buſineſs, and be quiet.

Have him to the ſtocks, quoth the parſon.

I am conſtable, quoth Rolfe, and I may bail him, and will bail him; he ſhall not be put in the ſtocks, but he ſhall be forthcoming: ſo the good parſon went forth with his holy proceſſion, and ſo to maſs.

In the afternoon Rolfe ſaid to this young man, I am ſorry for thee, for truly the parſon will ſeek thy deſtruction, if thou take not good heed what thou anſwereſt him.

The young man ſaid, Sir, I am ſorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myſelf, I am not ſorry, but I commit myſelf into God's hands, and I truſt he will give me mouth and wiſdom to anſwer according to right.

Well, quoth Rolfe, yet beware of him, for he is malicious and a blood-ſucker, and beareth an old hatred againſt me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, becauſe of diſpleaſure againſt me.

I fear not, quoth the young man: he ſhall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy ſhall I be if God will call me to die for his truth's ſake.

Then they went to the parſon, who at the firſt aſked him, Fellow, what ſayeſt thou to the ſacrament of the altar?

I ſay, quoth he, as ye uſe the matter, ye make a ſhameful idol of it, and ye are falſe idolatrous prieſts, all the ſort of you.

I told you (quoth the parſon) he was a ſtout heretic.

So after long talk, the parſon committed him to priſon, and the next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him; and ſo the young man came no more to Hadley, but after a long impriſonment in Newgate, where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not ſubmit himſelf to aſk forgiveneſs of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romiſh religion, he was caſt into the lower dungeon, where with ill keeping and ſickneſs of the houſe, he died in priſon. Thus died he a martyr of God's truth, which he heartily confeſſed, and received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was caſt out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papiſts would in all things be like themſelves; therefore they would not ſo much as ſuffer the dead bodies to have convenient burial.

The Hiſtory *of* THOMAS BENBRIDGE, Gentleman *and* Martyr, *wrongfully condemned and put to death for the* Teſtimony *of* Chriſt.

THOMAS BENBRIDGE, a gentleman, (unmarried) in the dioceſe of Wincheſter, although he might have lived a gentleman's life, in the wealthy poſſeſſions of this world; yet to follow Chriſt had rather enter into the ſtrait gate of perſecution, to the heavenly poſſeſſion of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy preſent pleaſures with unquietneſs of conſcience. Wherefore manfully ſtanding againſt the papiſts for the defence of the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt's goſpel, he ſpared not himſelf to confirm the truth of the ſame. For which cauſe he being apprehended for an adverſary to the Romiſh religion, was forthwith had to examination before the biſhop of Wincheſter, where he ſuſtained certain conflicts for the truth againſt the ſaid biſhop and his colleague; for which he was condemned, and ſome time after brought to the place of martyrdom, by ſir Richard Peckſal, ſheriff.

When ſtanding at the ſtake, he began to untie his points, and to prepare himſelf; then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to ſir Richard Peckſal, the high-ſheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now faſtened to the ſtake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he ſhould have his pardon; but when he ſaw it prevailed not to ſpeak, the ſaid dreaming doctor willed the people not to pray for him unleſs he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Mr. Benbridge, ſtanding at the ſtake with his hands together in ſuch manner as the prieſt holdeth his hands in his Memento, the ſaid Dr. Seaton came to him again and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he ſaid, Away, Babylonian, away.

Then ſaid one that ſtood by, Sir, cut out his tongue, and another being a temporal man, railed on him worſe than Dr. Seaton did, who (as is thought) was ſet on by ſome other.

Thus when they ſaw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to ſet to fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. Firſt, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he did not ſhrink at all. Then it came on the other ſide and took his legs, and the nether ſtockings of his hoſe being leather, made the fire to pierce the ſharper, ſo that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and ſuddenly he thruſt the fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by that wiſhed his life, they ſtepped to the fire, and helped to take it from him alſo, who for their labour were ſent to priſon. The ſheriff alſo of his own authority took him from the ſtake and ſent him to priſon again, for which he was ſent unto the Fleet, and lay there ſome time. But before he was taken from the ſtake, the ſaid Dr. Seaton wrote articles to have him ſubſcribe unto them, as touching the pope, the ſacrament, and ſuch other traſh. But the ſaid Mr. Benbridge made much ado before he would ſubſcribe them, inſomuch that Dr. Seaton ordered them to ſet to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he ſubſcribed to them upon a man's back.

That being done, he had his gown given him again, and ſo was led to priſon. Being in priſon, he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted thoſe words he ſpake at the ſtake, unto which he had ſubſcribed: for he was grieved that ever he ſubſcribed unto them. Whereupon expreſſing his conſcience, he was the ſame day ſeven-night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of* JOHN COOKE, *a* Sawyer, ROBERT MILES, *alias* PLUMMER, Sheerman, ALEXANDER LANE, *a* Wheelwright, JAMES ASHLEY, Bachelor.

THE examination of theſe above-mentioned perſons, being ſeverally called before the biſhop of Norwich, and ſir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon theſe articles following.

Firſt, ſir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and ſaid, How doth it happen that you go not to your church?

Cooke. I have been there.

Sir Edw. What is the cauſe that you go not thither now in theſe days?

Cooke. Becauſe the ſacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.

Sir Edw. O thou rank traitor, if I had as good commiſſion to cut out thy tongue, as I have to ſit here this day, thou ſhouldſt be ſure to have it done.

Then he commanded the conſtable to take him away, ſaying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and ſaid, How happeneth it, that you will not go to church?

Miles. Becauſe I will follow no falſe gods.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Who told thee that it is a god?

Even you, quoth Miles, and ſuch as you are.

Then the biſhop commanded him aſide, and to appear before him the next day.

Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and aſked him how it chanced, that he would not go to the church.

He ſaid, that his conſcience would not ſerve him ſo to do.

Sir Edward ſaid, How doſt thou believe?

Lane anſwered, Even as it is written in God's books.

Then ſir Edward commanded him to ſay his belief.

Then Lane, being ſomewhat abaſhed, ſaid his belief to theſe words, which he miſſed unawares, "Born of the Virgin Mary."

Then ſaid ſir Edward, What, was he not born of the Virgin Mary?

Yes, ſaid Lane, I would have ſaid ſo.

Nay, ſaid ſir Edward, you are one of Cooke's ſcholars, and ſo commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

After the like manner they paſſed alſo with James Aſhley, whom they warned the next day likewiſe to appear before them again. So in fine they appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus theſe four bleſſed martyrs innocently ſuffered together at St. Edmund's-Bury, as is aforeſaid, about the beginning of Auguſt, not long before the ſickneſs of queen Mary.

An Account *of the* Martyrdom *of two godly* Perſons *at* Ipſwich, *for the everlaſting* Teſtimony *of* Chriſt, namely, ALEXANDER GOUCH, *and* ALICE DRIVER.

MR. NOONE, a juſtice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martleſham, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloody tyrant in the time of trial) at length had intelligence of one Alexander Gouch, of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife, of Groſborough, to be at Groſborough together, a little from his houſe, and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent ſearch for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to get into an hay-loft to hide themſelves from their cruelty. At length they came to ſearch the hay for them, and by gaging thereof with pitchforks, at laſt found them: ſo they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they remaining a good while, at laſt were carried to Bury, againſt the aſſize at St. James's-tide, and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly ſtand to confeſs Chriſt crucified, defying the pope and his papiſtical traſh. And among other things, Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her perſecution, to Jezabel; and ſo in that ſenſe called her Jezabel: for that ſir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, ordered her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accompliſhed accordingly, and ſhe joyfully yielded herſelf to the puniſhment, and thought herſelf happy that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer any thing for the name of Chriſt.

After the aſſize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of 36 years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation a weaver of ſhreding coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, and born at Uxford, in the ſame county. Driver's wiſe was a woman about the age of 30 years, and dwelt at Groſborough, (where they were taken) in Suffolk: her huſband did uſe huſbandry. Theſe two were carried from Melton gaol to Ipſwich, where they remained, and were examined. Which examination, as it came to hands, hereafter followeth.

The Firſt Examination *of* ALICE DRIVER, *before* Dr. SPENSER, *the* Chancellor *of* Norwich.

FIRST, ſhe coming into the place where ſhe ſhould be examined, with a ſmiling countenance, Dr. Spenſer ſaid, Why, woman, doſt thou laugh us to ſcorn?

Driver's Wife. Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to ſee what fools ye be.

Then the chancellor aſked her wherefore ſhe was brought before him, and why ſhe was laid in priſon.

Dri. Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for you know it better than I.

Spenſer. No, by my troth, woman, I know not why.

Dri. Then have you done me much wrong thus to impriſon me, and know no cauſe why; for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man that can accuſe me of any notorious fact that I have done, juſtly.

Spenſ. Woman, woman, what ſayeſt thou to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Doſt thou not believe that it is very fleſh and blood, after the words be ſpoken of conſecration?

Driver's wife at thoſe words held her peace, and made no anſwer. Then a great chuff-headed prieſt that ſtood by, ſpake, and aſked her why ſhe made not the chancellor anſwer. With that the ſaid Driver's wife looked upon him auſterely, and ſaid, Why, prieſt, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy maſter: but if thou wilt I ſhall talk with thee, command thy maſter to hold his peace. And with that the prieſt put his noſe in his cap, and ſpake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make anſwer to that he demanded of her.

Dri. Sir, pardon me though I make no anſwer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby; for in all my life I never heard nor read of any ſuch ſacrament in all the ſcripture.

Spenſ. Why, what ſcriptures have you read, I pray you?

Dri. I have (I thank God) read God's book.

Spenſ. Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?

Dri. It is the Old and New Teſtament. What call you it?

Spenſ. That is God's book indeed, I cannot deny.

Dri. That ſame book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any ſuch ſacrament there; and for that cauſe I cannot make you anſwer to that thing I know not. Notwithſtanding, for all that, I will grant you a ſacrament, called the Lord's ſupper: and therefore ſeeing I have granted you a ſacrament, I pray you ſhew me what a ſacrament is.

Spenſ. It is a ſign. And one Dr. Gaſcoin being by, confirmed the ſame, that it was the ſign of a holy thing.

Dri. You have ſaid the truth, ſir. It is a ſign indeed, I muſt needs grant it: and therefore ſeeing it is a ſign, it cannot be the thing ſignified alſo. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own ſaying.

Then ſtood up the ſaid Gaſcoin, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to the purpoſe, being both offenſive and odious to the minds of the godly In the end of which long tale, he aſked her if ſhe did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he ſpake. She anſwered, Yes; and ſaid, I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he ſpake and promiſed.

Gaſcoin. Very well. Then he ſaid to his diſciples, "Take, eat, this is my body:" Ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he ſpake, and God uſeth not to lie.

Dri. I pray you did he ever make any ſuch promiſe to his diſciples, that he would make the bread his body?

Gaſc. Thoſe be the words. Can you deny it?

Dri. No; they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?

Gaſc. No, it was his body.

Dri. Then was it his body that they did eat over night?

Gaſc. It was his body.

Dri. What body was it then that was crucified the next day?

Gaſc. It was Chriſt's body.

Dri. How could that be, when the diſciples had eaten him over night? except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they did eat over night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, ſuch a doctrine! Be you not aſhamed to teach the people, that Chriſt had two bodies? In the 22d of Luke, "He took bread and brake it to his diſciples," ſaying, "Take, &c. and do this in remembrance of me." St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. xi. "Do this in remembrance of me: for as often as ye ſhall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lord's death till he come:" and therefore I marvel you bluſh not before all this people, to lie ſo manifeſtly as you do.

With that Gaſcoin held his peace, and made her no anſwer; for, as it ſeemed, he was aſhamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cuſhion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

Dri. Now ye be not able to reſiſt the truth, ye command me to priſon again. Well, the Lord in the end ſhall judge our cauſe, and to him I leave it. So away ſhe went with the gaoler.

The Second Examination *of* ALICE DRIVER.

THE next day ſhe came before them again, and the chancellor then aſked her, what ſhe ſaid to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar?

Dri. I will ſay nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourſelves: for yeſterday I aſked you what a ſacrament was, and you ſaid, it was a ſign; and I agreed thereto, and ſaid it was the truth, confirming it by the ſcriptures, ſo that I went not from your own words; and now you come and aſk me again of ſuch a ſacrament as I told you I never read of in the ſcriptures.

Spenſ. Thou lieſt, naughty woman, we did not ſay that it was a ſign.

Dri. Why, maſters, be ye not the men that you were yeſterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not aſhamed to lie before all this multitude here preſent, who heard you ſpeak the ſame?

Then ſtood up Dr. Gaſcoin, and ſaid, ſhe was deceived; for there are three churches, the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Dri. Sir, is there mention made of ſo many churches in the ſcripture?

Gaſc. Yea.

Dri. I pray you where find you this word [church] written in the ſcripture?

Gaſc. It is written in the New Teſtament.

Dri. I pray you, ſir, ſhew the place where it is written.

Gaſc. I cannot tell the place, but there it is. With that ſhe deſired him to look in his Teſtament: then he fumbled and ſought about him for one; but at that time he had none, and that he knew well enough, though he ſeemed to ſearch for it. At laſt ſhe ſaid, Have you none here, ſir?

Gaſc. No.

Dri. I thought ſo much indeed, that you were little acquainted withal. Surely you are a good doctor. You ſay you ſit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you? At which words Dr. Gaſcoin was out of countenance, and aſked her if ſhe had one.

No, ſaid ſhe.

Then, ſaid he, I am as good a doctor as you.

Dri. Well, ſir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take me from Chriſt, if you could), and ſince you would not ſuffer me to have any book at all; ſo burning is your charity. But you may well know (I thank God), that I have exerciſed the ſame; elſe I could not have anſwered you (to God's glory be it ſpoken) as I have. Thus ſhe put them all to ſilence, ſo that one looked on another, and had not a word to ſpeak.

Dri. Have you no more to ſay? God be honoured. You be not able to reſiſt the Spirit of God in me, poor woman. I was an honeſt poor man's daughter, never brought up in the univerſity as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time: yet notwithſtanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cauſe of my maſter Chriſt, by his grace I will ſet my foot againſt the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the ſame; and if I had a thouſand lives, they ſhould go for payment thereof.—So the chancellor roſe up, and read the ſentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the ſecular power; and ſo ſhe went to priſon again as joyful as the bird of day, praiſing and glorifying the name of God.

Martyrdom *of* ALEXANDER GOUCH *and* ALICE DRIVER.

THIS Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the ſacrament and other ceremonies of the popiſh church. And for that his belief was, that Chriſt was aſcended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the ſacrament was the remembrance of his death and paſſion, and for refuſing the maſs, and the pope to be ſupreme head of Chriſt's church, for theſe cauſes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver, at Ipſwich, the 4th of November, which was the Monday after All-Saints, 1558.

Theſe two perſons being come to the place where the ſtake was ſet, by ſeven o'clock in the morning, notwithſtanding they came the ſame morning from Melton gaol, which is ſix miles from Ipſwich, being at their prayers, and ſinging of pſalms both of them together, ſir Henry Dowel, being then ſheriff, was very much offended with them, and deſired the bailiffs of Ipſwich to bid them make an end of prayers: they kneeling upon a broom faggot, one of the bailiffs, whoſe name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, ſaying, On, on, have done; make an end, nail them to the ſtake; yet they continued in prayer.

Then ſir Henry ſent one of his men, whoſe name was Richard Cove, that they ſhould make an end.

Then Gouch ſtood up and ſaid unto the ſheriff, I pray you, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.

Then ſaid the bailiff, Come off, have them to the fire.

Then the ſaid Gouch, and Alice Driver, ſaid, Why, Maſter Sheriff, and Maſter Bailiff, will you not ſuffer us to pray?

Away, ſaid ſir Henry, to the ſtake with them.

Gouch anſwered, Take heed, Mr. Sheriff, if you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads. Then they being tied to the ſtake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, O (ſaid ſhe) here is a goodly handkerchief, bleſſed be God for it.

Then divers came and took them by the hands as they were bound ſtanding at the ſtake. The ſheriff cried, Lay hands on them, lay hands on them. With that a great number ran to the ſtake. The ſheriff ſeeing that, let them all alone, ſo that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate, a barber, a buſy doer about them, who having then a frize gown upon him, ſold it immediately, ſaying, It ſtunk of heretics; with other foul words. Within three or four weeks after this, God's hand was upon him, and he died very miſerably in Ipſwich.

Although our hiſtory haſteth apace (the Lord be praiſed) to the happy death of queen Mary, yet ſhe died not ſo ſoon but that ſome were burned before her death, and more would have been burned ſoon after, if God's proviſion had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which ſuffered in the ſame month when queen Mary died, were three that were burned at Bury, whoſe names were theſe, Philip Humfrey, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

Concerning the burning of theſe three, here is to be noted, that ſir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, iſſued out a writ for the burning of them, notwithſtanding that the queen was then known to be paſt remedy of her ſickneſs.

An Account *of* Mrs. PREST, Martyr.

ALTHOUGH in ſuch a great number of perſons, who in ſundry parts of this realm were put to death in queen Mary's time, it be hard exactly to recite every particular perſon that ſuffered, but that ſome eſcape us either unknown, or omitted; yet I cannot paſs over a certain poor woman, I mean Mrs. Preſt, burned under the ſaid queen's reign, in the city of Exeter, who dwelling ſometime about Cornwall, having a huſband and children there, much addicted to the ſuperſtitious ſect of popery, was many times rebuked by them, and driven to go to the church, to their idols and ceremonies, to confeſſion, to follow the croſs in proceſſion, to give thanks to God for reſtoring Antichriſt again in this realm, &c. which when her ſpirit could not abide to do, ſhe made her prayer to God, calling for help and mercy, and ſo at length lying in her bed, about midnight, ſhe thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of ſingular comfort. Whereupon in ſhort ſpace, ſhe began to grow in contempt of her huſband and children, and ſo taking nothing from them, but what ſhe had on, departed from them; ſeeking her living by labour and ſpinning as well as ſhe could, here and there for a time. In which time ſhe never ceaſed to utter her mind as well as ſhe could againſt their popery; however, ſhe at that time was brought home to her huſband again. Where at laſt ſhe was accuſed by her neighbours, and ſo brought up to Exeter, to be preſented to the biſhop and his clergy. The name of the biſhop who had her in examination, was Dr. Troublevile. His chancellor (as I gather) was Blackſtone. The chiefeſt matter whereupon ſhe was charged and condemned, was for the ſacrament (which they call) of the altar, and for ſpeaking againſt idols, as by the declaration of thoſe which were preſent, I underſtand, who report the talk between her and the biſhop on this wiſe:

Biſhop. Thou fooliſh woman, I hear ſay, that thou haſt ſpoken certain words againſt the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, the body of Chriſt. Fie for ſhame. Thou art an unlearned perſon, and a woman: wilt thou meddle with ſuch high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of ſuch high myſteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou haſt to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be ſpoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned.

Woman. My lord, I truſt your lordſhip will hear me ſpeak.

Biſhop. Yea, marry, for that cauſe I ſent for you.

Woman. I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly, and of what I get, I give part to the poor.

Biſhop. That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?

And here the biſhop entered into converſation about her huſband.

To whom ſhe anſwered again, declaring that ſhe had a huſband and children; and had them not. So long as ſhe was at liberty, ſhe refuſed neither huſband nor children: but now ſtanding here as I do, ſaid ſhe, in the cauſe of Chriſt and his truth, where I muſt either forſake Chriſt, or my huſband, I am contented to ſtick only to Chriſt, my heavenly ſpouſe, and renounce the other.

And here ſhe making mention of the words of Chriſt, "He that leaveth not father or mother, ſiſter or brother, huſband," &c. the biſhop inferred, that Chriſt ſpake that of the holy martyrs, who died becauſe they would not ſacrifice to the falſe gods.

Woman. Surely, ſir, and I will rather die than I will do any worſhip to that idol, which with your maſs you make a god.

Biſhop. What, heretic, will you ſay that the ſacrament of the altar is a foul idol?

Woman. Yes, truly, there was never ſuch an idol as your ſacrament is made by your prieſts, and commanded to be worſhipped of all men, with many fond phantaſies, where Chriſt did command it to be eaten and drank in remembrance of his moſt bleſſed paſſion for our redemption.

Biſhop. See this prattling woman. Doſt thou not hear, that Chriſt did ſay over the bread, "This is my body," and over the cup, "This is my blood."

Woman. Yes, forſooth, he ſaid ſo, but he meant that it is body and blood, not carnally, but ſacramentally.

Biſhop. Lo, ſhe hath heard prating among theſe new preachers, or heard ſome peeviſh book. Alas, poor woman, thou art deceived.

Woman. No, my lord, what I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reaſon why I will not worſhip the ſacrament.

Biſhop. Marry, ſay on, I am ſure it will be goodly gear.

Woman. Truly ſuch gear as I will loſe this poor life of mine for.

Biſhop. Then you will be a martyr, good wife.

Woman. Indeed, if the denying to worſhip that bready god be my martyrdom, I will ſuffer it with all my heart.

Biſhop Say thy mind.

Woman. You muſt bear with me, a poor woman.

Biſhop. So I will.

Woman. I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth ſay, That Chriſt doth perpetually ſit at the right hand of his Father, both body and ſoul, until he come again; or whether he be in heaven our Advocate, and to make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be ſo he is not here on earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, ſhall we ſeek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you with a falſe offering make all imperfect? If he be to be worſhipped in Spirit and in truth, why do you worſhip a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drank in faith and truth, if his fleſh be not profitable to be among us, why do you ſay you make his fleſh and blood, and ſay it is profitable for body and ſoul? Alas, I am a poor woman, but rather than I will do as you, I would live no longer. I have ſaid, ſir.

Biſhop. I promiſe you, you are a jolly proteſtant. I pray you in what ſchools have you been brought up?

Woman. I have upon the Sundays viſited the ſermons, and there have I learned ſuch things as are ſo fixed in my breaſt, that death ſhall not ſeparate them.

Biſhop. O fooliſh woman, who will waſte his breath upon thee, or ſuch as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wenteſt away from thy huſband? if thou wert an honeſt woman, thou wouldſt not have left thy huſband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive.

Woman. Sir, I laboured for my living; and as my maſter Chriſt counſelleth me, when I was perſecuted in one city, I fled into another.

Biſhop. Who perſecuted thee?

Woman. My huſband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worſhip God in heaven, he would not hear me, but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft, but becauſe I would be no partaker with him and his, of that foul idol the maſs; and whereſoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holidays, I made excuſes not to go to the popiſh church.

Biſhop. Belike then you are a good houſewife, to fly from your huſband, and the church.

Woman. My houſewifry is but ſmall; but God give me grace to go to the true church.

Biſhop. The true church, what doſt thou mean?

Woman. Not your popiſh church, full of idols and abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go, as long as I live.

Biſhop. Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to priſon till we ſend for her huſband.

Woman. No, I have but one huſband, who is here already in this city and in priſon with me (from whom I will never depart). And ſo their communication, for that time, brake off. Blackſtone and others perſuaded the biſhop that ſhe was not in her right ſenſes (which is no new thing for the wiſdom of God to appear fooliſhneſs to the carnal men of this world), and therefore they conſulted together, that ſhe ſhould have liberty to go at large. So the keeper of the biſhop's priſon had her home to his houſe, where ſhe fell to ſpinning and carding, and did work as a ſervant in the ſaid keeper's houſe, and ſhe went about the city when and where ſhe pleaſed, and many people took great delight in talking with her: and all her diſcourſe was about the ſacrament of the altar, which of all things they could leaſt abide.

Then her huſband was ſent for, but ſhe refuſed to go home with him, with the blemiſh of the cauſe and religion, in defence whereof ſhe there ſtood before the biſhop and the prieſts.

Then divers of the prieſts endeavoured to perſuade her to leave her wicked opinion about the ſacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt. But ſhe made them anſwer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be aſhamed to ſay, that a piece of bread ſhould be turned by a man into the natural body of Chriſt, which bread doth corrupt, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: God's body will not be ſo handled, nor kept in priſon, or boxes or aumbries. Let it be your god, it ſhall not be mine; for my Saviour ſitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that ſacramental or ſignificative bread inſtituted for a remembrance, the very body of Chriſt, and to worſhip it, is very fooliſhneſs and deviliſh deceit.

Now truly, ſaid they, the devil hath deceived thee.

No, ſaid ſhe, I truſt the living God hath opened mine eyes, and cauſed me to underſtand the right uſe of the bleſſed ſacrament, which the true church doth uſe, but the falſe church doth abuſe.

Then ſtepped forth an old friar, and aſked her what ſhe ſaid of the holy pope?

I (ſaid ſhe) ſay, that he is Antichriſt and the devil.

Then they all laughed.

Nay, ſaid ſhe, you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be ſorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon. I defy him and all his falſhood; and get you away from me, you do but trouble my conſcience. You would have me follow your doings; I will firſt loſe my life. I pray you depart.

Why, thou fooliſh woman, ſaid they, we come to thee for thy profit and ſoul's health.

O Lord God, ſaid ſhe, what profit ariſeth by you, that teach nothing but lies for truth? how ſave you ſouls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and deſtroy ſouls.

How proveſt thou that? ſaid they.

Do you not damn your ſouls, ſaid ſhe, when you teach the people to worſhip idols, ſtocks, and ſtones, the works of men's hands? and to worſhip a falſe god of your own making of a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive ſins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his paſſion purged all? and ſay, you make God, and ſacrifice him, when Chriſt's body was a ſacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their ſins in your ears, and ſay they be damned, if they confeſs not all: when God's word ſaith, Who can number his ſins? Do you not promiſe them trentals and dirges, and maſſes for ſouls, and ſell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and truſt to ſuch fooliſh inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether againſt God? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto ſaints, and ſay they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray devils? Do you not make a thouſand more abominations? And yet you ſay, you come for my profit, and to ſave my ſoul. No, no, one hath ſaved me. Farewel, you with your ſalvation. Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to expreſs.

In the month's liberty, which was granted by the biſhop, as is before-mentioned, ſhe went into St. Peter's church, and there found a cunning Dutchman that had made new noſes to certain fine images which were diſfigured in king Edward's time; to whom ſhe ſaid, What a mad man art thou to make them new noſes, which within a few days ſhall all loſe their heads? The Dutchman accuſed her, and laid it hard to her charge. And ſhe ſaid unto him, Thou art accurſed, and ſo are thy images. He called her whore. Nay, ſaid ſhe, thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God ſay, You go a whoring after ſtrange gods, figures of your own making? and thou art one of them. Then ſhe was ſent for and clapped faſt, and from that time ſhe had no more liberty.

During the time of her impriſonment, divers reſorted to viſit her, ſome ſent by the biſhop, ſome of their own voluntary will; amongſt whom was one Daniel, a great preacher ſometime of the goſpel, in the days of king Edward, in thoſe parts of Cornwall and Devonſhire: whom after that ſhe perceived by his own confeſſion to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous impriſonments, as he ſaid, and fear of perſecution which he had partly ſuſtained by the cruel juſtices in thoſe parts, earneſtly ſhe exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more conſtant in his profeſſion.

Moreover, there reſorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Rauly, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the priſon and talking with her, ſhe ſaid her creed to the gentlewoman; and when ſhe came to the article, He aſcended, there ſhe ſtaid, and bid the gentlewoman to ſeek his bleſſed body in heaven, not on earth, and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, and the ſacrament to be nothing elſe but a remembrance of his bleſſed paſſion; and yet, ſaid ſhe, as they now uſe it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Chriſt's body; which, ſaid ſhe, will not continue, and ſo take it, good miſtreſs. So that as ſoon as ſhe came home to her huſband, ſhe declared to him, that in her life ſhe never heard a woman (of ſuch ſimplicity to look on) talk ſo godly, ſo perfectly, ſo ſincerely, and ſo earneſtly; inſomuch, that if God were not with her, ſhe could not ſpeak ſuch things, to which I am not able to anſwer, though I can read, and ſhe cannot.

Alſo there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the fleſh, but alſo in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whoſe father, R. Kede, all his life ſuffered nothing but trouble for the goſpel. Theſe two good and faithful brethren were preſent with her, both in the hall, and alſo at the priſon, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of ſo godly talk, ſo faithful or ſo conſtant; and as godly exhortations ſhe gave them.

Thus this good matron was by many ways tried, both by hard impriſonment, threatenings, taunts and ſcorns, called an anabaptiſt, a mad woman, a drunkard, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither ſhe would; ſhe was tried by flattery, with many fair promiſes; ſhe was tried with her huſband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed, ſhe had caſt her anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world; a rare example of conſtancy to all profeſſors of Chriſt's goſpel.

In the bill of my information, it is ſo reported to me, that albeit ſhe was of ſuch ſimplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of ſcripture, but ſhe would tell you the chapter; yea, ſhe would recite you the names of all the books of the bible. For which cauſe one Gregory Baſſet, a rank papiſt, ſaid ſhe was out of her wits, and talked of the ſcripture as a dog rangeth far off from his maſter when he walketh in the fields, or as a ſtolen ſheep out of his maſter's hands, ſhe knew not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other taunts, which ſhe utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praiſed, working ſo mightily in ſuch a weak veſſel, ſo men of ſtronger and ſtouter nature have alſo to take example how to ſtand in like caſe; whereas we ſee this poor woman, how manfully ſhe went through with ſuch conſtancy and patience.

At laſt when they perceived her to be paſt remedy, and had conſumed all their threatenings, that neither by impriſonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to ſing any other ſong, nor win her to their vanities and ſuperſtitious doings, then they cried out, An anabaptiſt, an anabaptiſt. Then in one day they brought her from the biſhop's priſon to the Guild-hall, and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their cuſtom, where ſhe was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her opinions: and go home to thy huſband, ſaid they, thou art an unlearned woman, thou art not able to anſwer to ſuch high matters.

I am not, ſaid ſhe; yet with my death I am content to be a witneſs of Chriſt's death; and I pray you make no longer delay with me: my heart is fixed, I will never ſay otherwiſe, nor turn to your ſuperſtitious doings.

Then the biſhop ſaid, the devil did lead her.

No, my lord, ſaid ſhe, it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me.

Then there was a great ſhout and laugh amongſt the prieſts and others.

During the time that this good woman was thus under theſe prieſts' hands, amongſt many other baitings and ſore conflicts which ſhe ſuſtained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Mr. Blaxton aforeſaid, being treaſurer of the church, had a concubine, who ſundry times reſorted to him, with other of his goſſips: ſo that always when they came, this ſaid good woman was called forth to his houſe, there to make his minion, with the reſt of his company, ſome mirth, he examining her with ſuch mocking and grinning, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any chriſtian heart to have ſeen it. Then when he had long uſed his fooliſhneſs in this ſort, and had ſported himſelf enough in deriding this chriſtian martyr; in the end he ſent her to priſon again, and there kept her very miſerably, except that ſometimes he would ſend for her, when his aforeſaid gueſts came to him, to uſe with her his accuſtomed folly. But in fine, theſe vile wretches, (after many combats and ſcoffing perſuaſions) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouſe, at length condemned her, and delivered her over to the ſecular power.

Then the ſentence being given, That ſhe ſhould go to the place from whence ſhe came, and from thence to the place of execution, there to be burned with flames, till ſhe be conſumed; ſhe lifted up her voice and thanked God, ſaying, I thank thee, my Lord my God; this day have I found that which I have long ſought. But ſuch out-cries as were again, and ſuch mockings were never ſeen upon a poor innocent woman: all which ſhe moſt patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life ſhould be ſpared, if ſhe would turn and recant. Nay, that will I not, ſaid ſhe: God forbid that I ſhould loſe the life eternal for this carnal and ſhort life. I will never turn from my heavenly huſband, to my earthly huſband; from the fellowſhip of angels to mortal children; and if my huſband and children be faithful, then am I their's; God is my father, God is my mother, God is my ſiſter, my brother, my kinſman; God is my friend moſt faithful.

Then was ſhe delivered to the ſheriff, innumerable people beholding her, and led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Sothenhey, where again theſe ſuperſtitious prieſts aſſaulted her; and ſhe prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried ſtill, God be merciful to me a ſinner. And ſo while they were tying her to the ſtake, thus ſtill ſhe cried, and would give no anſwer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with flames of fire conſumed; and ſo ended this mortal life, as conſtant a woman in the faith of Chriſt, as ever was upon the earth. She was as ſimple a woman to appearance, as a man might behold; of a very little and ſtort ſtature, ſomewhat thick, about 54 years of age. She had a chearful countenance, ſo lively, as though ſhe had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; moſt patient in her words and anſwers; ſober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle, but a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble ſhe would take no money, becauſe (ſaid ſhe) I am going to a city where money beareth no maſtery; whilſt I am here, God hath promiſed to feed me. Thus was her mortal life ended. For whoſe conſtancy God be everlaſtingly praiſed, Amen.

The Perſecution *and* Martyrdom *of* Richard Sharpe, Thomas Banion, *and* Thomas Hale.

RICHARD SHARPE, weaver of Briſtol, was brought the ninth day of March, 1556, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of the city of Briſtol, and after examination concerning the ſacrament of the altar, was perſuaded by the ſaid Dalby and others to recant; and the 29th of the ſaid month was enjoined to make his recantation before the pariſhioners in his pariſh church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conſcience ſuch a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body; who ſhortly after upon Sunday came into his pariſh church, called Temple, and after high maſs came to the choir door, and ſaid with a loud voice, Neighbours, bear me record that yonder idol (and pointed to the altar) is the greateſt and moſt abominable that ever was: and I am ſorry that ever I denied my Lord God. Then the conſtables were ordered to apprehend him, but none ſtepped forth, but ſuffered him to go out of the church. After, at night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, and ſhortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the ſacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Chriſt, and ſaid, it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burned by the ſaid Dalby. He was burnt the 7th of May, 1557, and died godly, patiently, and conſtantly, confeſſing the articles of our faith.

An Account *of* Thomas Hale, Martyr.

THE Thurſday night before Eaſter, in the year 1557, came one Mr. David Harris, alderman, and John Stone, to the houſe of one Thomas Hale, ſhoemaker, of Briſtol, and cauſed him to riſe out of his bed, and brought him forth from his door. To whom the ſaid Thomas Hale ſaid, You have ſought my blood theſe two years, and now much good may it do you. He being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the 24th of April in the year aforeſaid, was brought before Mr. Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to priſon, and after by him condemned to be burned for ſaying, The ſacrament of the altar was an idol. He was burnt the 7th day of May with the aforeſaid Richard Sharpe, patiently embracing the fire with his arms. They were both bound back to back.

An Account *of* Thomas Banion.

THOMAS BANION, a weaver, at the commandment of the commiſſioners, was brought by a conſtable, the 13th day of Auguſt, 1557, before Mr. Dalby, chancellor of Briſtol, who committed him to priſon for ſaying there was nothing but bread in the ſacrament, as they uſed it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of Auguſt, he was condemned by the ſaid Dalby to be burnt for denying five of their ſacraments, and affirming two, that is, the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm. He was burnt the 27th of the ſaid month, in the ſame year, and died godly, conſtantly, and patiently, with confeſſing the articles of our chriſtian faith.

The Martyrdom *of* John Cornford, *of* Wortham, Christopher Browne, *of* Maidstone, John Herst, *of* Aſhford, Alice Snoth, *and* Catherine Knight, *alias* Tinley, *an aged* Woman.

THESE five were the laſt that ſuffered in queen Mary's reign, for the teſtimony of that word for which ſo many had died before, and gave up their lives meekly and patiently, ſuffering the violent malice of the papiſts: who although they then might have either well ſpared them, or elſe deferred their death, knowing of the ſickneſs of queen Mary; yet ſuch was the implacable ſpite of that generation, that there be ſome that ſay, the archdeacon of Canterbury the ſame time being at London, and underſtanding the danger of the queen, immediately made poſt haſte home to diſpatch theſe whom he had before then in his cruel cuſtody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was for believing the body not to be in the ſacrament of the altar, unleſs it be received; ſaying moreover, that we receive another thing alſo, beſides Chriſt's body, which we ſee, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, "The things that be ſeen, be temporal," &c.

Item, For confeſſing that an evil man doth not receive Chriſt's body "Becauſe no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father."

Item, That it is idolatry to creep to the croſs, and St. John forbidding it, ſaith, Beware of images.

Item, For confeſſing that we ſhould not pray to our lady, and other ſaints, becauſe they be not omnipotent.

For theſe and other ſuch like articles of chriſtian doctrine, were theſe committed to the fire. Againſt whom, when the ſentence ſhould be read, and they excommunicated, after the manner of the papiſts, one of them, John Corneford by name, ſtirred with a vehement ſpirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication againſt the papiſts, in the name of them all, pronounced ſentence againſt them, in theſe words as follow:

"In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of the moſt mighty God, and by the power of his holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apoſtolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be deſtroyed, the bodies of all thoſe blaſphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error againſt his moſt holy word, or do condemn his moſt holy truth for hereſy, to the maintenance of any falſe church or feigned religion, ſo that by this thy juſt judgment, O moſt mighty God, againſt thy adverſaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, ſo be it, Amen."

This ſentence of excommunication being the ſame time openly pronounced and regiſtered, proceeding ſo, as it ſeemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeal to God's truth and religion, took ſuch effect againſt the enemy, that within ſix days after queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all Engliſh papiſts with her. Albeit, notwithſtanding the ſickneſs and death of that queen, whereof they were not ignorant, yet the archdeacon and others of Canterbury, thought to diſpatch the martyrdom of theſe men before.

In which fact, the tyranny of this archdeacon ſeemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner, who notwithſtanding he had ſome at the ſame time under his cuſtody, yet was not ſo importunate in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Lining and his wife, and divers others, who being the ſame time under the cuſtody of Biſhop Bonner, were delivered by the death of queen Mary.

Theſe godly martyrs, in their prayer which they made before their martyrdom, deſired God that their blood might be the laſt that ſhould be ſhed, and ſo it was.

This Catherine Tinley was the mother of one Robert Tinley, dwelling in Maidſtone, which Robert was in trouble all queen Mary's time. To whom his mother coming to viſit him, aſked him how he took this place of ſcripture which ſhe had ſeen, not by reading of the ſcripture (for ſhe had yet in manner no taſte of religion), but had found it by chance in a book of prayers, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all fleſh, and your ſons and your daughters ſhall propheſy; your old men ſhall dream dreams, and your young men ſhall ſee viſions. And alſo upon the ſervants, and upon the maids in thoſe days will I pour my Spirit," &c. Which place after that he had expounded to her, ſhe began to take hold on the goſpel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and ſo continued unto her martyrdom.

Among ſuch women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and ſuppoſed to be this Alice Snoth mentioned in this ſtory, or elſe to be Agnes Snoth above-mentioned, that when ſhe was brought to be executed, ſhe being at the ſtake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The juſtice hearing her, ſent for them, but they durſt not come. Notwithſtanding the juſtices willed the meſſenger to go again, and to ſhew them that they ſhould incur no danger thereof.

Then they hearing that, came to know the matter of their ſending for. When the maid ſaw them, ſhe aſked them what they had promiſed for her, and ſo ſhe immediately rehearſed her faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promiſed in her behalf; and they ſaid, No.

Then, ſaid ſhe, I die a chriſtian woman, bear witneſs of me; and ſhe was conſumed in fire, and gave up her life joyfully for the teſtimony of Chriſt's goſpel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and alſo to the ſtopping of the ſlanderous mouths of ſuch as falſely do quarrel againſt the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were at firſt baptized.

The Hiſtory *and* Condemnation *of* John Hunt, *and* Richard White, *who eſcaped the* Fire *by the* Death *of* Queen Mary.

BESIDES theſe three martyrs above-named, there were ſeveral others impriſoned in divers parts of the realm, whereof ſome were but newly taken and not yet examined, ſome examined but not condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ, eſcaped.

Others there were alſo, both condemned, and the writ alſo was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the biſhop, and of queen Mary, happening together about one time, they moſt happily and marvellouſly were preſerved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was one John Hunt, and Richard White, impriſoned at Saliſbury. Touching which hiſtory, ſomething is here to be ſhewed.

Theſe two good men, and faithful ſervants of the Lord, had remained a long time in priſon at Saliſbury, and other places thereabouts, the ſpace of two years and more. During which time, they were often called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the biſhops and prieſts. All whoſe examinations, as I thought not much needful here to proſecute or to ſearch out, for the length of the volume; ſo neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the ſame, but ſome part to expreſs, namely, of the examination of Richard White, before the biſhop of Saliſbury, the biſhop of Glouceſter, with the chancellor and other prieſts, not unworthy here to be rehearſed.

The biſhop of Saliſbury at that time was Dr. Capon, the biſhop of Glouceſter was Dr. Brookes. Theſe, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Saliſbury, and a great number of prieſts ſitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them. With whom firſt the biſhop of Glouceſter, who had the examination of him, began thus.

Brookes. Is this the priſoner?

Chancellor. Yea, my lord.

Brookes. Friend, wherefore cameſt thou hither?

White. My lord, I truſt to know the cauſe: for the law ſaith, In the mouth of two or three witneſſes things muſt ſtand.

Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy faith when thou cameſt hither?

White. No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards'-Tower, and that no man ſhould ſpeak with me. And now I do require mine accuſer.

Then the Regiſter ſaid, The mayor of Marlborough apprehended you for words that you ſpake there; and for that I commanded you to be conveyed hither to priſon.

White. You had the examination of me at Marlborough. Say what I have ſaid, and I will anſwer you.

Chancellor. Thou ſhalt confeſs thy faith before thou depart; and therefore ſay thy mind freely, and be not aſhamed ſo to do.

White. I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe it is the power of God to ſalvation unto all that believe: and St. Peter ſaith, "If any man do aſk thee a reaſon of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct anſwer, and that with meekneſs." Who ſhall have the examination of me?

Chancellor. My lord of Glouceſter ſhall have the examination of thee.

White. My lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? Be not guilty thereof; I warn you before hand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our law.

White. My lord, what is it that you do requeſt at my hands?

Brookes. I will poſe thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the ſacrament of the altar: how doſt thou believe of the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? Believeſt thou not the real, carnal, and corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſame, even the very ſame Chriſt that was born of the virgin Mary, that was hanged on the croſs, that ſuffered for our ſins? And at theſe words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White. My lord, what is a ſacrament?

Brookes. It is the thing itſelf which it repreſenteth.

White. That cannot be; for he that repreſenteth a prince cannot be the prince himſelf.

Brookes. How many ſacraments findeſt thou in the ſcriptures called by the name of ſacraments?

White. I find two ſacraments in the ſcriptures, but not called by the names of ſacraments. But I think St. Auguſtine gave them the firſt name of ſacraments.

Brookes. Then thou findeſt not that word ſacrament in the ſcriptures.

White. No, my lord.

Brookes. Did not Chriſt ſay, This is my body, and are not his words true?

White. I am ſure the words are true; but you play by me as the devil did by Chriſt: for he ſaid, If thou be, &c. Matt. iv. For it is, &c. Pſal. xci. But the words that followed after be clean left out, which are theſe: Thou ſhalt walk on the lion and the aſp, &c. Theſe words the devil left out, becauſe they were ſpoke againſt himſelf; and even ſo do you recite the ſcriptures.

Brookes. Declare thy faith upon the ſacrament.

White. Chriſt and his ſacraments are alike, becauſe of their natures; for in Chriſt are two natures, a divine and an human nature; ſo likewiſe in the ſacraments of Chriſt's body and blood there be two natures, which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the ſaying of St. Auguſtine. The internal part is the inviſible grace, which by the ſame is repreſented. So there is an external receiving of the ſame ſacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Ghoſt in the heart, which worketh in me faith; whereby I apprehend all the merits of Chriſt, applying the ſame wholly unto my ſalvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it.

Dr. Hoſkins. This is Oecolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people.

Brookes. Doſt thou not believe, that after the words of conſecration there is the natural preſence of Chriſt's body.

White. My lord, I will anſwer you, if you will anſwer me to one queſtion. Is not this article of our belief true? "He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty:" if he be come from thence to judgment, ſay ſo.

Brookes. No. But if thou wilt believe the ſcriptures, I will prove to thee that Chriſt was both in heaven and in earth at one time.

White. As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place.

Brookes. St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. xv. "Laſt of all he was ſeen of me," &c. Here St. Paul ſaith he ſaw Chriſt, and St. Paul was not in heaven.

White. St. Paul's chief purpoſe was by this place to prove the reſurrection. But how do you prove that Chriſt, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not ſtill in heaven; like as he was ſeen of Stephen, ſitting at the right hand of God? St. Auguſtine ſaith, the head that was in heaven, did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and ſaid, "Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?" And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might ſee Chriſt? as he witneſſeth, 1 Cor. xv. For there he doth but only ſay he ſaw Chriſt, but concerning the place he ſpeaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of ſcripture proveth not that Chriſt was both in heaven and earth at one time.

Brookes. I told you before he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we the Catholics. If you the Oecolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans, and we the Catholics be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Oecolampadians and we the Catholics be out of the way. But if we the Catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you the Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics.

White. My lord, you have troubled me greatly with the ſcriptures.

Brookes. Did I not tell you it was not poſſible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollards' Tower, and diſpatch him as ſoon as you can.

This was the effect of my firſt examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write out.

Amongſt many other examinations of the aforeſaid Richard White, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackſtone, chancellor of Exeter, ſat upon him, with divers others, who alledging certain doctors, as Chryſoſtom, Cyprian, Tertullian, againſt the ſaid Richard White, and being reproved by him for his falſe patching of the doctors, fell into ſuch a trembling and ſhaking, (his conſcience belike accuſing him) that he was fain, ſtooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to ſtay his body from trembling.

Then the ſaid John Hunt, and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery, the biſhop's chancellor, there to be condemned, and ſo they were. The high ſheriff at that preſent was ſir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the ſeſſions, was there charged with theſe two condemned perſons, with other malefactors there condemned likewiſe the ſame time, to ſee them put to death.

In the mean time Mr. Clifford, of Boſco, in Wiltſhire, ſon-in-law to the ſaid ſir Anthony Hungerford, the ſheriff, came to his father, exhorting and counſelling him in no caſe to meddle with the death of theſe two innocent perſons; and if the chancellor and prieſts would needs be inſtant upon him, yet he ſhould firſt require the writ to be ſent down, *De comburendo*, for his diſcharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and underſtanding juſtice Brown to be in the town the ſame time, went to him to aſk his advice and counſel in the matter, who told him that without the writ ſent down from the ſuperior powers, he could not be diſcharged; and if the writ were ſent, then he muſt by the law do his charge.

The ſheriff underſtanding by juſtice Brown, how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his horſe, departed.

The chancellor all this while marvelling what the ſheriff meant, and yet diſdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other ſhould have come firſt to him, at laſt hearing that he was rid away, took his horſe and rid after him; who at length overtaking the ſheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned priſoners to his hand, whoſe duty had been to have ſeen execution done; the matter, he ſaid, was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it how he would anſwer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note, good reader, by the way, the cloſe and covert hypocriſy of the papiſts in their dealings; who in the form and ſtile of their own ſentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the ſecular power, in the wounds of Jeſus Chriſt, that the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and that their life may be ſpared. And how ſtandeth this now with their doings and dealings, when this chancellor (as you ſee) is not only contented to give ſentence againſt them, but alſo hunteth after the officer, not ſuffering him to ſpare them, although he would? What diſſimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profeſſion? But let us return to our matter again.

The ſheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and ſeeing him ſo urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and diſcharge him in burning thoſe men, then he knew what he had to do. Why, ſaith the chancellor, did not I give you a writ, with my hand and eight more of the cloſe ſet unto the ſame? Well, quoth the ſheriff, that is no ſufficient diſcharge for me; and therefore as I told you, if you have a ſufficient writ and warrant from the ſuperior powers, I know then what I have to do in my office; otherwiſe, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all, &c.

Where note again (good reader) how by this it may be thought and ſuppoſed, that the other poor ſaints and martyrs of God, ſuch as had been burned at Saliſbury before, were burned belike without any authoriſed or ſufficient writ from the ſuperiors, but only from the information of the chancellor and of the cloſe, through the uncircumſpect negligence of the ſheriffs, who ſhould have looked more ſubſtantially into the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the magiſtrates. Let us return to the ſtory again.

Doctor Geffery, the chancellor, thus ſent away from the ſheriff, went home, and there fell ſick upon the ſame, (for anger belike) as they ſignified unto me, who were the parties themſelves, both godly and grave perſons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.

The under ſheriff to this ſir Anthony Hungerford, above-named, was one Mr. Michell, a godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White, and John Hunt; but the under ſheriff receiving the ſaid writ, ſaid, I will not be guilty of theſe men's blood, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died; concerning whoſe death this cometh by the way to be noted, that theſe two aforeſaid, John Hunt, and Richard White, being the ſame time in a low and dark dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accuſtomed manner) fell to evening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they ſhould begin their prayer, ſuddenly fell both to ſuch a ſtrange weeping and tenderneſs of heart (but how they could not tell), that they could not pray one word, but ſo continued a great ſpace, burſting out in tears. After that night was paſt, and the morning come, the firſt word they heard, was, that the chancellor, their great enemy, was dead. The time of whoſe death they found to be the ſame hour, when they fell into ſuch a ſudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be praiſed, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked chancellor.

Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the biſhop alſo being dead a little before, continued ſtill in priſon till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth; and ſo were ſet at liberty.

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An Account of the Martyrdom *of a young* Lad *of Eight Years old, ſcourged to* Death *in* Biſhop Bonner's Houſe *in* London.

If bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, ſuffering for no cauſe of his own, but in the truth of Chriſt and his religion, do make a martyr, no leſs deſerveth the child of John Fetty, to be reputed in the catalogue of holy martyrs, who in the houſe of biſhop Bonner, was unmercifully ſcourged to death, as by the ſequel of this ſtory here following may appear.

Amongſt thoſe that were perſecuted and miſerably impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a godly poor man, dwelling in the pariſh of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a taylor, of the age of twenty-four years or thereabouts, who was accuſed and complained of unto one Brokenbury, a parſon of the ſame pariſh, by his own wife, becauſe he would not come unto the church, and be partaker of their idolatry and ſuperſtition; and therefore, through the ſaid prieſt's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner, and his fellow conſtables there, and one Martin the headborough. However, immediately upon his apprehenſion, his wife (by the juſt judgment of God) was ſtricken mad, and diveſted of her wits, which declared a marvellous example of the juſtice of God againſt ſuch unfaithful and moſt unnatural treachery. And although this example (perhaps for lack of knowledge and inſtruction in ſuch caſes) little moved the conſciences of theſe ſimple poor men to ceaſe their perſecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought ſo in their hearts, that for the preſervation and ſupport of her and her two children (like otherwiſe to periſh) they for that preſent let her huſband alone, and would not carry him to priſon, but yet ſuffered him to remain quietly in his houſe. During which time, he as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet ſo cheriſh and provide for her, that within the ſpace of three weeks (through God's merciful providence) ſhe was well amended, and had recovered again ſome ſtay of her wits and ſenſes.

But ſuch was the power of Satan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithſtanding his gentle dealing with her, yet ſo ſoon as ſhe had recovered ſome health, ſhe did again accuſe her huſband; whereupon he was the ſecond time apprehended, and carried unto ſir John Mordaunt, knight, one of the queen's commiſſioners, and he upon examination ſent him by Cluny, the biſhop's ſumner, unto the Lollards' Tower: where he was put into the painful ſtocks, and had a diſh of water ſet by him, with a ſtone put into it. To what purpoſe God knoweth, except it were to ſhew that he ſhould look for little other ſuſtenance. Which is credible enough, if we conſider their like practices upon divers before-mentioned in this hiſtory, as amongſt others, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruel impriſonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story, to have leave that ſhe might bury him, he aſked her if he had any ſtraw or blood in his mouth; but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the wiſe.

After the aforeſaid John Fetty had thus lain in priſon for the ſpace of fifteen days, hanging in the ſtocks, ſometimes by one leg and one arm, ſometimes by the other, and ſometimes by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy of the age of eight or nine years) came unto the biſhop's houſe to ſee if he could get leave to ſpeak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the biſhop's chaplains met with him, and aſked him what he lacked, and whom he would have. The child anſwered, that he came to ſee his father. The chaplain aſked again who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, ſhewed him that his father was there in priſon. Why, ſaid the prieſt, thy father is an heretic: the child being of a bold and quick ſpirit, and alſo godly brought up, and inſtructed by his father in the knowledge of God, anſwered and ſaid, My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark.

With that the prieſt took the child by the hand, and carried him into the biſhop's houſe, and there amongſt them did they moſt ſhamefully, and without all pity, ſo whip and ſcourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore of blood, and then in jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they cauſed Cluny, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his ſhirt unto his father being in priſon, the blood running down his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and aſked his bleſſing. The poor man then beholding his child, and ſeeing him ſo cruelly arrayed, cried out for ſorrow, and ſaid, Alas, Will, who hath done this to thee? The boy anſwered, that as he was ſeeking to come to ſee his father, a prieſt with Balaam's mark took him into the biſhop's houſe, and there he was ſo handled. Cluny therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the biſhop's houſe, where they kept him three days after.

And at three days end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and ſomewhat to appeaſe the poor man, for this their horrible fact) determined to releaſe him; and therefore cauſed him early in the morning to be brought out of Lollards' Tower into his bedchamber, where he found the biſhop bathing of himſelf againſt a great fire; and at his firſt entering into the chamber, Fetty ſaid, God be here, and peace. God be here, and peace! ſaid Bonner; that is neither God ſpeed, nor good morrow. If you kick againſt this peace (ſaid Fetty), then this is not the place that I ſeek for.

A chaplain of the biſhop's ſtanding by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, ſaid in a mocking manner, What have we here, a player? Whilſt Fetty was thus ſtanding in the biſhop's chamber, he eſpied hanging about the biſhop's bed, a great pair of black beads; whereupon he ſaid, My lord, I think the hangman is not far off: for the halter, pointing to the beads, is here already. At which words the biſhop was in a marvellous rage.

Then he immediately after eſpied alſo ſtanding in the ſaid biſhop's chamber in the window a little crucifix. Then he aſked the biſhop what it was; and he anſwered that it was Chriſt. Was he handled ſo cruelly as he is here pictured? ſaid Fetty.

Yea, that he was, ſaid the biſhop.

And even ſo cruelly will you handle ſuch as come before you: for you are unto God's people as Caiaphas was unto Chriſt.

The biſhop being in a great fury, ſaid, Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or elſe I will ſpend all that I have unto my gown.

Nay, my lord, ſaid Fetty, you had better give it to ſome poor body, that he may pray for you. But yet Bonner bethinking himſelf of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might enſue thereupon, thought better to diſcharge him; which thing was accompliſhed.

Whereupon, after this and ſuch like talk, the biſhop at laſt diſcharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he did, and that with a heavy heart, to ſee his poor boy in ſuch extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the child died, whether through his cruel ſcourging or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all ſecrets, and alſo to the diſcreet judgment of the reader. But however it was, the Lord yet uſed their cruel and deteſtable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful chriſtian; his name therefore be ever praiſed. Amen.

An Account *of the cruel* Handling *and* Burning *of* NICHOLAS BURTON, *an* Engliſh Merchant, *in* Spain.

I THINK it not amiſs in this place to mention the ſtory of Nicholas Burton, being ſuch as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the example of his ſingular conſtancy, as alſo for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel revenge of thoſe catholic inquiſitors of Spain, who under the pretended viſor of religion, do nothing but ſeek their own private gain and advantage, with crafty rifling and ſpoiling of other men's goods, as by the noting of this ſtory may appear.

The fifth day of November, about the year of our Lord 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen ſometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the pariſh of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandize, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the party of Andaluſia, in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas, or, as they term them, a familiar of the fathers of the inquiſition. Who aſking for the ſaid Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver into his own hands; by which means he ſpake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the ſaid promoter, or familiar, at the motion of the devil his maſter, whoſe meſſenger he was, invented another lie, and ſaid, that he would take lading for London in ſuch ſhips as the ſaid Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he loaded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the ſerjeant of the inquiſition might come and apprehend the body of the ſaid Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently.

He then well perceiving that they were not able to burden or charge him that he had written, ſpoke, or done any thing there in that country againſt the eccleſiaſtical or temporal laws of the ſame realm, boldly aſked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did ſo arreſt him, and bade them to declare the cauſe, and he would anſwer them. Notwithſtanding they anſwered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to ſpeak one word to them.

And ſo they carried him to the filthy common priſon of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongſt thieves.

All which time he ſo inſtructed the poor priſoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which God had given him in that behalf, and alſo in the Spaniſh tongue to utter the ſame, that in ſhort ſpace he had well reclaimed ſeveral of thoſe ſuperſtitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popiſh traditions.

Which being known unto the officers of the inquiſition, they conveyed him laden with irons from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and ſtraiter priſon called Triana, where the ſaid fathers of the inquiſition proceeded againſt him ſecretly according to their accuſtomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be ſuffered to write or ſpeak to any of his nation: ſo that to this day it is unknown who was his accuſer.

Afterward, the 20th of December, they brought the ſaid Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other priſoners, for profeſſing the true chriſtian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the ſaid inquiſitors ſat in judgment, which they call Auto, with a canvas coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge devil, tormenting a ſoul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the ſame work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven ſtick faſtened upon it, that he ſhould not utter his conſcience and faith to the people, and ſo he was ſet with another Engliſhman of Southampton, and divers other condemned men for religion, as well Frenchmen, as Spaniards, upon a ſcaffold over againſt the ſaid inquiſition, where their ſentences and judgment were read and pronounced againſt them.

And immediately after the ſaid ſentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the city, where they moſt cruelly burned them, for whoſe conſtant faith God be praiſed.

This Nicholas Burton by the way, and in the flames of fire, had ſo cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladneſs, that the tormentors and enemies which ſtood by, ſaid, that the devil had his ſoul before he came to the fire; and therefore they ſaid his ſenſes of feeling were paſt him.

It happened that after the arreſt of Nicholas Burton aforeſaid, immediately all the goods and merchandize which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffic, were (according to their common uſage) ſeized, and taken into the ſequeſter; among which they alſo rolled up much that appertained to another Engliſh merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor. Whereof ſo ſoon as news was brought to the merchant as well of the impriſonment of his factor, as of the arreſt made upon his goods, he ſent his attorney into Spain, with authority from him to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whoſe name was John Fronton, citizen of Briſtol.

When his attorney was landed at Seville, and had ſhewed all his letters and writings to the holy houſe, requiring them that ſuch goods might be delivered into his poſſeſſion, anſwer was made him that he muſt ſue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtleſs to delay him), and they forſooth of courteſy aſſigned him one to frame his ſupplication for him, and other ſuch bills of petition, as he had to exhibit in their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they ſtood him in no more ſtead than if he had put up none at all. And for the ſpace of three or four months this fellow miſſed not twice a day attending every morning and afternoon at the inquiſitor's palace, ſuing unto them upon his knees for his diſpatch, but eſpecially to the biſhop of Tarracon, who was at that very time chief in the inquiſition at Seville, that he of his abſolute authority would command reſtitution to be made thereof; but the booty was ſo good and great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At length, after he had ſpent four whole months in ſuits and requeſts, and alſo to no purpoſe, he received this anſwer from them, That he muſt ſhew better evidence, and bring more ſufficient certificates out of England for proof of this matter, than thoſe which he had already preſented to the court. Whereupon the party forthwith poſted to London, and with all ſpeed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters teſtimonial, and certificates, according to their requeſts, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithſtanding the inquiſitors ſtill ſhifted him off, excuſing themſelves by lack of leiſure, and for that they were occupied in more weighty affairs, and with ſuch anſwers put him off for four months after.

At laſt, when the party had well nigh ſpent all his money, and therefore ſued the more earneſtly for his diſpatch, they referred the matter wholly to the biſhop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he got this anſwer, That for himſelf, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination appertained to the other commiſſioners as well as unto him: and thus by poſting and paſſing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his ſuit. Yet for his importunity's ſake, they being reſolved to diſpatch him, it was on this ſort: one of the inquiſitors, called Gaſco, a man very well experienced in theſe practices, willed the party to reſort unto him after dinner.

The fellow being glad to hear this news, and ſuppoſing that his goods ſhould be reſtored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpoſe to talk with the other that was in priſon, to confer with him about their accounts, rather through a little miſunderſtanding, hearing the inquiſitors caſt out a word, that it ſhould be needful for him to talk with the priſoner, and being thereupon more than half perſuaded, that at length they meant good faith, did ſo, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to ſhut him up cloſe in ſuch a priſon where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the firſt that he had been called for about ſome other matter, and ſeeing himſelf, contrary to his expectation, caſt into a dark dungeon, perceived at length that the world went with him far otherwiſe than he ſuppoſed it would have done.

But within two or three days after he was brought into the court, where he began to demand his goods; and becauſe it was a device that well ſerved their turn, without any more circumſtance, they bid him ſay his Ave Maria; "Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Jeſus, Amen."

The ſame was written word by word as he ſpake it, and without any more talk of claiming his goods, becauſe it was needleſs, they commanded him to priſon again, and entered an action againſt him as an heretic, foraſmuch as he did not ſay his Ave Maria after the Romiſh faſhion, but ended it very ſuſpiciouſly, for he ſhould have added moreover; "Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus:" by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (ſaid they) that he did not allow the mediation of ſaints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in priſon a longer ſeaſon, and afterwards brought him forth upon their ſtage diſguiſed after their manner; where ſentence was given, that he ſhould loſe all the goods which he ſued for, though they were not his own, and beſides this, ſuffer a year's impriſonment.

In the year 1560 ſeveral other Engliſhmen ſuffered in Spain, among whom John Baker and William Burgate were apprehended, and burnt the ſecond day of November in the city of Seville.

Mark Bruges, an Engliſhman, maſter of an Engliſh ſhip called the Minion, was burnt in a city in Portugal.

William Hoker, a young man about the age of ſixteen years, being an Engliſhman, was ſtoned to death by certain young men in the city of Seville, for the ſame righteous cauſe.

But of theſe and ſuch other matters which happened in Spain, becauſe they fell not within the reign of queen Mary, but ſince her time, we ſhall treat more hereafter, when we come to the reign of queen Elizabeth, where we ſhall give an account, not only of the martyrs abroad, but alſo the whole inquiſition of Spain and Flanders, with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the laſt memory of theſe our latter unhappy days.

A Treatiſe *concerning thoſe that were ſcourged by the* Papiſts, *for the* Cauſe *of the* Goſpel.

AFTER this bloody ſlaughter of God's ſaints and ſervants thus ended and diſcuſſed, let us now proceed (by God's aſſiſtance) to treat of ſuch as for the ſame cauſe of religion have been, though not put to death, yet whipped and ſcourged by the enemies of God's word, firſt beginning with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, who about the time of Anne Aſkew, were miſerably rent and tormented with ſcourges and ſtripes, for their faithful ſtanding to Chriſt and his truth, as by the ſtory and examination of them both may appear.

The Scourging *of* RICHARD WILMOT *and* THOMAS FAIRFAX.

AFTER the firſt recantation of Dr. Crome, for his ſermon which he made the firſt Sunday in Lent, at St. Thomas Acres, being the Mercers' chapel, his ſermon was on the Epiſtle of the ſame day, written in the tenth chapter to the Hebrews; wherein he very learnedly proved by the ſame place of ſcripture and others, that Chriſt was the only and ſufficient ſacrifice unto God the Father for the ſins of the whole world, and that there was no more ſacrifice to be offered for ſin by the prieſts, foraſmuch as Chriſt had offered his body on the croſs, and ſhed his blood for the ſins of the people, and that once for all. For which ſermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promiſed to recant his doctrine at St. Paul's Croſs, the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors ſitting before him: but he ſo preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former ſaying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached. For which the proteſtants praiſed God, and heartily rejoiced.

Biſhop Bonner and his champions were not at all pleaſed therewith, but yet notwithſtanding they took him home with them, and he was ſo handled among the wolfiſh generation, that they made him come to the Croſs again the next Sunday.

And becauſe the magiſtrates ſhould now hear him, and be witneſs of this recantation which was moſt blaſphemous, to deny Chriſt's ſacrifice to be ſufficient for penitent ſinners, and to ſay that the ſacrifice of the maſs was good, godly, and an holy ſacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: becauſe (I ſay) that they would have the nobles to hear this blaſphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there preſent.

Now to come to our matter: at this time, the ſame week, between his firſt ſermon and the laſt, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot being apprentice in Bow-lane, of the age of 18 years, and ſitting at work in his maſter's ſhop, in the month of July, one Lewis, a Welchman, being one of the guard, came into the ſhop, having things to do for himſelf.

One aſked him what news at the court, and he anſwered, that the old heretic, Dr. Crome, had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he ſhould on Sunday next be at St. Paul's Croſs again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot ſitting at his maſter's work, and hearing him ſpeak theſe words, and rejoicing in the ſame, began to ſpeak unto him, ſaying, that he was ſorry to hear this news: for (ſaid he) if Crome ſhould ſay otherwiſe than he hath ſaid, then is it contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conſcience, which before God ſhall accuſe him.

Lewis anſwered and ſaid, that he had preached and taught hereſy; and therefore it was meet that he ſhould in ſuch a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not ſo ſay, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and that ſufficiently, by the ſcriptures.

Lewis then aſked him how he knew that?

Wilmot anſwered, By the ſcriptures of God, wherein he ſhall find God's will and pleaſure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and alſo by them he ſhould prove and try all doctrines, and the falſe doctrine from the true.

Lewis ſaid, it was never well ſince the bible was tranſlated into Engliſh; and that he was both an heretic and a traitor that cauſed it to be tranſlated into Engliſh (meaning Cromwel), and therefore was rewarded according to his deſerts.

Wilmot anſwered again, What his deſerts and offences were to his prince a great many do not know, neither is it of any force whether they do or no; ſince, he was ſure that he loſt his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution: adding moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleaſed God to raiſe him from a low eſtate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this, that he ſhould do that which all the biſhops in the realm yet never did, in reſtoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a ſtrange tongue, and now coming abroad amongſt us, will bring our biſhops and prieſts, ſaid he, in leſs eſtimation among the people.

Lewis aſked, Why ſo?

Wilmot ſaid, Becauſe their doctrine and living is not agreeable to his word.

Then ſaid Lewis, I never heard but that all men ſhould learn of the biſhops and prieſts, becauſe they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives. Wherefore they muſt needs know the truth, and our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.

Wilmot anſwered, I will not ſay ſo: for we muſt not believe them becauſe they are biſhops, neither becauſe they are learned, neither becauſe our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that biſhops and learned men have taught the people falſe doctrine, and likewiſe the prieſts from time to time, and indeed thoſe people our forefathers believed as they taught, and as they thought, ſo thought the people. But for all this Chriſt calleth them falſe prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, willing the people to take heed of them, leſt they ſhould both fall into the ditch.

Moreover we read, that the biſhops, prieſts, and learned men have been commonly reſiſters of the truth from time to time, and have always perſecuted the prophets in the old law, as their ſucceſſors did perſecute our Saviour Chriſt and his diſciples in the new law. We muſt take heed therefore that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwiſe than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as biſhops, prieſts, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any biſhop or prieſt preach or teach, or prince or magiſtrate command any thing contrary to his commandment, we muſt take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

Marry, ſir, quoth Lewis, you are an holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would ſet you about your buſineſs a little better, and not ſuffer you to look upon books, and ſo would your maſter if he were wiſe. And with that in came his maſter, and a young man with him, who was a ſervant to Mr. Daubney, in Watling-ſtreet.

His maſter aſked him what was the matter.

Lewis ſaid, that he had a knaviſh boy here to his ſervant, and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him than keep him in his houſe.

Then his maſter being ſomewhat moved, aſked his fellows what the matter was.

They ſaid, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his maſter aſked what he had ſaid, ſwearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

He ſaid, That he truſted he had ſaid nothing, wherewith either he or Mr. Lewis might juſtly be offended, I pray (quoth Wilmot), aſk him what I ſaid.

Marry (ſaid Lewis), this he ſaid, that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recanted on Sunday next he would be ſorry to hear it, and that if he do, he is made to do it againſt his conſcience. And more he ſaith, that we muſt not follow our biſhops' doctrine and preaching: for, ſaith he, they be hinderers of God's word, and perſecutors of that; and how Cromwel (that traitor) did more good in ſetting forth the bible, than all our biſhops have done theſe hundred years: thus reporting the matter worſe than it really was.

His maſter hearing this, was in a great fury, and rated him, ſaying, that either he would be hanged or burned, ſwearing that he would take away all his books and burn them.

The young man (Mr. Daubney's ſervant) ſtanding by hearing this, began to ſpeak on his part unto Lewis, and his talk confirmed all the ſayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewis hearing this man's talk as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

On the next day they heard, that the ſaid Wilmot and Fairfax were ſent for to come to the lord mayor. The meſſenger was Mr. Smart, the ſword-bearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's houſe, and were commanded to ſit down to dinner in the hall; and when dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and ſir Roger Cholmley was, who examined them ſeverally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their diſcourſe was this; ſir Roger Cholmley ſaid to Wilmot, that my lord mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to ſend for him and his company, and to examine them of certain things which were laid to their charge.

Then ſaid Mr. Cholmley to him, Sirrah, what countryman art thou? He anſwered, That he was born in Cambridgeſhire, and in ſuch a town. Then he aſked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him.

Then he aſked what learning he had. He ſaid, little learning and ſmall knowledge. Then (deridingly) he aſked how long he had known Dr. Crome. He ſaid, about two years. Then he called him a lying boy, and ſaid that he (the ſaid Wilmot) was his ſon.

The other ſaid unto him, that was unlike, for that he never ſaw his mother, nor ſhe him. Cholmley ſaid he lied. Wilmot ſaid he could prove it to be true. Then he aſked him how he liked his ſermon that he made at St. Thomas Acres chapel in Lent. He ſaid that indeed he heard him not. He ſaid yes, and the other nay. Then ſaid he, What ſay you to his ſermon made at the Croſs the laſt day, heard you not that?

Wilmot. Yes, and in that ſermon he deceived a great number of people.

Cholmley. How ſo?

Wilmot. For that they looked that he ſhould have recanted his doctrine that he taught before, and did not, but rather confirmed it.

Cholmley. Yea, ſir, but how ſay you now to him? For he hath recanted before the council; and hath promiſed on Sunday next to be at the Croſs again; how think you of that?

Wilmot. If he ſo did, I am the more ſorry to hear it; and ſaid, he thought he did it for fear and ſafeguard of his life.

Cholmley. But what ſay you? Was his firſt ſermon hereſy or not?

Wilmot. No, I ſuppoſe it was no hereſy. For if it were, St. Paul's epiſtle to the Hebrews was hereſy, and Paul an heretic that preached ſuch doctrine; but God forbid that any chriſtian man ſhould ſo think of the holy apoſtle; neither do I ſo think.

Cholmley. Why, how knoweſt thou that St. Paul wrote thoſe things that are in Engliſh now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote Engliſh or Latin?

Wilmot. I am certified that learned men of God, that did ſeek to advance his word, did tranſlate the ſame out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and Engliſh, and that they durſt not preſume to alter the ſenſe of the ſcripture of God, and laſt will and teſtament of Chriſt Jeſus.

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, aſked him what he had to do to read ſuch books, and ſaid, that it was a pity that his maſter did ſuffer him ſo to do, and that he was not ſet better to work; and in fine ſaid unto him, that he had ſpoken evil of my lord of Wincheſter, and biſhop Bonner, thoſe reverend and learned fathers and counſellors of this realm, for which his fact he ſaw no other but he muſt ſuffer, as was due to the ſame. And Mr. Cholmley ſaid, Yea, my lord, there is ſuch a ſort of heretics and traiterous knaves taken now in Eſſex by my lord Rich, that is too wonderful to hear. They ſhall be ſent to the biſhop ſhortly, and ſhall be hanged and burned all.

Wilmot. I am ſorry to hear that of my lord Rich, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptiſm.

Cholmley aſked him when he ſpake with him. He ſaid, not theſe twelve years.

Cholmley. If he knew that you were ſuch a one, he would do the like by you, and in ſo doing he ſhould do God great ſervice.

Wilmot. I have read the ſame ſaying in the goſpel that Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, "The time ſhall come, ſaith he, that whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he ſhall do God good ſervice."

Well, ſir, ſaid Cholmley, becauſe you are ſo full of your ſcripture, and ſo well learned, we conſider you lack a quiet place to ſtudy in. Therefore you ſhall go to a place where you ſhall be moſt quiet, and I would wiſh you to ſtudy how you will anſwer to the council of thoſe things which they have to charge you with, for elſe it is like to coſt you your beſt joint. I know my lord of Wincheſter will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much. Then was the officer called in to have him to the Compter, in the Poultry, and the other to the other Compter, not one of them to ſee another; and thus they remained eight days. In which time their maſters made great ſuit to the lord mayor, and to ſir Roger Cholmley, to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of drapers to labour with them in their ſuit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council: but at that time they could find no grace at Wincheſter's hand, and ſir Anthony Browne's, but that they had deſerved death, and that they ſhould have the law.

At length, through much intreaty, he granted them this favour, that they ſhould not die as they had deſerved, but ſhould be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market-days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the maſter and wardens of the company petitioned on their knees to have this open puniſhment releaſed, forſomuch as they were ſervants of ſo worſhipful a company, and that they might be puniſhed in their own hall before the wardens and certain of the company, which at length was granted.

The next day they appeared before the maſters in the hall, their own maſters being preſent, where they were charged with hereſy and treaſon, for which, they were told, they deſerved death, and this was declared with a long proceſs by Mr. Brookes, the maſter of the company, declaring what labour and ſuit the mayor and wardens had made for them, to ſave them from death, which they (as he ſaid) had deſerved, and from open ſhame, which they ſhould have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail, and from theſe two dangers they had laboured to deliver them, but not without great trouble and charge. For (ſaid he) the company hath promiſed to the council for this their mercy towards them, an hundred pounds, notwithſtanding we muſt ſee them puniſhed in our hall within ourſelves for thoſe their offences. After theſe and many other words, he commanded them to prepare themſelves to receive their puniſhment.

Then they were put aſunder, and ſtripped from the waiſt upward one after another, and had into the midſt of the hall, where they were wont to make their fire; there was a great ring of iron, to which there was a rope tied faſt, and one of their feet tied faſt to that.

Then came down two men diſguiſed in mummers apparel, with viſors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods till the blood flowed out of their bodies. As for Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed for ſix nights after, for Brookes played the tyrant with them; ſo that with the pain and fear, they were never in health afterwards, as the ſaid Wilmot with his mouth hath credibly informed us, and we can do no leſs than teſtify the ſame.

Thus have we briefly declared this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to thoſe who profeſs Chriſt, and take his part, of what eſtate or degree ſoever they be, according to the apoſtle's ſaying, "It is given unto you not only to believe, but alſo to ſuffer with him." To whom be honour and glory. Amen.

The Scourging *of* THOMAS GREEN, Printer, *written by his own* Hand.

IN the reign of queen Mary, I Thomas Green, being brought before Dr. Story by my maſter, whoſe name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichriſt, which had been diſtributed to certain honeſt men; he aſked me where I had the book, and ſaid I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then he aſked me more queſtions, but I told him I could tell him no more. Then he ſaid, it was no hereſy, but treaſon, and that I ſhould be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and ſo he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bid him ſet me faſt in the ſtocks; and he took me out, and carried me to the Coal-houſe, and there I found a Frenchman lying in the ſtocks, and he took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my right hand, and ſo he ſet me croſs fettered in the ſtocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and ſaid, Let me ſhift your hand and your leg, becauſe you ſhall not be lame; and he made as though he pitied me, and ſaid, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

And I ſaid, I had told the truth, and could tell no otherwiſe. Then he put only my leg in the ſtocks, and ſo went his way, and there I remained ſix days, and would come to no anſwer.

Then Dr. Story ſent for me, and aſked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I ſaid I had told him, of a Frenchman. He aſked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I ſaid, I came acquainted with him in Newgate, I coming to my friends, who were put in for God's word and truth's ſake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends alſo, there we talked together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends, in the fear of God.

Then Story ſcoffed at me, and ſaid, Then there was brother in Chriſt, and brother in Chriſt; and reviled me, and called me an heretic, and aſked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I ſaid no; and I told him, as I went on my buſineſs in the ſtreet I met him, and he aſked me how I did, and I him alſo; ſo falling into diſcourſe, he ſhewed me that book, and I deſired him that he would let me have it.

In this examination Story ſaid, it was a great book, and aſked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then he ſaid, I was a thief, and had ſtolen my maſter's money. And I ſaid, a little money ſerved, for I gave him but four-pence, but I promiſed him, that at our next meeting I would give him twelve-pence more. And he ſaid, that was boldly done, for ſuch a book as ſpake both treaſon and hereſy.

Then Story required me to bring him two ſureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I ſhould have no harm. I made him anſwer, I would bring no ſureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then, ſaid he, this is but a lie; and ſo called for Cluny, and bid him lay me faſt in the Coal-houſe, ſaying, he would make me tell another tale at my next coming: and ſo I lay in the ſtocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there I remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. Story ſent for me again, and aſked if I would yet tell him the truth; I ſaid, I neither could nor would tell him any other truth than I had done already. And while I was there ſtanding, there were two brought, which I took to be priſoners.

Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and ſwore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of theſe heretic knaves in a houſe, and I myſelf (ſaid ſhe) would ſet it on fire. So I was committed to priſon again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no anſwer.

Then Story ſent for me again, and called me into the garden, where I found with him my lord of Windſor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more, and he told them all what they had ſaid and done. They ſaid, the book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treaſon and hereſy in it. They then aſked me what I ſaid of the book. And I ſaid, I knew no evil of it.

At which words Story chafed, and ſaid he would hang me up by the hand with a rope; and ſaid alſo, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears alſo from my head. After this they alledged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I anſwered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of it.

Then my lord of Windſor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aſide, and intreated me very gently, ſaying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and I will ſave you harmleſs. I made them anſwer, that I had told all I could to Dr. Story, and began to tell it them again: but they ſaid, they knew that already; ſo they left that talk, and went again with me to Story.

Then Story burdened me with my faith, and ſaid I was an heretic. Whereupon the chaplain aſked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearſe the articles of my belief, but he bid me let that alone. Then he aſked me how I believed in Chriſt. I made him anſwer, that I believed in Chriſt who died and roſe again the third day, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father.

Whereupon Story aſked me mockingly, What is the right hand of God? I made him anſwer, I thought it was his glory. Then ſaid he, So they ſay all. And he aſked me when he would be weary of ſitting there. Then inferred my lord of Windſor's chaplain, aſking me what I ſaid of the maſs. I ſaid I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I underſtood it not, becauſe I never learned any Latin, and ſince the time I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of Engliſh, and with ſuch men as have taught the ſame; with many more queſtions, which I cannot rehearſe.

Moreover, he aſked me if there were not the very body of Chriſt, fleſh, blood, and bone, in the maſs, after the prieſt had conſecrated it. And I made him anſwer, As for the maſs I cannot underſtand it; but in the New Teſtament I read, that as the apoſtles ſtood looking after the Lord when he aſcended up into heaven, an angel ſaid to them, "Even as ye ſee him aſcend up, ſo ſhall he come again." And I told them another ſentence, where Chriſt ſaith, "The poor ſhall you have always with you, but me ye ſhall not have always."

Then Mr. Chaplain put many more queſtions to me, to which I made no anſwer. Among others, he brought Chryſoſtom and St. Hierome, for his purpoſe. To whom I anſwered, that I neither minded nor was able to anſwer their doctors, neither knew whether they alledged them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Teſtament I would anſwer. Here they laughed me to ſcorn, and called me fool, and ſaid, they would reaſon no more with me.

Then Dr. Story called for Cluny, and bid him take me away, and ſet me faſt, and let no man ſpeak with me. So I was ſent to the Coal-houſe; where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen priſoners: but I was ſtill kept alone without company, in a priſon called Salt-houſe, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days having nothing to lie on, but bare ſtones or a board.

On a time whilſt I lay there in priſon, the biſhop of London coming down a pair of ſtairs on the backſide undreſt, in his hoſe and doublet, looked through the grate, and aſked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

I made him anſwer, that I was put in for a book called Antichriſt, by Dr. Story. And he ſaid, You are not aſhamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and ſaid it was a very wicked book, and bid me confeſs the truth to Story. I ſaid, I had told the truth to him already, and deſired him to be good unto me, and help me out of priſon, for they had kept me there a long time. And he ſaid, he could not meddle with it; Story hath begun, and muſt end it.

Then I was removed out of the Salt-houſe to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the ſtocks; and there I found two priſoners, one called Lion, a Frenchman, and another with him: and ſo I was kept in the ſtocks more than a month both day and night, and no man ſuffered to come to me, or to ſpeak with me, but only my keeper, who brought me meat.

Thus we three being together, Lion, the Frenchman, ſung a pſalm in the French tongue, and we ſang with him, ſo that we were heard down in the ſtreet, and the keeper coming up in a great rage, ſwore that he would put us all in the ſtocks; and ſo took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the ſtocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

After this, I being in Lollards' Tower ſeven days, ſince my laſt being with Story, he ſware a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story ſending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commiſſioners dined; and by the way my keeper told me that I ſhould go to the Tower to be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and there I ſtood before them, and ſome ſaid I was worthy to be hanged for having ſuch heretical books. After I had ſtaid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again, and ſaid, he had other matters of the queen's to do with the commiſſioners, but he would find another time for me. Whilſt I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower, the woman which brought the books over, being taken, and her books, was put in the Clink, in Southwark, by Huſſey, one of the arches; and I Thomas Green do teſtify before God, now, that I neither diſcovered the man nor the woman, of whom I had the books.

Then I lying in the Lollards' Tower, being ſent for before Mr. Huſſey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom. To whom I made anſwer, that I was put there by Dr. Story for a book called Antichriſt. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and ſaid he knew my friends, and my father and mother, and bid me tell him of whom I had the book, and ſaid, Come on, tell me the truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was angry, and ſaid, I love thee well, and therefore I ſend for thee, and looked for a further truth: but I could tell him no other; wherefore he ſent me again to the Lollards' Tower. At my going away he called me back again, and ſaid, that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin-lane; and I ſaid he knew the matter better than I. So he ſent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained ſeven days more.

Then Mr. Huſſey ſent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom, he ſaid, I had the books, who had made the matter manifeſt before; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myſelf, inſomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a ſack full of them in his houſe, and knew where the woman lay better than myſelf. Then I ſaw the matter ſo open and manifeſt before my face, that it ſignified nothing for me to ſtand in it. He aſked me what I had done with the books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He ſaid I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being apprentice with Mr. Tottle. So he promiſed me before and after, and as he ſhould be ſaved before God, that he ſhould have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, deſired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he ſaid, Becauſe you have been ſo ſtubborn, the matter being made manifeſt by others and not by you, being ſo long in priſon, tell me if you will ſtand to my judgment. I ſaid, Yea, take my blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he told me, I ſhould be whipped like a thief and a vagabond: and ſo I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days, and ſo was brought by the keeper Cluny, by the commandment of the commiſſioners, to Chriſt's-Hoſpital, ſometime the Grey-Friars, and accordingly had there for that time the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and ſo was delivered to Trinian, the porter, and put into a ſtinking dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendſhip, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the day-time, and ſo remained priſoner a month and more.

At length Dr. Story came and two gentlemen with him, and called for me, and I was brought before them. Then he ſaid to the gentlemen, Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichriſt; and began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and ſaid, I have intreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till it was found out by others. Then ſaid he, it were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thine ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves. And the gentlemen ſaid, Nay, that were pity. Then he aſked if I would not become an honeſt man: and I ſaid, Yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he burdened me with my faith; I told him that I had made him anſwer of my faith before my lord Windſor's chaplain, as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be ſtripped, he and called for two of the beadles and ſtanding by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a ſtone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Prieſtman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which ſeemed ſomething to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and they ſcourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story aſked me if I would go unto my maſter again, and I ſaid nay. And he ſaid, I perceive now he will be worſe than ever he was before: but let me alone (quoth he), I will find him out if he be in England. And ſo with many other things, which I cannot rehearſe, when they had done whipping of me, they bid me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Dr. Story commanded that he ſhould have an hundred ſtripes, but the gentlemen ſo intreated, that he had not ſo many, Story ſaying, If I might have my will, I would ſurely cut out his tongue.

A LETTER

From STEPHEN COTTEN *to his* Brother, *declaring how he was beaten twice by* Biſhop BONNER, *before he was burnt at* Brentford.

BROTHER, in the name of the Lord Jeſus, I commend me unto you, and I do heartily thank you, for your godly exhortation and counſel in your laſt letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers perſons in number, ſo we are of contrary ſects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your laſt being with us in Newgate; be you moſt aſſured, good brother, in the Lord Jeſus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one aſſured hope in the Lord Jeſus, whom I truſt we altogether with one ſpirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveneſs of our ſins, with earneſt repentance of our former lives, and by whoſe precious blood-ſhedding we truſt to be ſaved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, ſeeing theſe impudent people, whoſe minds are altogether bent to wickedneſs, envy, uncharitableneſs, evil ſpeaking, do go about to ſlander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked ſayings once enter into your mind. And I truſt one day to ſee you again, although now I am in God's priſon, which is a joyful ſchool for them that love their Lord God, and to me, being a ſimple ſcholar, moſt joyful of all.

Good brother, once again I do, in the name of our Lord Jeſus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight ſtrongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good ſoldier to my captain Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and deſire my ſiſter alſo to do the ſame, and do ye not mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble: for I truſt to be looſed out of this dungeon ſhortly, and to go to everlaſting joy, which never ſhall have end. I heard how ye were with the commiſſioners. I pray you, ſue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I ſhall deſire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witneſs with me that I ſhall die, I truſt in God, a true chriſtian, and, I hope, all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not theſe evil-diſpoſed people, who are the authors of all untruths.

I pray you provide me a long ſhirt againſt the day of our deliverance; for the ſhirt you gave me laſt, I have given to one of my companions, who had more need than I; as for the money and meat you ſent us, the biſhop's ſervants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had ſo great truſt in. Brother, there is none of them to truſt to, for the maſter and ſervant are both alike. I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again by the biſhop himſelf. I ſuppoſe we ſhall go into the country to Fulham, to the biſhop's houſe, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can. For when we ſhall go, it will be ſuddenly done. Thus fare you well. From the Coal-houſe, this preſent Friday.

Your brother,
Stephen Cotten.

The Scourging *of* JAMES HARRIS.

IN this ſociety of the ſcourged profeſſors of Chriſt, was alſo one James Harris, of Billerica, in Eſſex, a ſtripling of the age of ſeventeen years; who being apprehended and ſent up to Bonner in the company of Margaret Ellis, by ſir John Mordaunt, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, juſtice of peace (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned), was by Bonner divers times ſtrictly examined. In which examinations he was charged not to have come to his pariſh church for the ſpace of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confeſſing there withal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popiſh ſacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily ſorry, deteſting the ſame with all his heart.

After this, and ſuch like anſwers, Bonner (the better to try him) perſuaded him to go to confeſſion. The lad, ſomewhat to fulfil his requeſt, conſented to go, and did. But when he came to the prieſt, he ſtood ſtill, and ſaid nothing. Why, quoth the prieſt, ſayeſt thou nothing? What ſhall I ſay? ſaid Harris. Thou muſt confeſs thy ſins, ſaid the prieſt. My ſins, ſaid he, be ſo many, that they cannot be numbered. With that the prieſt told Bonner what he had ſaid; and he, of his accuſtomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, taken from off a cherry-tree, did moſt cruelly whip him.

The Scourging *of* ROBERT WILLIAMS, *a* Smith.

ROBERT WILLIAMS, who being apprehended in the ſame company, was ſo tormented after the ſame manner with rods in his harbour, who there ſubſcribing and yielding himſelf by promiſe to obey the laws, after being let go, refuſed ſo to do: whereupon he was earneſtly ſought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himſelf cloſe, and went not abroad but by ſtealth: and now in the mean time of this perſecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and ſo eſcaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever. Amen.

And foraſmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's ſcourging, by the occaſion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other boys and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey, rowing towards Fulham. The ſtory, though it touch no matter of religion, yet becauſe it ſheweth ſomething of the nature and diſpoſition of that man, and may refreſh the reader, wearied perhaps with other doleful ſtories, I thought not to omit.

Bonner, paſſing from London to Fulham by water, having John Willis and Thomas Hinſhaw above-mentioned with him, both priſoners for religion, by the way as he went, was ſaying even-ſong with Harpsfield, his chaplain, in the barge, and being about the middle of their oriſons, they eſpied ſome young men ſwimming and waſhing themſelves in the Thames, over againſt Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom he went and gave very gentle language, and fair ſpeech, until he had ſet his men on land.

That done, his men ran after the boys to get them, as the biſhop commanded them before, beating ſome with nettles, drawing ſome through buſhes of nettles naked, and ſome they made to leap into the Thames to ſave themſelves, that it was marvelled they were not drowned.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this ſkirmiſhing was between them, immediately came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the boys made ſuch a noiſe. Whom when the biſhop eſpied, he aſked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made anſwer ſtoutly, Yea. Then the biſhop commanded him to be taken alſo: but he ran away with ſpeed, and thus avoided the biſhop's bleſſing. Now when the biſhop ſaw him run away, and another man ſitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he deſired him likewiſe to ſtop the boy: and becauſe he would not, he commanded his man to fetch that man to him alſo; but he hearing that, ran away as faſt as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, eſcaped the biſhop in like manner.

Then the biſhop, ſeeing the ſucceſs of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple of Ferry-boys to run and hold him that laſt ran away. And becauſe they ſaid they could not (as indeed it was true), therefore he cauſed his men to take and beat them. The boys hearing that, leapt into the water to ſave themſelves; notwithſtanding they were caught, and in the water by the biſhop's men held and beat.

Now, after the end of this ſkirmiſh, the biſhop's men returned to their maſter again into the barge, and he and Harpsfield his chaplain, went to their even-ſong afreſh where they left, and ſo forſooth the reſt of their ſervice, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will), and grace to become a new man. Amen.

The Whipping *of a* Beggar *at* Saliſbury.

UNTO theſe above ſpecified, is alſo to be added the miſerable whipping of a poor ſtarved beggar, who, becauſe he would not receive the ſacrament at Eaſter in the town of Colingborow, was brought to Saliſbury with bills and glieves to the chancellor Dr. Geffery, who caſt him into the dungeon, and after cauſed him miſerably to be whipped by two catch-poles. The ſight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to ſee ſuch tyranny to be ſhewed upon ſuch a ſimple and ſilly wretch: for they that ſaw him have reported, that they never ſaw a more ſimple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of mercileſs papiſts.

Beſides theſe above-named, divers others alſo ſuffered the like ſcourgings and whippings in their bodies for their faithful ſtanding in the truth. Of whom it may be ſaid, as it is written of the apoſtles in the Acts, "Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of Jeſus."

Another Treatiſe *of ſuch as being purſued in* Queen MARY's *Time, were in great* Danger, *and yet through the good* Providence *of* God, *mercifully were preſerved.*

ALTHOUGH the ſecret purpoſe of Almighty God, which diſpoſeth all things, ſuffered a great number of his faithful ſervants both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemy's hands, to abide the brunt of this perſecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, with famine, with burning of hands, with plucking off beards, with burning alſo both hand, beard, and body, &c.

Yet notwithſtanding ſome there were again, and that a great number, who miraculouſly by the merciful providence of God, againſt all men's expectation, in ſafety, were delivered out of the fiery rage of this perſecution, either by quitting the realm, or ſhifting of place, or the Lord ſo blinding the eyes of the perſecutors, or diſpoſing the opportunity of time, or working ſome ſuch means or other for his ſervants, as not only ought to ſtir them up to perpetual thanks, but alſo may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About the time it began to be known that queen Mary was ſick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm, ſome at Bury, ſome at Saliſbury, as John Hunt, and Richard White, of whom we have treated before, and ſome at London, amongſt whom was William Living, and his wife, and John Lithal, of whom ſomething remaineth now compendiouſly to be touched.

An Account *of the* Perſecution *and* Deliverance *of* WILLIAM LIVING, *with his* Wife, *and of* JOHN LITHAL, Miniſters.

ABOUT the latter end of queen Mary's reign, ſhe then being ſick, came one Cox, a promoter, to the houſe of William Living, about ſix o'clock, accompanined with one John Launce, of the Greyhound. They being not ready, they demanded ſome buttons, ſaying, they ſhould be as well paid for them as any; and he would come about three hours after for them again.

In the mean time he procured one Mr. Dean, the conſtable, and George Hancock, the beadle of that ward, and ſearching his books, found a book of aſtronomy, called the work of Joannas de Sacro Boſco de Sphæra, with figures, ſome round, ſome triangle, ſome quadrangle, which book, becauſe it was gilt, ſeemed to him the chief book there, and that he carried open in the ſtreet, ſaying, I have found him at length. It is no wonder the queen be ſick, ſeeing there be ſuch conjurers in privy corners; but now I truſt he ſhall conjure no more; and ſo brought him and his wife from Shoe-lane through Fleet-ſtreet, into St. Paul's church-yard, with the conſtable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they entered into Darbiſhire's houſe, who was biſhop Bonner's chancellor: and after the conſtable and they had talked with Darbiſhire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, and ſaid to him,

What is your name?

Liv. William Living.

Darb. What are you? a prieſt?

Liv. Yea.

Darb. Is this your wife that is come with you?

Liv. That ſhe is.

Darb. Where were you made prieſt?

Liv. At Obourne.

Darb. In what biſhop's days?

Liv. By the biſhop of Lincoln, that was king Henry's ſpiritual father in Cardinal Wolſey's time.

Darb. You are a ſchiſmatic and a traitor.

Liv. I would be ſorry that were true. I am certain I never was a traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults and ſchiſms have been ſtirred, I have preached God's word, and aſſuaged them as in the time of king Edward.

Darb. What, you are a ſchiſmatic. You be not in the unity of the catholic church: for you pray not as the church of Rome doth: you pray in Engliſh.

Liv. We are certain we be in the true church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, foraſmuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn againſt I talk with you again, to know the church of Rome, and to be a member thereof.

Liv. If the church of Rome be of that church whereof Chriſt is the head, then I am a member thereof, for I know no other church but that.

Darb. Well, Cluny, take him with thee to the Coal-houſe.

Then he called Cluny again, and ſpake ſecretly to him, but what he ſaid I know not.

Then ſaid Cluny, Wilt thou not come? And ſo plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own houſe in Paternoſter-row, where he robbed me of my purſe, my girdle, and my pſalter, and a New Teſtament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Coal-houſe to put me in the ſtocks, ſaying, Put in both your legs and your hands; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck. What is the fine? quoth I; forty ſhillings, quoth he; I am never able to pay it, ſaid I.

Then ſaid he, You have friends that be able. I denied it; and ſo he put both my legs into the ſtocks till ſupper-time, which was ſix o'clock; and then a couſin of my wife's brought me meat, who ſeeing me ſit there, ſaid, I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty: and he took her money, and preſently let me forth in her ſight, to eat my ſupper. And at ſeven o'clock, he put me in the ſtocks again, and I remained till two o'clock the next day, and ſo he let me forth till night. This woman above-mentioned was Griffin's firſt wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and afterwards in Cheapſide.

The Thurſday following, in the afternoon, was I called to the Lollards' Tower, and there put into the ſtocks, having the honour to put my leg into that hole which Mr. John Philpot's leg was in, and ſo lay all that night, nobody coming to me either with meat or drink.

At eleven o'clock on the Friday, Cluny came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one o'clock he brought me to Darbiſhire's houſe, who drew forth a ſcroll of names, and aſked me if I knew none of them: I ſaid, I knew none of them but Foſter. And ſo I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not inquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two godly women, who ſaid, Mr. Darbiſhire, it is enough; and ſo became ſureties for me, and paid to Cluny fifteen ſhillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whoſe anſwers to Darbiſhire, the chancellor, here likewiſe follow.

The Examination *of* JULIAN LIVING, *Wife to* WILLIAM LIVING.

Darbiſhire. AH, ſirrah; I ſee by your going you be one of the ſiſters.

Julian. I wear not my gown for ſiſterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm.

Darb. Nun? No, I dare ſay you be none: is that man your huſband?

Julian. Yea.

Darb. Is he a prieſt?

Julian. No, he ſaith no maſs.

Darb. What then? he is a prieſt. How dareſt thou marry him?

Then he ſhewed me a roll of certain names of citizens.

To whom I anſwered, I knew none of them.

Then ſaid he, You ſhall be made to know them.

Then ſaid I, Do no other but juſtice and right, for the day will come, that thou ſhalt anſwer for it.

Darb. Why, woman, thinkeſt thou not that I have a ſoul?

Julian. Yes, I know you have a ſoul; but whether it be to ſalvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Darb. Ho, Cluny, have her to the Lollards'-Tower. And ſo he took me, and carried me to his houſe, where was one Dale, a promoter, who ſaid to me, Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you? ſaid I.

You be not aſhamed, quoth Dale, to tell wherefore you come hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not; for it is for Chriſt's Teſtament.

Chriſt's Teſtament? quoth he. It is the devil's Teſtament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man ſhould ſpeak any ſuch word.

Well, well, ſaid he, you ſhall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning, quoth he. God's blood, there muſt be ſome other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any worſe than you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope: but your hope ſhall be cut off. For though the queen fail, ſhe that you hope for ſhall never come at it; for there is my lord cardinal's grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then ſaid Cluny, Come with me; and ſo I went to the Lollards'-Tower. On the next day Darbiſhire ſent for me again, and inquired of thoſe citizens that he inquired of before.

I anſwered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the communion on Sunday was fortnight?

And I ſaid, In no place.

Then the conſtable of St. Bride's being there, made ſuit for me.

And Darbiſhire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He anſwered, Yea. And ſo he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Chriſtmas.

Then Darbiſhire ſaid, You be conſtable, and ſhould give her good counſel.

So I do, quoth he. For I bid her go to maſs, and to ſay as you ſay. For, by the maſs, if you ſay the crow is white, I will ſay ſo too.

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou ſeeſt here delivered through the requeſt of women, his ſureties, yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly ſickneſs of queen Mary abated and bridled, rather than the cruelty of thoſe papiſts, which otherwiſe would never have let them go.

An Account *of the* Trouble *and* Deliverance *of* JOHN LITHAL.

AT the taking of William Living, it happened that ſome of his books were in the cuſtody of one John Lithal; which known, the conſtable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's ſervants, were ſent to his houſe, who breaking open his doors and cheſts, took away not only the books of the ſaid William Living, but alſo all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithal was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Avales and ſome of the queen's ſervants beſet his houſe all the night, with ſuch careful watch, that as he in the morning iſſued out of doors, thinking to eſcape their hands, John Avales burſting out upon him, cried, Stop the traitor, ſtop the traitor. Whereat Lithal being amazed, looked back.

And ſo John Avales came running to him, with others that were with him, ſaying, Ah, ſirrah, you are a traitorous fellow indeed, we have had ſomewhat to do to get you. To whom he anſwered, that he was a truer man to the queen's majeſty than he. For you, ſaid he, are commanded by God to keep holy the ſabbath-day, and you ſeek to ſhed your neighbour's blood on the ſabbath-day. Remember that you muſt anſwer it to God. But he ſaid, Come on, you villain, you muſt go before the council. So Lithal was brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the biſhop's chancellor, by John Avales, ſaying, that they had there caught the captain of theſe fellows, and ſo cauſed him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbiſhire, who began with him in this wiſe:

Chan. What countryman are you?

Lith. I am an Engliſhman, born in Staffordſhire.

Chan. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our country of England.

Chan. In what univerſity?

Lith. In no univerſity, but in a free-ſchool.

Chan. We had certain books from your houſe, and writing, wherein is both treaſon and hereſy.

Lith. Sir, there is neither treaſon nor hereſy in them.

Then the chancellor aſked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith. If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will anſwer it; but I will have no other man's blood upon my head.

Chan. Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own pariſh church?

Lith. I am of the church of Chriſt, the fountain of all goodneſs.

Chan. Have you no miniſters of your church, but Chriſt?

Lith. We have others.

Chan. Where be they?

Lith. In the whole world, diſperſed, preaching and profeſſing the goſpel and faith only in our Saviour Jeſus, as he commanded them.

Chan. You boaſt much every one of you of your faith and belief: let me hear therefore the effect how you believe.

Lith. I believe to be juſtified really by Chriſt Jeſus, according to the ſaying of St. Paul to the Epheſians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.

Chan. Faith cannot ſave without works.

Lith. That is contrary to the doctrine of the apoſtles.

Chan. John Avales, you and the keeper have this fellow to priſon.

Then John Avales, and Cluny the keeper, had me unto St. Paul's, and would have had me ſeen the apoſtles' maſs.

Lith. I know none the apoſtles had, and therefore I will ſee none.

Cluny and John Avales. Come and kneel down before the rood, and ſay a Paternoſter, and an Ave in the worſhip of the five wounds.

Lith. I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that preſent time more ſtrength than both theſe, his name be praiſed for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to ſee the maſs, there gathered a great company about us, and all againſt me. Some ſpit on me, and ſaid, Fie on thee, heretic; and others ſaid, it was a pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to Lollards'-Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of ſtocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was ſo lame that I could neither ſtir nor move.

Then I offered the keeper ſome money and gold that I had about me, to releaſe me out of the ſtocks: and he ſaid, I would not be ruled by him, either to ſee maſs, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I ſhould lie there ſtill. But I ſaid, I would never do the thing that ſhould be againſt my conſcience; and though you have lamed my body, yet my conſcience is whole, I praiſe God for it. So ſhortly after he let me out of the ſtocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought), than for any other affection; and within four or five days my wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me ſuch things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In which time divers of my neighbours and friends made ſuit to the chancellor for my deliverance; the biſhop, as they ſaid, at that time being ſick at Fulham. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor ſent for me out of Lollards' Tower to his own houſe, and ſaid as follows—

Lithal, here are ſome of thy neighbours who have been with me to intreat for thee, and they have informed me, that thou haſt been a very honeſt and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I ſhould deliver thee before my lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I ſhall be burned for thee; for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleneſs, and my neighbours for their good report.

Chan. Lithal, if thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming, whenſoever thou ſhalt be called for; and alſo, if thou wilt be an obedient ſubject, I ſhall be content to deliver thee.

Neigh. If it pleaſe your worſhip, we will be bound for him in body and goods.

Chan. I will require no ſuch bonds of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a piece, that he ſhall come to anſwer when he ſhall be called.

Lith. Where find you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the ſcriptures, that the church of Chriſt did bind any man for the profeſſion of his faith? Which profeſſion you have heard of me, that all our juſtification, righteouſneſs, and ſalvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and all the inventions and works of men, be they ever ſo glorious, be altogether vain, as the wiſe man ſaith.

Chan. Lo, where he is now. I put no ſuch matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James ſaith, "That a man is juſtified by works."

Lith. St. James ſpake to them that boaſted themſelves of faith, and ſhewed no works of faith: but O, Mr. Chancellor, remember, I pray you, how all the promiſes and prophecies of the holy ſcripture, even from the firſt promiſe that God made to Adam, and ſo even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do teſtify that in the name of Jeſus, and only by his merits, all that believe ſhall be ſaved from all their ſins and offences. Iſaiah ſaith, chap. lxv. "I am found of them that ſought me not, and am manifeſt to them that aſk not after me:" but againſt Iſrael he ſaith, "All day long have I ſtretched out my hand to a people that believe not." And when the jailor aſked St. Paul, what he ſhould do to be ſaved, the apoſtle ſaid, Acts xvi. "Believe on the Lord Jeſus, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, and all thy houſhold."

Again, St. John ſaith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor on earth, neither under the earth, that was able to open the book nor the ſeals thereof, but only the Lamb Jeſus, our only Saviour. And St. Paul ſaith, Heb. ix. "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are ſanctified."

Chan. With vain glory you rehearſe much ſcripture, as all the reſt of you do: but you have no more underſtanding than my ſheep. But to the purpoſe. Will you that your neighbours ſhall enter into bonds for you, or not?

Lith. By my mind they ſhall not. Wherefore I deſire you that you would not bind me, but let me ſerve God with my conſcience freely, for it is written, Rev. xiii. "They that lead into captivity, ſhall go into captivity, and they that ſtrike with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword."

Alſo it is written in the goſpel of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, Matt. xviii. "That whoſo doth offend one of theſe little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-ſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the depth of the ſea." Of which I am aſſured by his holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well aſſured that ſuch mercy as you ſhew, unto you ſhall be ſhewed the like.

Chan. You are a madman. I would not bind you, but that I muſt needs have ſomething to ſhew for your deliverance. Then he called two of his neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, who offered themſelves to be bound, and called me before them, and ſaid, I have a letter of his own hand-writing, with his name and ſeal at it, with a book alſo againſt the regiment of women, for which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but on my faith I will him no more hurt than I mean to my own ſoul.

Lith. I deſire you that be my neighbours and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me: for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myſelf; it goeth againſt my conſcience that ye ſhould ſo do.

Chan. Why, I will not bind you to do any thing againſt your conſcience.

Then they made the bond, and ſealed to it, and willed me that I ſhould ſeal to it alſo, and I ſaid that I would not, neither could I obſerve the bond, and therefore I would not ſet to my hand.

Chan. It is a pity that thou haſt ſo much favour ſhewed thee: yet for theſe honeſt men's ſakes, I will diſcharge thee.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſſembling words of Dr. Darbiſhire, pretending for favour of his ſureties to ſet me at liberty, it was no ſuch thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him ſo to do; but only fear of the time, underſtanding the dangerous and irrecoverable ſickneſs of queen Mary, which then began ſomewhat to aſſuage the cruel proceeding of theſe perſecutors, whereby they durſt not do what they would: for elſe Lithal was not likely to have eſcaped ſo eaſily.

Moreover, there was one Edward Grew, prieſt, and Appline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Broke; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good conſcience.

At laſt he was taken and caſt into Colcheſter-caſtle, where he remained till queen Elizabeth came to her regal ſeat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife, good woman, was in great care for him, and to her power did what ſhe could to ſuccour him.

William Brown, parſon of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolk, made a ſermon in the ſaid town, ſoon after the burial of our good king Edward, and in his ſermon he ſaid, There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a maſs by the biſhop of Wincheſter, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were ſo, ſaid he, they are all traitors that do ſo, becauſe it is both againſt the truth, and againſt the laws of this realm, and it is great idolatry and blaſphemy, and againſt the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the king, or unto the realm, that ſo do. For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefield, an adverſary to the truth, being then conſtable of the town, and bailiff unto ſir John Jerningham, knight, (the chief lord of the town) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, who was then under-ſheriff, ſir Thomas Cornwallis being then high-ſheriff.

So the ſaid Golding and Blomefield ſent for certain men of the ſame town, and examined them for the ſermon: whereupon they made but a ſmall anſwer. Then the ſheriff made a bill, and ſo terrified the men, that two or three of them ſet to their hands, and one of them never enjoyed himſelf after, but it was a grief to him till he died.

Then they took men with them to the parſon's houſe, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen kept him till it was day. Then ſhould he have been carried the next day to the council; but the ſaid Robert Blomefield was taken ſo ſick, that he was like to die: ſo that he could not carry him for his life.

Then the ſaid ſheriff ſent him to Ipſwich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was ſent to Bury priſon, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet; and ſo he lay in priſon from the beginning of harveſt till near Chriſtmas, and ſaid, God gave him ſuch anſwers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietneſs of conſcience. And having his liberty, he came again to the aforeſaid town; and becauſe he would not go to maſs, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were conſtrained to fly here and there for his life and conſcience. In the laſt year of queen Mary's reign God took him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blomefield above-named, immediately after he had apprehended the ſaid Brown, fell very ſick; and although at that time he was a wealthy man and of great ſubſtance (beſide his land which was better than twenty pounds a year), after this time God plagued his houſehold, that his eldeſt ſon died, and his wife had a pining ſickneſs till ſhe departed this life alſo.

Then he married another, a rich widow: but all would not help, and nothing would proſper; for he had a ſore pining ſickneſs, being full of blotches and ſores, whereby he waſted away both body and goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above ninescore pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had; but a little before his death, he threatened a good man, one Simon Harlſton, to put him forth to the officers, becauſe he did wear no ſurplice when he ſaid ſervice.

Wherefore it is pity ſuch baits of popery are left to the enemies to take chriſtians in. God take them away, or eaſe us from them: for God knoweth they be the cauſe of much blindneſs and ſtrife amongſt men.

Furthermore, out of the ſaid town were conſtrained to fly Robert Boela and John Trapne, becauſe they would not go to maſs and receive their ſacrament of the altar.

The Perſecution *of* ELIZABETH YOUNG.

YOU heard before of the ſcourging of Thomas Greene, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a certain book called Antichriſt, which he received of a woman, becauſe in no caſe he would detect her.

This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who coming from Emden to England, brought with her divers books, and diſperſed them abroad in London; for which ſhe being at length apprehended and laid faſt, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquiſitors of heretical pravity. Some of which examinations have come to our hands, and are as follow:

The Firſt Examination *of* ELIZABETH YOUNG, *before* Mr. HUSSY.

Huſſy. WHERE was you born, and who were your father and mother?

Eliz. Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very ſuperfluous. It is to fill my head with fantaſies, that I ſhould not be able to anſwer unto ſuch things as I came for. You have not, I think, put me in priſon to know who is my father and mother. But, I pray you, go to the matter I came hither for.

Huſſy. Wherefore wenteſt thou out of the realm?

Young. To keep my conſcience clean.

Huſſy. When waſt thou at maſs?

Young. Not theſe three years.

Huſſy. Then waſt thou not there three years before that?

Young. No, ſir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were I had evil luck.

Huſſy. How old art thou?

Young. Forty and upwards.

Huſſy. Twenty of thoſe years you went to maſs.

Young. Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wiſe as I went thither firſt, for I underſtand it not.

Huſſy. Why wilt thou not go to the maſs?

Young. Sir, my conſcience will not ſuffer me: for I had rather all the world ſhould accuſe me, than mine own conſcience.

Huſſy. What if a louſe or a flea ſtick upon thy ſkin, and bite thy fleſh? thou muſt make a conſcience in taking her off, is there not a conſcience in it?

Young. That is but a ſorry argument to diſplace the ſcriptures, and eſpecially in ſuch a part as my ſalvation dependeth upon: for it is but an eaſy conſcience that a man can make.

Huſſy. But why wilt thou not ſwear upon the evangeliſts before a judge?

Young. Becauſe I know not what a book oath is.

Then he began to teach her the book oath.

Young. Sir, I do not underſtand it, and therefore I will not learn it.

Huſſy. Thou wilt not underſtand it; and with that roſe up and went his way.

The Second Examination *of* ELIZABETH YOUNG, *by* Dr. MARTIN.

Martin. THOU art come from beyond the ſea, and haſt brought with thee books of hereſy and treaſon, and thou muſt confeſs to us who tranſlated them, printed them, and who ſent them over, (for I know thee to be but a meſſenger) and in ſo doing the queen's highneſs will be good to thee (for ſhe hath forgiven greater things than this), and thou ſhalt find as much favour as is poſſible. But if thou be ſtubborn, and wilt not confeſs, thou wilt be very ill-handled: for we know the truth already; but this we do, only to ſee whether thou wilt be true to thy word or no.

Young. Sir, you have my confeſſion, and more than that I cannot ſay.

Martin. Thou muſt ſay more, and ſhalt ſay more. Doſt thou think that we will be fully anſwered by this confeſſion that thou haſt made? Thou rebellious whore, and traitorous heretic, thou doſt refuſe to ſwear upon the evangeliſts before a judge, I hear ſay. Thou ſhalt be racked by inch meal, thou traitorous whore and heretic, but thou ſhalt ſwear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou ſhalt be made to confeſs how many books thou haſt ſold, and to whom.

Young. Sir, I underſtand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for thoſe books which I had, your commiſſioners have got them all.

Martin. Thou traitorous whore, we know that thou haſt ſold a number of books, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou haſt been here, and where thou layeſt, and every place that thou haſt been in: doſt thou think that thou haſt fools in hand?

Young. No, ſir, you be too wiſe for me: for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myſelf, but if it were in Turkey, I ſhould have meat, and drink, and lodging for my money.

Martin. Thou rebellious whore, thou haſt ſpoken evil words of the queen, and thou dwelleſt amongſt a ſet of traitors and rebels that cannot give the queen a good name.

Young. I am not able to accuſe any man thereof, neither is there any man that can prove any ſuch things of me as you lay to my charge. For God's word hath taught me my duty to my queen, and therefore I am ſure you accuſe me wrongfully.

Martin. Thou rebel and traitorous whore, thou ſhalt be ſo racked and tormented, that thou ſhalt be an example to all ſuch traitorous whores and heretics; and thou ſhalt be made to ſwear by the holy evangeliſts, and confeſs to whom thou haſt ſold all and every of theſe heretical books that thou haſt ſold: for we know what number thou haſt ſold, and to whom; but thou ſhalt be made to confeſs it in ſpite of thy blood.

Young. Here is my carcaſe; do with it what you will, and more than that you cannot have. Mr. Martin, you can have no more than my blood.

Then he raved as though he were ſtark mad, and ſaid, Martin! Why calleſt thou me Martin?

Young. Sir, I know you well enough, for I have been before you ere now. You delivered me once at Weſtminſter.

Martin. Where didſt thou dwell then?

Young. I dwelt in the Minories.

Martin. I delivered thee and thy huſband both; and I thought then that thou wouldſt have done otherwiſe than thou doſt now. For if thou hadſt been before any other biſhop in England, and ſaid the words that thou didſt before me, thou hadſt tried a faggot: and though thou didſt not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Young. Sir, I promiſed you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet.

Martin. I ſhall feed thee well enough. Thou ſhalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which will be little to thine eaſe.

Young. Do what God ſhall ſuffer you to do: for more you ſhall not. And then he aroſe, and ſo departed, and went to the keeper's houſe, and aſked his wife, whom ſhe had ſuffered to come to this traitorous whore (as he called her). Then ſaid the keeper's wife, As God receive my ſoul, there came neither man, woman, nor child to aſk for her.

Martin. If any man, woman, or child, come to aſk for her, I charge thee on pain of death, that they be laid faſt; and give her one day bread, and another day water.

Young. If you take away my meat, I truſt that God will take away my hunger: and ſo he departed, ſaying, that was too good for her; and then ſhe was ſhut up under two locks in the Clink, where ſhe was before.

The Third Examination *of* Mrs. E. YOUNG, *before* Dr. MARTIN.

Martin. ELIZABETH, wilt thou confeſs theſe things that thou haſt been examined upon; for thou knoweſt that I have been thy friend, and in ſo doing I will be thy friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the ſeas.

Young. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other ſide.

Martin. No, I mean but in Frankfort and Emden, where thou haſt been.

Young. Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I looked not for.

Martin. When ſhall I have a true word come out of your mouth?

Young. I have told you the truth, but becauſe that it ſoundeth not to your mind, therefore you will not credit it.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confeſs? And if thou wilt, that which I have promiſed I will do; and if thou wilt not, I promiſe thee thou muſt go even hence to the rack, and therefore confeſs.

Young. I can ſay no more than I have ſaid.

Martin. Well, foraſmuch as ſhe will confeſs no more, have her away to the rack, and then ſhe will be marred.

Then anſwered a prieſt that ſat there, and ſaid, Woman, take an oath, and confeſs: wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Young. I can confeſs no more than I have. Do with my carcaſe what you will.

Martin. Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? What a ſtout heretic is this? We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether ſhe will confeſs. There is no remedy, but ſhe muſt needs to the rack, and therefore away with her, and ſo commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and ſaid to him, There is no remedy, but this heretic muſt be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was ſhe did not hear.

Then he called her in again, and ſaid, Wilt thou not confeſs, and keep thee from the rack? I adviſe thee ſo to do; for if thou wilt not, thou knoweſt not the pain yet, but thou ſhalt do.

Young. I can confeſs no more; do with my carcaſe what you will.

Martin. Keeper, away with her. Thou knoweſt what I ſaid. Let her know the pain of the rack. And ſo ſhe departed, thinking no leſs, but that ſhe ſhould have gone to the rack, till ſhe ſaw the keeper turn toward the Clink again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminiſh their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations: for ſhe was brought before the biſhop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commiſſioners, firſt and laſt, thirteen times.

The Fourth Examination *of* Mrs. E. YOUNG, *before the* Biſhop *of* London, Sir ROGER CHOLMLEY, Dr. COOK, *the* Recorder *of* London, Dr. ROPER, *and* Dr. MARTIN.

FIRST, ſhe being preſented by Dr. Martin before the biſhop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare againſt her, ſaying, The lord chancellor hath ſent you here a woman, who hath brought books over from Emden, where all theſe books of hereſy and treaſon are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treaſon and hereſy; neither yet will ſhe confeſs who tranſlated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who ſent them over. Wherefore my lord chancellor committeth her unto my lord of London, to do with her as he ſhall think good. For ſhe will confeſs nothing but that ſhe bought theſe ſaid books in Amſterdam, and ſo brought them over to ſell for gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her head be truſſed in a ſmall line, and make her confeſs.

Martin. The book is called Antichriſt, and ſo may well be called, for it ſpeaketh againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and the queen. Beſides that, ſhe hath a certain ſpark of the anabaptiſts, for ſhe refuſeth to ſwear upon the four evangeliſts before a judge: for myſelf and Mr. Huſſy have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to ſwear. Wherefore my lord chancellor would that ſhe ſhould abſtain and faſt, for ſhe hath not faſted a great while: for ſhe hath lain in the Clink a good while, where ſhe had too much liberty.

Then ſaid the biſhop, Why wilt thou not ſwear before a judge; that is the right trade of the anabaptiſts.

Young. My lord, I will not ſwear that this hand is mine.

No, ſaid the biſhop; and why?

Young. My lord, Chriſt ſaith, That whatſoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is: and therefore I will take no ſuch thing upon me.

Then ſaid Cholmley, Twenty pounds it is a man in woman's clothes, twenty pounds it is a man.

Bonner. Think you ſo, my lord.

Cholmley. Yea, my lord.

Young. My lord, I am a woman.

Biſhop. Swear her upon a book, ſeeing it is but a queſtion aſked.

Then ſaid Cholmley, I will lay twenty pounds it is a man.

Then Dr. Cook brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand thereon.

Young. No, my lord, I will not ſwear, for I know not what an oath is. But I ſay that I am a woman, and have children.

Biſhop. That we know not; wherefore ſwear.

Cholmley. Thou ill-favoured whore, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine: and ſo he laid his hand on the book.

Young. So will not I.

Then the biſhop ſpake a word in Latin out of St. Paul, as concerning ſwearing.

Young. My lord, if you ſpeak to me of St. Paul, then ſpeak Engliſh, for I underſtand you not.

Biſhop. I dare ſwear that thou doſt not.

Young. My lord, St. Paul ſaith, that five words ſpoken in a language that may be underſtood, are better than many in a ſtrange tongue.

Cook. Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman.

Young. If you will not believe me, then ſend for women into a ſecret place, and I will be ſearched.

Cholmley. Thou art an ill-favoured whore.

Biſhop. How believeſt thou in the ſacrament of the altar?

Young. If it will pleaſe you that I ſhall declare my faith, I will, and if it be not good, teach me a better, and I will believe it.

Cook. That is well ſaid, declare thy faith.

Young. I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons and one God: I believe all the articles of my creed: I believe all things written in the ſcripture, and all things agreeable to the ſcripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt to the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt. I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to ſave ſinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made clean from my ſins, and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, which he did inſtitute and ordain, and left among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed; when I do receive this ſacrament in faith and ſpirit, I do receive Chriſt.

Biſhop. No more, I warrant you, but the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, received but in ſpirit and faith, with thoſe heretics.

Cholmley. Ah, whore, ſpirit and faith, whore!

Young. This ſacrament man never could, nor did make, but only he, that did what no man could do.

Martin. Then thou muſt allow that graſs is a ſacrament; for who could make graſs but he only?

Young. Sir, he hath ſuffered, and made a ſufficient ſacrifice once for all, and ſo hath he made his ſacrament ſufficient once for all: for there was never man that could ſay, "Take, eat, this is my body, that is broken for you," but only Jeſus Chriſt, who had his body broken for the ſins of the world; which ſacrament he hath left here amongſt us for a teſtimonial of his death, even to the world's end.

Martin. Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?

Young. Yea, biſhop Scory, and others that I have heard.

Biſhop. Why, is Scory biſhop now?

Young. If that offend you, call him Dr. Scory if you will.

Roper. I knew him when he was but a poor doctor.

Martin. What do you call Scory?

Young. Our ſuperintendant.

Biſhop. Lo! their ſuperintendant.

Martin. And what are ye called?

Young. Chriſt's congregation.

Biſhop. Lo! Chriſt's congregation, I warrant you.

Dr. Cook. What living hath Scory?

Young. As far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him ought.

Recorder. Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough ſent him out of England.

Young. Sir, I know no ſuch thing.

Cholmley. Hark, whore, hark; hark, how I do believe.

Young. My lord, I have told you my belief.

Cholmley. Hark, thou ill-favoured whore, how I do believe. When the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very body that was born of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the croſs, was dead and buried, and deſcended into hell, and roſe again on the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God. The ſame body when the prieſt hath ſpoken the words, cometh down, and when the prieſt lifteth up his body on this wiſe (he lifting up his hands ſaid), there it is.

Young. I have told you alſo how I do believe.

Martin. Away with her.

Cholmley. Ah, ill-favoured whore! Nothing but ſpirit and faith, whore!

Martin. Away with her, we have more to talk withal.

Then ſhe was carried into the Coal-houſe, and ſearched for books, and then put into the ſtock-houſe, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

The Fifth Examination *of* ELIZABETH YOUNG, *before the* Biſhop *of* London's Chancellor.

Chan. WHAT age are you of?

Young. Forty years and upwards.

Chan. Why, thou art a woman of fair years; why ſhouldſt thou meddle with the ſcriptures? It is neceſſary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy diſtaff, than to meddle with the ſcriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought to priſon.

Young. Sir, if it will pleaſe you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if you find any thing therein that is not fit for a chriſtian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.

Chan. Well ſaid. But who ſhall judge between thee and me?

Young. The ſcripture.

Chan. Wilt thou ſtand by that?

Young. Yea, ſir.

Chan. Well, go thy way out of the door a little while, for I am buſy, and will call for thee anon again.

Then he called me again and ſaid, Now, woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head.

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him as ſhe had done before to the biſhop.

Chan. Woman, ſpirit and faith I do allow, but doſt not thou believe that thou doſt receive the body of Chriſt, really, corporally, and ſubſtantially.

Young. Theſe words, really and corporally, I underſtand not; as for ſubſtantially, I take it, you mean I ſhould believe that I ſhould receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once), and that I believe not.

Chan. Thou muſt believe this, or elſe thou art damned.

Young. Sir, can you give me belief?

Chan. No, God muſt give it thee.

Young. God hath given me no ſuch faith or belief.

The chancellor then declared a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in Engliſh, ſaying, I could make thee believe, but that thou haſt a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?

Young. You ſaid even now, that faith or belief cometh of God, and ſo I believe, and then may not I believe an untruth to be true.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that Chriſt's fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh?

Young. No, ſir, I believe not that; for my fleſh will putrefy and rot.

Chan. Chriſt ſaid, My fleſh is fleſh in fleſh.

Young. Whoſo receiveth him fleſhly, ſhall have a fleſhly reſurrection.

Chan. Chriſt ſaith in St. John, chap. vi. "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Young. Chriſt preached to the Capernaites, ſaying, "Except ye eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye ſhall not have life in you: and the Capernaites murmured at it. And his diſciples alſo murmured, ſaying among themſelves, "This is an hard ſaying, and who can abide it?" Chriſt underſtood their meaning, and ſaid, "Are ye alſo offended? Will ye alſo go away? What and if ye ſhall ſee the Son of man aſcend up to heaven, from whence he came? Will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing." I pray you, ſir, what meaneth Chriſt by that?

Chan. O God forbid. Would you have me to interpret the ſcriptures? We muſt leave that for our old ancient fathers, which have ſtudied the ſcriptures a long time, and have the Holy Ghoſt given unto them.

Young. Why, ſir, have you not the Holy Ghoſt given and revealed unto you?

Chan. No, God forbid that I ſhould ſo believe; but I hope, I hope: but you ſay you are of the Spirit. Will you ſay that you have no profit in Chriſt's fleſh?

Young. Sir, we have our profit in Chriſt's fleſh, but not as the Capernaites did underſtand it; for they underſtood that they muſt eat his fleſh as they did eat ox fleſh and others, and drink his blood, as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But ſo we muſt not receive it: but our profit that we have by Chriſt, is to believe that his body was broken upon the croſs, and his blood ſhed for our ſins; that is the very meaning of Chriſt, that ſo we ſhould eat his fleſh, and drink his blood, when he ſaid, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Chan. How doth thy body live, if Chriſt's fleſh is not fleſh in thy fleſh?

Young. Sir, I was a body before I had a ſoul; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it ſhall pleaſe God to diſſolve my life, my fleſh will offer itſelf unto the place from whence it came, and through the merits of Chriſt my ſoul will offer itſelf to the place from whence it came.

Chan. Yea, but if thou do not believe that Chriſt's fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh, thou canſt not be ſaved.

Young. Sir, I do not believe that.

Chan. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, "My fleſh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed?" Canſt thou deny that?

Young. I deny not that; for Chriſt's fleſh and blood is meat and drink for my ſoul, the food of my ſoul. For whoſoever believeth that Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, hath died and ſhed his blood for his ſins, his ſoul feedeth thereon for ever.

Chan. When thou receiveſt the ſacrament of the altar, doſt thou not believe that thou doſt receive Chriſt's body?

Young. Sir, as often as I receive the ſacrament, I believe, that ſpiritually and by faith I receive Chriſt. And of this ſacrament, I know Chriſt himſelf to be the author, and none but he. And this ſame ſacrament is an eſtabliſhment to my conſcience, and an augmenting to my faith.

Chan. Why, did not Chriſt take bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, "Take, eat, this is my body that is given for you?" Did he give them his body, or no?

Young. He alſo took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, "Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the New Teſtament in my blood, which ſhall be ſhed for many." Now, I pray you, ſir, let me aſk you one queſtion: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or the wine that was in the cup?

Then he was very angry, and ſaid, Doſt thou think that thou haſt an hedge-prieſt in hand?

Young. No, ſir, I take you not to be an hedge-prieſt; I take you for a doctor.

Chan. So me thinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me.

Young. No, ſir, but I let you know what I know; and by argument one ſhall know more. Chriſt ſaid, "As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me;" but a remembrance is not of a thing preſent, but abſent. Likewiſe St. Paul ſaith, "So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come:" then we muſt not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, "He ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he ſhall come to judge both the quick and the dead?" But if he come not before he come to judgment, how then is he preſent in your ſacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Chriſt occupieth no more than one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there.

The Sixth Examination *of* Mrs. YOUNG, *before the* Chancellor.

Chan. WOMAN, the laſt time that thou waſt before me, our talk was concerning the ſacrament.

Young. Sir, true it is, and I truſt that I ſaid nothing that you can deny by the ſcriptures.

Chan. Yes, thou wilt not believe that Chriſt's fleſh is fleſh in thy fleſh.

Young. No, ſir, God hath given me no ſuch belief; for it cannot be found by the ſcriptures.

Chan. Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the ſcripture? Why, how many ſacraments doſt thou find in the ſcripture?

Young. The church of Chriſt doth ſet down two.

Chan. I will as well find ſeven by the ſcripture, as thou ſhalt find two.

Young. Sir, I talk not to you thereof, but I ſay that the church of Chriſt ſetteth out two, and I have been taught no more.

Chan. What are thoſe two?

Young. The ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

Chan. What ſayeſt thou by the ſacrament of wedlock?

Young. I have not heard it called a ſacrament, but the holy eſtate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them.

Chan. How ſayeſt thou by prieſts? Is it good that they ſhould marry? Is it to be kept of them?

Young. I come not hither to reaſon any ſuch matter, for I am no divine, and alſo it is no part of my faith.

Chan. Can you not tell? You ſhall tell before ever you go.

Young. Then you muſt keep me a good while; for I have not ſtudied the ſcriptures for it.

Chan. No? Why, you will not be aſhamed to flee unto the higheſt myſtery, even to the ſacrament at the firſt daſh, and you are not afraid to argue with the beſt doctor in the land.

Young. God's myſteries I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Chan. What ſay you by prayers for the dead? Is it not meet that if a man's friend be dead, his friend commend his ſoul unto God?

Young. There is no chriſtian man that will commend his friend or his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, ſure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Chan. Then thou alloweſt not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Young. Sir, I never heard in the ſcriptures of purgatory, but in the ſcripture I have heard of heaven and hell.

Chan. Why, you have nothing but the ſkimming of the ſcriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the ſcriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Teſtament, that a prieſt ſhould take the ſacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day.

Young. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor New Teſtament, as far as ever I could hear.

Chan. Whom doſt thou hear read either the Bible or New Teſtament, but a ſort of ſchiſmatics, bawdy biſhops, and hedge-prieſts (which have brought into the church a ſtinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England), which hath deceived the king and all the nobility, and all the whole realm.

Young. Sir, it is a vile name that you give them all.

Chan. Where are all the hedge-knaves now, that they come not to their anſwer?

Young. Anſwer, ſir? Why, they have anſwered both with the ſcriptures, and alſo with their blood; and then where were you that you came not forth to anſwer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but two, and that was not for God's word, it was for their diſobedience.

Chan. No, I pray you? Did you not know that we were hanged, killed, burned, and beheaded?

Young. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or beheaded.

Chan. No? Did you never hear that the biſhop of Rocheſter loſt his head for the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome?

Young. Then he died not for God's word.

Chan. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canſt thou find the ſabbath written in the ſcripture, by the name of the ſabbath? For the right ſabbath-day will I prove to be Saturday. Or, where canſt thou find the articles of the creed in the ſcripture by the name of the articles? or where canſt thou find in the ſcripture that Chriſt went down into hell?

Young. What place or part in the ſcripture can you find to diſprove any of theſe things?

Chan. What prieſt haſt thou lain withal that thou haſt ſo much ſcripture? Thou art ſome prieſt's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reaſon, and teach the beſt doctor in all the land.

Young. I was never yet prieſt's wife, nor yet prieſt's woman.

Chan. Have I touched your conſcience?

Young. No, ſir, you have not touched my conſcience, but beware you hurt not your own.

Chan. Thou haſt read a little in the Bible or Teſtament, and thou thinkeſt that thou art able to reaſon with a doctor, that hath gone to ſchool thirty years; and, before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may ſay by you as Chriſt ſaid by Jeruſalem, ſaying, "O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldſt not." And ſo would we gather you together in one faith, and you will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own head; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankeſt heretics that ever I heard; for thou believeſt nothing but what is in the ſcripture; and therefore thou art damned.

Young. I do believe all things written in the ſcripture, and all things agreeable to the ſcripture, given by the Holy Ghoſt to the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt, and ſhall I be damned becauſe I will not believe an untruth?

Then the chancellor called the keeper, ſaying, Cluny, take her away, thou knoweſt what thou haſt to do with her. And ſo ſhe departed, and was brought again to the ſtock-houſe, and there ſhe lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterwards ſhe was removed into the Lollards' Tower, and there ſhe remained with both her feet in the ſtocks and irons till the next time of examination.

The Seventh Examination *of* Mrs. YOUNG, *before the* Chancellor *and the* Biſhop's Scribe.

Chan. WOMAN, thou haſt been twice before me, but we could not agree, and here be certain articles that my lord the biſhop of London would that thou ſhouldſt make anſwer unto, which are theſe: Firſt, how many ſacraments doſt thou allow?

Young. Sir, as many as Chriſt's church doth allow, and that is two.

Then ſaid the ſcribe, Thou waſt taught ſeven before king Edward's days.

Chan. Which two ſacraments be thoſe that thou doſt allow?

Young. The ſacrament of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the ſupreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?

Young. No, ſir, no man can be the head of Chriſt's church: for Chriſt himſelf is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, whereſoever they be ſcattered abroad.

Chan. Doſt thou not believe that the biſhop of Rome can forgive thee all thy ſins heretical, deteſtable and damnable, that thou haſt done from thine infancy unto this day?

Young. Sir, the biſhop of Rome is a ſinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my ſins, but he only that is without ſin, and that is Jeſus Chriſt, who died for my ſins.

Chan. Doſt thou not know that the pope ſent over his jubilees, that all that ever would faſt and pray, and go to the church, ſhould have their ſins forgiven them?

The Scribe. Sir, I think that ſhe was not in the realm then.

Chan. Haſt thou not deſired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities?

Young. Yes, that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Young. No, ſir, not a whit.

Chan. Haſt thou not ſaid, that the maſs was wicked, and the ſacrament of the altar moſt abominable?

Young. Yes, that I have.

Chan. And art thou not ſorry for it?

Young. No, ſir, not a whit.

Chan. Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear maſs?

Young. I will not go to the church, either to maſs or mattins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can underſtand: for I will be fed no longer in a ſtrange language. And always the ſcribe did write every one of theſe articles, as they were demanded and anſwered unto.

Then the ſcribe aſked her from whence ſhe came.

The chancellor ſaid, This is ſhe that brought over all theſe books of hereſy and treaſon.

Then the ſcribe ſaid to her, Woman, where hadſt thou all theſe books?

Young. I bought them in Amſterdam, and brought them over to ſell, thinking to gain thereby.

The Scribe. What is the name of the book?

Young. I cannot tell.

Scribe. Why ſhouldſt thou buy books, and know not their names?

Then ſaid Cluny, the keeper, Sir, my lord biſhop did ſend for her by name, that ſhe ſhould go to maſs, but ſhe would not.

Chan. Yea, did my lord ſend for her by name, and would ſhe not go to maſs?

Young. No, ſir, I never will go to maſs, till I do underſtand it, by the leave of God.

Chan. Underſtand it! why, who the devil can make thee underſtand Latin, thou being ſo old?

Then the ſcribe commanded her to ſet her hand to all theſe things.

Then ſaid ſhe, Let me hear them read firſt.

Scribe. Maſter Chancellor, ſhall ſhe hear it read?

Chan. Ay, ay, let the heretic hear it read.

The ſhe heard it read, and ſo ſigned it.

The Eighth Examination *of* Mrs. YOUNG, *before the* Biſhop.

Biſhop. IS this the woman that hath three children?

Keeper. Yea, my lord.

Biſhop. Woman, here is a ſupplication put into my hands for thee. In like caſe there was another ſupplication put up to me for thee before this, in which thou madeſt as though I ſhould keep thy children.

Young. My lord, I did not know of this ſupplication, nor yet of the other.

Biſhop. Mr. Dean, is this the woman you have ſued ſo earneſtly for?

Dean. Yea, my lord.

Dean. Woman, what remaineth in the ſacrament of the altar, when and after that the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration?

Young. A piece of bread. But the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, which he did inſtitute and leave among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed, miniſtered according to his word, that ſacrament I do believe.

Dean. How doſt thou believe concerning the body of Chriſt? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?

Young. Sir, in heaven he ſitteth on the right hand of God.

Dean. From whence came his human body?

Young. He took it of the Virgin Mary.

Dean. That is fleſh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what ſhape hath his ſpiritual body? Hath it face, hands, and feet?

Young. I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he ſaid, "This is my body, which is given for you; and this is my blood which ſhall be ſhed for you." Whereby he plainly meaneth that body and no other, which he took of the virgin Mary, having the perfect ſhape and proportion of a human body.

Story. Thou haſt a wiſe body: for thou muſt go to the ſtake.

Dean. Art thou content to believe in the faith of Chriſt's church? But to aſk of thee what Chriſt's church is, or where it is, I let it paſs.

Young. Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpoſe never to turn, by God's help.

Dean. Wouldſt thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?

Young. Sir, if it pleaſe God to give me leave.

Dean. Art thou willing to confeſs thyſelf to be a fooliſh woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal doth, and as my lord the biſhop of London thine ordinary doth, and as the king and queen, and all the nobility in England do; yea, and the emperor, and all the noble perſons of Chriſtendom?

Young. Sir, I was never wiſe, but in few words I ſhall make you a brief anſwer how I do believe all things that are written in the ſcriptures, given by the Holy Ghoſt unto the church of Chriſt, ſet forth and taught by the church of Chriſt. Hereon I ground my faith; and not on man.

Then ſaid Story, And who ſhall be judge?

Young. Sir, the ſcripture.

Story. And who ſhall read it.

Young. He unto whom God hath given the underſtanding.

Biſhop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone, and maſter dean here hath earneſtly ſued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have ſued for thee indeed, and I promiſe thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my lord will be good unto thee.

Young. I have been before my lord biſhop, and before maſter chancellor three times, and have declared my faith.

Dean. And yet I know that maſter chancellor will ſay, that thou art a general heretic.

Story. Away with her.

Biſhop. Maſter dean, you know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber ſoon at four o'clock in the afternoon, and if that we find her reaſonable, then let her go, for I would that ſhe were gone.

Then ſaid the dean, With a good will, my lord; and ſo ſhe was ſent unto the place from whence ſhe came, until it was four o'clock in the afternoon.

The Ninth Examination of ELIZABETH YOUNG, *before the* Dean, *after which ſhe was delivered.*

Dean. ART thou a fool now, as thou wert today?

Young. Sir, I have learnt but ſmall wiſdom ſince.

Dean. Doſt thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Young. Yes, ſir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkeſt thou that I can do thee good?

Young. Yea, ſir, and, if it pleaſe God, that you will.

Dean. Then I will do thee good indeed. What doſt thou receive when thou receiveſt the ſacrament which Chriſt left among his diſciples the night before he was betrayed?

Young. Sir, that that his diſciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Young. Sir, that that Chriſt gave them, they received.

Dean. What anſwer is this? was Chriſt there preſent?

Young. Sir, he was there preſent; for he inſtituted his own ſacrament.

Dean. He took bread and he brake it, and he gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Take, eat, this is my body which ſhall be broken for you." When thou receiveſt it, doſt thou believe that thou receiveſt his body?

Young. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Chriſt.

Dean. Doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Young. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him.

Dean. He alſo took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, "Drink ye all thereof; this is the cup of the New Teſtament in my blood, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins." When thou doſt receive it after the inſtitution that Chriſt ordained among his diſciples, the night before he was betrayed, doſt thou believe that Chriſt is there?

Young. Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him.

Dean. Now thou haſt anſwered me, remember what thou ſayeſt, that when thou doſt receive according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, thou doſt receive Chriſt.

Young. Sir, I believe Chriſt not to be abſent from his own ſacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

Young. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God, for it is, and hath been my belief.

Dean. Wilt thou ſay this before my lord?

Young. Yea, ſir.

Dean. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf, why wouldſt thou not ſay ſo to-day.

Young. Sir, you aſked me no ſuch queſtion.

Dean. Then you would ſtand in diſputation how many bodies Chriſt had.

Young. Sir, indeed that queſtion you did aſk me.

Dean. Who ſhall be the ſureties that thou wilt appear before my lord of London and me upon Friday next?

Young. Sir, I have no ſureties, nor know I where to have any.

Then ſpake the dean unto two women that ſtood there, who had earneſtly ſued for her, ſaying, "Women, will ye be her ſureties, that ſhe ſhall appear before my lord of London and me, upon Friday next?

Women. Yea, ſir, and it pleaſe you.

Dean. Take heed that I find you no more a babbler in the ſcripture.

Young. Sir, I am no babbler in the ſcripture, nor yet can any man burden me therewith.

Dean. Yes, I have heard of you well enough what you are.

Then ſaid he to the two women, what if a man ſhould touch your conſcience, do ye not ſmell a little of hereſy alſo?

Women. No, ſir.

Dean. Yes, a little of the frying-pan, or elſe wherefore have ye two ſo earneſtly ſued for her?

The one woman anſwered, becauſe that her children were like to periſh, and therefore God put me in mind to ſue for her.

Then ſaid the other woman, And I provided her child a nurſe, and I am threatened to ſtand for the keeping of her child; and therefore it ſtandeth me in hand to ſue to have her out.

Dean. Woman, give thanks unto theſe honeſt women, who have ſo earneſtly ſued for thee, and I promiſe thee ſo have I. Theſe great heretics will receive nothing but in ſpirit and faith; and ſo he roſe and departed.

Young. Sir, God be praiſed, and I thank you for your goodneſs and their's alſo, and ſo went away; and upon the Friday next, becauſe ſhe was accuſed, her two ſureties went thither, and were diſcharged.

The Perſecution of ELIZABETH LAWSON.

IN the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, dwelt an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawſon, about the age of ſixty years, who was apprehended as an heretic by the conſtables of the ſame town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year

1556, becauſe ſhe would not go to church to hear maſs, and receive the ſacrament, and believe in it.

Firſt, they laid her in a dungeon, and after that ſhe was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury gaol, where at laſt ſhe was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time ſir John Sylliard had her home unto his houſe, he being high ſheriff that year, where ſhe was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they could by no means move her to recant, ſhe was ſent to priſon again with ſhameful revilings.

Thus ſhe continued in priſon the ſpace of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there were burnt her ſon and many more, whereby ſhe would often ſay, "Good Lord, what is the cauſe that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord, thy bleſſed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this (moſt happily) followed the death of queen Mary, after whom ſucceeded queen Elizabeth. At which time this Elizabeth Lawſon remained yet ſtill in Bury priſon, till at laſt ſhe was bailed upon ſureties, or elſe ſhe could not be delivered. For ſhe being a condemned perſon, neither the temporality, nor yet ſpiritual authority would diſcharge her without ſureties. Now ſhe being abroad, and her ſureties made afraid by wicked men, ſaid, they would caſt her again in priſon, except ſhe would ſee them diſcharged.

Then ſhe got a ſupplication to go unto the queen's majeſty, and came to a friend of her's to have his counſel therein; who willed her to ſtay a while, becauſe ſhe was old, the days ſhort, and the expences great, and weather foul (for it was a little before Chriſtmas), and to tarry until ſummer. In the mean time God broke the bond, and ſhortened her journey; for he took her home to himſelf out of this life in peace.

This good old woman, long before ſhe went to priſon, had the falling ſickneſs, and told a friend of her's, one Simon Harlſton, after ſhe was apprehended, that ſhe never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Chriſt.

She had a very unkind huſband, who, while ſhe was in priſon, ſold her raiment, and would not help her: and after ſhe was out of priſon, ſhe returned home unto him, yet would he ſhew her no kindneſs, nor help her neither; and yet the houſe and land that he dwelt in he had by her; wherefore as long as ſhe lived ſhe was maintained by the congregation.

The ſaid Elizabeth Lawſon alſo had a ſiſter, wife to one Robert Hollon, in Mickfield, in the ſame county of Suffolk, who likewiſe was perſecuted and driven out from houſe to houſe, and a young man her ſon with her, becauſe they would not go to the church to hear maſs, and receive the ſacrament of the altar.

An Account of the Perſecution *of* THOMAS CHRISTENMASS *and* WILLIAM WATS.

IN this perilous rage of queen Mary's reign were two men perſecuted, one called Thomas Chriſtenmaſs, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge, in Kent. As theſe two men travelled from place to place, not reſting two nights together in one place, they happened to go to Rocheſter in Kent, where they at the town's end met with a damſel of eight years of age, but whither ſhe went, they knew not. It was then night, and they being weary, were willing to lie in the ſame town, but could not tell where, they feared ſo the bloody catholics. At laſt they deviſed to aſk the damſel whether there were any heretics in the town, or no? and ſhe ſaid, Yea. They aſked her where. She anſwered them, At ſuch an inn, telling them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themſelves better, and God ſo moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and aſked her how ſhe knew that the innkeeper (of whom ſhe ſpake before) was an heretic. Marry, quoth ſhe, well enough, and his wife alſo. How knoweſt thou, pretty maiden? ſaid they; I pray thee tell us. How know I? ſaid ſhe; marry, becauſe they go to the church; and thoſe that will not hold up their hands there, they will preſent them, and he himſelf goes from houſe to houſe, to compel them to come to church. When theſe two men heard this, they gave God praiſe, and avoided that houſe, taking the warning of that maid (of good bringing up, as it ſhould ſeem) to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

In the laſt year but one of queen Mary's reign, William Wats lived at Seale, in Kent, where being apprehended, and brought by the conſtables before the biſhop and juſtices at Tunbridge, who endeavoured to perſuade him to turn from the truth, but all in vain, though they ſpent much time, and uſed many flattering words.

At dinner-time the conſtables took Wats to a victualing-houſe, where after they had well filled themſelves, they fell aſleep, ſuppoſing their priſoner had been ſure enough under their hands. Wats's wife being in the houſe with her huſband, and very careful for his well-doing, ſeeing them all faſt aſleep, deſired her huſband to go away, as God had given him an opportunity; but he refuſing ſo long that at laſt a ſtranger hearing ſomething of the diſpute, aſked what the matter was, and why ſhe was ſo earneſt with her huſband: the wife told him. Then ſaid the ſtranger to Wats, Father, go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee. Upon which words he went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her houſe at Seale, thinking her huſband had gone another way. Now as ſhe was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came in the ſaid Wats alſo, and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haſte to get him away; for they thought there would be ſearch for him immediately.

Then Wats ſaid, he would eat meat firſt, and alſo pray; which he did, and afterwards departed thence. As ſoon as he was out of doors, and had hid himſelf in an holly-buſh, immediately came the ſaid conſtables with thirty perſons into the ſaid houſe to ſearch for him, where they pierced the feather-beds, broke open his cheſts, and made great havock; and as they were ſearching, the conſtable cried, I will have Wats, I will have Wats, I tell thee, I will have Wats; but God be thanked Wats could not be found. And when they ſaw it needleſs to ſearch for him, in the end they took his wife, and ſet her in a pair of ſtocks, where ſhe remained two days, and ſhe was very bold in the truth, and at laſt delivered through the providence of God; whoſe name be glorified in all his works. *Amen.*

Mr. DABNEY.

THERE was at London a certain godly perſon, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Avales in the time of queen Mary had brought before Bonner to be examined for his faith. It happened the ſame time, when the ſaid Dabney was there, that the biſhop was occupied with examining of others, ſo that he was bid to ſtand by, and to wait the biſhop's leiſure. Upon the ſame, or not long after, ſuddenly came word to the biſhop to prepare him with all ſpeed, the general proceſſion tarried for him. The biſhop hearing that, ſetting all buſineſs apart, buſtleth himſelf with all poſſible ſpeed to the church, there to furniſh proceſſion. By reaſon whereof Dabney, who newly came to the houſe, was there left alone, while every man elſe was buſied in preparing and ſetting themſelves forward according as the caſe required.

To be ſhort, as the time called on, Bonner, with his houſhold makes all poſſible haſte to the proceſſion. Dabney being left alone, came down to the outward court next the gate, there walking heavily by himſelf, looking for nothing leſs than to eſcape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, ſeeing the man walk alone, ſuppoſing he had been ſome citizen left there behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, aſking if he would go out. Yea, ſaid he, with a good will, if you will let me out. With all my heart, quoth the porter, and I pray you ſo do.

And thus the ſaid Dabney taking the opportunity offered of God, being let out by the porter, eſcaped out of the wolf's mouth. The proceſſion being done, when the biſhop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found. Whereupon ſearch was made, but eſpecially John Avales laid wait for him: who, after long ſearching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife to let him alone when he ſhould ſee him, and ſo that good man eſcaped.

ALEXANDER WIMHURST, Prieſt.

A LIKE example of God Almighty's goodneſs towards his afflicted ſervants in that dangerous time of perſecution, may alſo appear evidently in one Alexander Wimhurſt, a prieſt, ſometime of Magdalen college, in Oxford, and then a papiſt, but ſince an earneſt enemy to Antichriſt, and a man better inſtructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had recommended him to biſhop Bonner for religion, upon what occaſion I do not underſtand. According to the old manner in ſuch caſes provided, he ſent forth Robin Caly, otherwiſe called Robin Papiſt, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cauſe this ſilly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, beſtirreth him in his buſineſs, and ſmelleth him out, and when he had taken him, bringeth him along by Cheapſide, not ſuffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though they were ſome of his old friends of Oxford that offered to ſpeak unto him.

When they came into St. Paul's, he eſpied Dr. Chedſey there walking up and down, and, becauſe he was able in ſuch a caſe to do pleaſure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very deſirous to ſpeak to him ere he went through. Chedſey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, ſaid, that he durſt not meddle in the matter. Yes, (ſaid little Robin) you may talk with him if it pleaſe you, maſter Doctor. To be ſhort, Alexander opened his caſe, and in the end deſired, for old acquaintance ſake, that he would find means he might be brought before Dr. Martin to be examined, rather than any other. Nay, ſaid he, (alledging the words of Chriſt unto Peter in the laſt chapter of St. John) you remember, brother, what is written in the goſpel: "When thou waſt young, thou didſt gird thyſelf, and wenteſt whither thou wouldſt; but being aged, other men ſhall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldſt not." Thus abuſing the ſcripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithſtanding he might eaſily have accompliſhed ſo ſmall a requeſt, if he had liked it.

Thence he was carried to Story and Cook, commiſſioners, there to learn what ſhould become of him. Before them he behaved himſelf boldly and ſtoutly, as they on the other ſide did urge him with captious queſtions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor man their fill, they aſked him where his whore was. She is not my whore (ſaid he), but my lawful wife. She is thy whore, ſaid they. She is not my whore (ſaid he again), I tell you. So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attributed to them ſo much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to priſon. And now mark well the providence of God in his preſervation.

He was brought into Cluny's houſe, in Paternoſter-row, from thence to be carried to Lollards'-Tower, out of hand, but that Cluny, (as it happened) his wife and his maid, were ſo earneſtly occupied about preſent buſineſs, that they had not leiſure then to lock up their priſoner. In the hall where Alexander ſat was a ſtrange woman, whoſe huſband was then preſently in trouble for religion, which perceived by ſome occaſion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cauſe. Alack, good man, ſaith ſhe, if you will you may eſcape the cruel hands of your enemies, foraſmuch as they be all away that ſhould look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore loſe not the opportunity thereof, if you be wiſe. Being perſuaded with theſe and ſuch like words, he went out of doors, and eſcaped their hands.

BOSOM's Wife.

THIS good woman being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly urged to go to church. At length, through great importunity, ſhe came; being in the church, and ſitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papiſts, ſhe behaved herſelf ſo, that when they kneeled, ſhe ſtood; when they turned forward, ſhe turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the church, the conſtable and church-warden attached her in the queen's name, charging her and her mother to appear the next day at Kingſton, which accordingly they did, and happening to meet the officers croſſing the river, ſaluted them by their names, but at that time the officers had no power to ſpeak to them, though afterwards they ſtampt and ſtared, and were mad with themſelves for letting them paſs, as was declared by the waterman in the boat. Whereupon the good woman taking her journey to London, eſcaped their cruelty.

JOHN DAVIS, *under Twelve Years of Age.*

IN the year 1546, and the laſt year of king Henry the Eighth, John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the houſe of Mr. Johnſon, apothecary, in the town of Worceſter, his uncle, uſing ſometimes to read in the Teſtament and other Engliſh books, was complained of by his miſtreſs, who was an obſtinate perſon, and conſulted with one Thomas Parton, and Alice Brook, wife to Nicholas Brook, organ maker, with certain of the canons, and Mr. Johnſon, chancellor to Dr. Heath, their biſhop. The means whereby he was intrapped, was wrought by the aforeſaid Alice Brook, who procured her ſon Oliver, ſchool-fellow with the ſaid John Davis, to feign friendſhip with him, and under pretence to be inſtructed, to ſee his Engliſh books, and eſpecially to get ſomething of his writing againſt the ſix articles: which being had, was ſoon brought to the canons of the church and the chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced againſt his will to bind the poor boy's arms behind him; and ſo he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the 14th of Auguſt till the laſt of September. Then was he commanded to the Freeman's priſon, where one Richard Howborough, coming to perſuade him from burning, willed him to prove firſt with a candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it a good ſpace, yet (as the party himſelf aſſured me) he felt no burning thereof, neither would the other that held the candle believe him a great while, till he had looked, and ſaw no ſcorching of the candle at all appeared.

The child was removed from thence to an inner priſon, called Peephole, where the low bailiff, named Robert Yould, laid upon him a pair of bolts, ſo that he could not lift up his little legs, but leaning on a ſtaff, ſlipt them forward upon the ground: with theſe bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of ſtraw nor cloth to cover him, ſave only two ſheep-ſkins; neither durſt father or mother, or any of his friends come to him. Beſides this, and many great threats of the papiſts, there was a madman, put to him in the priſon, with a knife about him, wherewith in his frantic rage he often threatened to ſtab him.

After this came to him one Joyliff and Yewer, two canons, who had his writings againſt the ſix articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down for all your ſhaven crown," to ſee whether he would ſtand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after ſat Mr. Johnſon, the chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poor lad. Where firſt were brought in his accuſers, and ſworn, then were ſworn alſo twenty-four men which went on his queſt, and found him guilty, but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this he was ſent to the common gaol among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and ſo to be had ſtrait to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the deſolate and miſerable, when all other help is paſt, ſo provided for this innocent lad, that the purpoſe of all his hard-hearted enemies was diſappointed: for before the judges came, God took away Henry the Eighth out of this life. By reaſon whereof the force of the law was then ſtayed: however, he was nevertheleſs arraigned, being held up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven: who when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him preſently whipped. But Mr. Bourne declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in priſon, he had him home to his houſe, his wife anointed his legs herſelf with ointment, which then were ſtiff and numbed with irons, till at length when Mr. Bourne and his wife ſaw they could not win him to the belief of their ſacrament, they put him away, leſt he ſhould infect their ſon Anthony, as they thought, with hereſy.

Thus John Davis was mercifully preſerved, after he had ſuffered impriſonment from the 14th day of Auguſt till within ſeven days of Eaſter, who is yet alive, and a profitable miniſter this day in the church of England: bleſſed be the Lord.

Mrs. ROBERTS.

MISTRESS ROBERTS, a gentlewoman, living (as I underſtand) in the town of Hawkhurſt, in Suſſex, being earneſtly addicted to the truth of the goſpel, and no leſs conſtant in that which ſhe had learned therein, ſo kept herſelf during all the brunt of queen Mary's time, that ſhe never came to their popiſh ſervice, nor polluted her conſcience with their idolatrous maſs. There dwelt at the ſame time not far off a juſtice, called ſir John Gilford, who being as fervent on the contrary ſide to ſet forward the proceedings of queen Mary, thought to prove maſteries with this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And firſt ſending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle perſuaſions to conform herſelf to the prince's laws, and to come, as other chriſtian people did, to the church. Notwithſtanding, ſhe conſtantly perſiſting in the ſincerity of the truth, would by no perſuaſions be won to do therein againſt her conſcience; and ſo kept at home a certain time, till again Mr. Gilford thinking not to give her over ſo, ſent his officers and ſervants to her, by force and power to haul her out of her houſe to the church, and ſo did. Where, by the way, ſhe for grief of conſcience ſwooned, and ſo of neceſſity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time diſpenſed with. When ſhe had recovered her health again, he came in perſon to compel her to come to church whether ſhe would or no. But, (as the proverb goeth) who can prevent that which God would have done? For when Mr. Gilford had purpoſed as pleaſed him, the Lord ſo diſpoſed for this good woman, that as he was coming up ſtairs towards her chamber, ſuddenly his old diſeaſe the gout ſeized him, and ſo terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: and ſo he, that purpoſed to carry her to the church againſt her will, was forced himſelf to be carried home to his houſe on account of his pain, proteſting and ſwearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more, and no more he did.

Mrs. ANNE LACY.

MISTRESS ANNE LACY, widow, in Nottinghamſhire, was in great danger in queen Mary's time, inſomuch that the proceſs was out againſt her, and ſhe ready to have been apprehended, being ſo nearly purſued, that ſhe was driven to hide her bible and other books in a dunghill. Mr. Lacy, her brother, was then juſtice of peace; but to whom (as I have heard) ſhe was but very little beholden. Nevertheleſs, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth ſuch as ſtick to him; for in this mean time, as the proceſs came out againſt her, queen Mary died, and ſo ſhe eſcaped.

CROSSMAN'S Wife.

SHE lived at Tibnam Longrow, in Norfolk, and for not going to church, was ſought for at her houſe by the conſtable of the hundred, who when he came to her houſe, ſhe being at home with a child ſucking in her arms, ſlept into a corner on the one ſide of the chimney, and they ſeeking about the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and ſo by this means the Lord preſerved her.

The Congregation *at* Stoke, *in* Suffolk.

THERE were ſome likewiſe that avoided the violent rage of the adverſaries by means only of their number, and mutual according in godlineſs, wherein they did ſo hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain town in Suffolk, called Stoke. After the three ſharp years of queen Mary's perſecution being paſt, yet notwithſtanding the inhabitants of the town aforeſaid, eſpecially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popiſh manner, the ſacrament; who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have eſcaped impriſonment. But becauſe there were ſo many, the papiſts thought it beſt not to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them ſixteen days reſpite after Eaſter, wherein as many as would, ſhould receive the ſacrament; thoſe that would not, ſhould ſtand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chief were theſe:

Eve, an old woman of ſixty years of age; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Foxe; Agnes Cutting; Alice Spencer; Henry Canker; Joan Fouke; Agnes Spaulding; John Steyre, and his brother; John Foxe.

Theſe, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took counſel among themſelves what was beſt to be done, and at length concluded by promiſe one to another, that they ſhould not receive at all. Yet ſome of them afterwards, being perſuaded with fair promiſes that the communion ſhould be miniſtered unto them according to king Edward's book, went to the pariſh prieſt (whoſe name was Cotes), and aſked him after which ſort he would adminiſter the ſacrament. He anſwered to ſuch as he favoured, that he would give it after the right ſort; the reſt ſhould have it after the popiſh manner.

To be ſhort, none did communicate ſo, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of which the one gave his wife leave to do as ſhe thought beſt. The other went about with threats to compel his wife, ſaying, that otherwiſe he would divorce himſelf from her. As for the reſt, they withdrew themſelves from church, reſorting to their wonted company, only Foxe's wife tarried ſtill at home, in heavineſs, whoſe huſband practiſed with the curate in the mean time, that the next day after he ſhould give her the ſacrament, which was the ſeventeenth day after Eaſter. But the very ſame day, unknowing to her huſband, ſhe went ſecretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her huſband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithſtanding to be of good cheer, and ſaid, that they would make their moſt earneſt prayers to God both for her and her huſband; and indeed when they had ſo done, the matter took very good ſucceſs. For the next day after, Goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own raſhneſs, praying them that they would forgive him, promiſing ever after to be more ſtrong in faith; to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the biſhop of Norwich ſent forth certain of his officers or apparators thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they ſhould appear before the commiſſary out of hand, to render account of their abſence. But the women having ſecret knowledge of this before, kept themſelves out of the way on purpoſe to avoid the ſummons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the church on the day appointed, the commiſſary did firſt ſuſpend them, according to the biſhop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an officer of the town was ſet to take ſome of them, they convening themſelves privily out of the town, eſcaped all danger.

The Congregation *in* London.

NO leſs wonderful was the preſervation of the congregation in London, which from the firſt beginning of queen Mary to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithſtanding whatſoever the malice, device, ſearching, and inquiſition of men, or ſtrictneſs of laws could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accuſtomed goodneſs, ever working with his people. Of this bountiful goodneſs of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which I now ſpeak of. How often, and in what great danger did he deliver them!

Firſt, In Black-friars, when they ſhould have reſorted to ſir Thomas Carden's houſe, private watch was laid for them, but yet through God's providence the miſchief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again; they narrowly eſcaped about Aldgate, where ſpies were laid for them: and had not Thomas Simſon, the deacon, eſpied them, and bid them diſperſe themſelves away, they had been taken. For within two hours, the conſtables coming to the houſe after they were gone, demanded of the wife what company had been there. To whom ſhe, to excuſe the matter, made anſwer again, ſaying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfaſt as they went a maying.

Another time alſo about the Great Conduit, they paſſing there through a very narrow alley, into a clothworker's loft, were eſpied, and the ſheriffs ſent for: but before they came, they having privy knowledge thereof, immediately ſhifted away out of the alley, John Avales ſtanding alone in the mercers chapel, ſtaring at them.

Another like eſcape they made in a ſhip at Billingſgate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open ſight of the people they were aſſembled together, and yet through God's mighty power eſcaped.

Betwixt Ratcliff and Redriff, in a ſhip called Jeſus ſhip, twice or thrice they aſſembled, having there cloſely, after their accuſtomed manner, both ſermon, prayer, and communion, and yet through the protection of the Lord they returned, although not uneſpied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's houſe in Pudding-lane, ſo near were they to perils and dangers, that John Avales coming into the houſe where they were, talked with the man of the houſe, and after he had aſked a queſtion or two, departed; God ſo working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to take them.

But they never eſcaped more hardly, than once in Thames-ſtreet in the night-time, where the houſe being beſet with enemies, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that preſent in the ſame company, and ſeeing no other way to avoid, pluckt off his ſlops and ſwam to the next boat, and ſo rowed the company over, uſing his ſhoes inſtead of oars; and ſo the jeopardy was diſpatched.

What ſhould I ſpeak of the extreme danger which that goodly company was in at the taking of Mr. Rough, their miniſter, and Cutbert Simſon, their deacon, had not God's providence given knowledge before to Mr. Rough in his ſleep, that Cutbert Simſon ſhould leave behind him at home the book of all their names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were ſometimes forty, ſometimes an hundred, ſometimes two hundred, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs. About the latter time of queen Mary it greatly increaſed. From the beginning, which was about the firſt entry of queen Mary's reign, they had divers miniſters; firſt, Mr. Scamier, then Tho. Foule, after him Mr. Rough, then Mr. Auguſtine Bernher, and laſtly, Mr. Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which Mr. Bentham (being now biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield), God's mighty providence moſt notably is to be conſidered. The ſtory is thus:

On a time when ſeven martyrs were burnt in Smithfield, a proclamation was iſſued out, ſtrictly forbidding all perſons whatſoever either to ſalute, or pray for, the priſoners as they came to the ſtake: the godly people hearing this, great numbers of them aſſembled together, reſolving to comfort and encourage them by their prayers: and when they came towards the ſtake, well guarded by officers armed with bills and glieves as uſual, the whole congregation ran in upon them, kiſſing and embracing them, (not minding the officers and their weapons) and carried them to the ſtake, and might as well have carried them off, for aught the officers could do to prevent it.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation was read with a loud voice to the people in the names of the king and queen, That no man ſhould pray for them, or once ſpeak a word unto them. Mr. Bentham, then miniſter of the congregation, ſeeing the fire ſet to the martyrs, turned his eyes to his people and ſaid, We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot chuſe but ſay, God ſtrengthen them: and then he boldly ſaid, Almighty God, for Chriſt's ſake ſtrengthen them. With that all the people with one conſent, and one voice, ſaid, Amen, Amen. The noiſe whereof was ſo great, that the officers could not tell what to ſay, or whom to accuſe. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful aſſembling together at London in the time of queen Mary.

Another time, as Mr. Bentham was going through St. Catherine's, intending to take a walk in the air, he was forced by two or three men to go along with them. Mr. Bentham being amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the matter, required what their purpoſe was, or whither they would have him go. They anſwered, that by the occaſion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's inqueſt was called and charged to ſit upon him, of which inqueſt he muſt of neceſſity be one, &c. He endeavoured to excuſe himſelf alledging that he had no ſkill, and leſs experience in ſuch matters; and if it would pleaſe them to let him go, they would meet with another more fit for their purpoſe. But when with this they would not be ſatisfied, he further urged, that he was a ſcholar in the univerſity of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inqueſt. The coroner demanded the ſight of his privilege. He ſaid, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then ſaid the coroner, The queen muſt be ſerved without delay; and ſo conſtrained him to be at the hearing of the matter. Then a book was offered him to ſwear upon; upon his opening it, he found it to be a popiſh primmer, and refuſed to ſwear thereon, and declared moreover what ſuperſtition in the book was contained. What, ſaid the coroner, I think we ſhall have an heretic among us. And upon that, after much reaſoning, he was committed to the cuſtody of an officer till further examination: by occaſion whereof he hardly could have eſcaped, had not the Lord helped where man was not able. What followed? As they were thus contending about matters of hereſy, ſuddenly cometh the coroner of the admiralty, diſannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inqueſt, for that it was (as he ſaid) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And ſo the firſt coroner was diſcharged and diſplaced; by reaſon whereof Mr. Bentham eſcaped their hands.

EDWARD BENNET.

ABOUT the ſecond year of queen Mary, Edward Bennet, then dwelling at Queenhithe, was deſired by Mr. Tingle, then priſoner in Newgate, to bring him a New Teſtament. He procured one of Mr. Coverdale's tranſlation, wrapt it in a handkerchief, ſaying to George the keeper, who aſked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. Let me ſee it, ſaid he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to ſir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did ſo, ſaying that book was not lawful, and ſo committed him to Wood-ſtreet Compter, where he continued twenty-five weeks.

Dr. Story coming to the priſon to examine other priſoners, this Bennet looking out at the grate, ſpake to him, deſiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out, for he had long lain in priſon. To whom Dr. Story anſwered, Waſt thou not before me in Chriſt's church? Yes forſooth, ſaid Bennet. Ah, ſaid Story, thou doſt not believe in the ſacrament of the altar? Marry, I will help thee out; come, ſaid he to the keeper, turn him out. I will help him; and ſo took Bennet with him, and brought him to Cluny, in Paternoſter-row. and bade him bring him to the Coal-houſe, and there he was in the ſtocks a week.

Then the biſhop ſent for him to talk with him, and firſt aſked him, if he were confeſſed? No, ſaid Bennet. He aſked him if he would be confeſſed? No, ſaid he. Then he aſked him if the prieſt could take away his ſins. No, ſaid Bennet, I do not ſo believe.

Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, aſking him if he did not believe that whatſoever the prieſt bound here in earth, ſhould be bound in heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth in earth ſhould be looſed in heaven. No, ſaid Bennet; but I believe that the miniſter of God, preaching God's word truly, and adminiſtering the ſacraments according to the ſame, whatſoever he bindeth on earth, ſhould be bound in heaven, and whatſoever he looſeth, &c. Then the biſhop putting him aſide, ſaid he ſhould go to Fulham and be whipped.

Mr. Buſwell, a prieſt, then came to him lying in the Coal-houſe, in the ſtocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, ſaying, that he had recanted. My faith, ſaid the other, lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me. The next Saturday, Bennet with five others were called for to come to maſs in the chapel. The maſs being done, and they coming out, five of them went to priſon, and were afterwards burned. Bennet being behind, and coming toward the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, aſked if there were no priſoners there. No, ſaid they. Bennet ſtanding in open ſight before him, with other ſerving men who were there by reaſon that Bonner made many prieſts that day, when the gates were opened, went out amongſt them and ſo eſcaped.

Again, in the laſt year of queen Mary, the ſame Bennet being taken again with the twenty-four beyond Iſlington, and brought to ſir Roger Cholmley's, the people coming very thick, did cut off ſome of them, to the number of eight, which were behind, among whom was Bennet. Then he knocked at the gate to come in, the porter ſaid, that he was none of the company. He ſaid, Yes, and knocked again. Then there ſtood by one of the congregation, named Johnſon, who ſaid, Edward, thou haſt done well, do not tempt God: go thy way. And ſo he taking the warning as ſent of God, with a quiet conſcience eſchewed burning.

JEFFERY HURST, *Brother-in-law to* GEORGE MARSH, Martyr.

IN the town of Shakerley, in Lancaſhire, dwelt one Jeffery Hurſt, the ſon of an honeſt yeoman, who had beſides him eleven children, the ſaid Jeffery being the firſt and eldeſt: and their father being willing to bring them up, ſo that they ſhould be able another day to help themſelves, he did bind this Jeffery apprentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and ſerved out the time of ſeven years, which being expired he gave himſelf at times to learn of his other brethren which went to ſchool; and as he was very willing to the ſame, ſo God ſent him knowledge; wherein he perſevered and went forwards in ſuch ſort, that he could write and read indifferently, and in longer continuance came by more knowledge; and ſo having the Bible and divers other books in his houſe, did come to knowledge in the ſcripture. After this he took to wife the ſiſter of Mr. George Marſh, of whoſe martyrdom mention is made before, and being very familiar with him, did greatly amend his knowledge. Now when queen Mary was entered the firſt year of her reign, he kept himſelf away from their doings, and came not to the church: whereupon he was laid in wait for and called heretic, and Lollard, and ſo for fear of further danger he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and fly into Yorkſhire, and there being not known, did lead his life, returning ſometimes by night to comfort his wife, and bringing with him ſome preacher or other, who uſed to preach unto them ſo long as the time would ſerve, and ſo departed by night again. The names of the preachers were, Mr. Reneſes, Mr. Beſt, Mr. Brodbanke, Mr. Ruſſel, and every time they came thither they were about twenty or twenty-four ſometimes, but ſixteen at leaſt, who had there alſo a communion. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the laſt year of the reign of queen Mary. Then it chanced that the ſaid Jeffery Hurſt, after the death of his father, came home and kept cloſe for ſeven or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morleſs, a certain juſtice of the peace, and of the quorum, named Thomas Lelond, who hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's houſe where he then dwelt, to rifle the houſe for books, and to ſearch for him alſo, and ſo he did. Jeffery and his company having knowledge of their coming, took the books which were in the houſe, as the Bible, the communion book, and the New Teſtament of Tindal's tranſlation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or vat, conveying alſo the ſaid Jeffery under the ſame, with a great deal of ſtraw underneath him; for as it chanced they had the more time, becauſe when the juſtice came almoſt to the door, he ſtayed and would not enter the houſe till he had ſent for Hurſt's mother's landlady, Mrs. Shakerley; and then with her conſent intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery by ſuch as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Teſtament of Tindal's tranſlation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the book of Eccleſiaſticus, to try what they would ſay unto them.

This done, Mrs. Shakerley came. Unto whom the juſtice immediately declared the cauſe of his coming, and how he was ſorry to attempt any ſuch thing againſt any of her tenants for her ſake, but notwithſtanding he muſt needs execute his office. And again you muſt (ſaid he) note this, that a ſcabbed ſheep is able to infect a great number; and eſpecially having, as he hath, ſo many brethren and ſiſters, he is able to marr them all, if he be not looked to in time. And thus concluding, Mr. Lelond entered into the houſe, and being come in, ſet himſelf in a chair in the middle of the houſe, and ſending ſir Ralph Parkinſon, his prieſt, and one of his men, and one of Mrs. Shakerley's men, about the houſe, to ſearch and rifle the cheſts (who did ſo), in the mean time he talked with Hurſt's mother, almoſt ſixty years of age; and chiding with her that ſhe would ſuffer her ſon ſo to order and behave himſelf like an heretic, ſaid, Thou old fool, I know myſelf that this new learning ſhall come again; but for how long? even for three or four months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old fool, in Lancaſter dungeon for this, and well worthy.

Now as concerning the ſearchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as grammar, and ſuch like. Theſe be not what we look for (ſaid they), we muſt ſee farther, and ſo looked into Hurſt's chamber, where they found the aforeſaid books. Then ſir Ralph taking up the Teſtament, looked on it, and ſmiled. His maſter ſeeing that, ſaid, Now, ſir Ralph, what have we here? Forſooth, ſaith he, a Teſtament of Tindal's tranſlation, plain hereſy, and none worſe than it. Then ſaid he, all their goods are loſt to the queen, and their bodies to priſon, and was wonderfully haſty; notwithſtanding, through the means of Mrs. Shakerley, he was content to ſtay a little.

Then the prieſt looked on the other book. What ſay you to that, ſir Ralph? is that as bad as the other? No, ſaid he, but it is not good that they ſhould have ſuch Engliſh books to look on, for this and ſuch others may do much harm. Then he aſked his mother where her eldeſt ſon was, and her daughter Alice. She anſwered ſhe could not tell; they had not been with her a long time. And he ſwore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaſter dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithſtanding too. To be ſhort, for fear, he had his brother J. Hurſt and his mother bound in an hundred pounds to bring the parties before him in fourteen days time, and ſo he departed, and the prieſt put both the books in his boſom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurſt went after them, deſiring that he might have the book which the prieſt found no fault with; but he ſaid, they ſhould anſwer to them both, and which ſoever was the better, neither was good.

As this paſſed on, when the time was come that Jeffery Hurſt and his ſiſter ſhould be examined, the juſtice ſent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a maſs to begin withal, aſking Jeffery Hurſt if he would firſt go and ſee his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom Jeffery anſwered and ſaid, Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am aſſured in going to your maſs I ſhall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excuſed.

Well, well, ſaid he, I perceive I ſhall find you an heretic, by God; but I will go to maſs, and I will not loſe it for all your prattling. Then he went into his chapel, and when maſs was done he ſent for them, and cauſed his prieſt to read a ſcroll unto them concerning the ſeven ſacraments; and ever as he ſpake of the body and blood of Chriſt, he put off his cap, and ſaid, Lo, you may ſee, you will deny theſe things, and care not for your prince; but you ſhall feel it before I have done with you, and all the faculty of you, with other talk more between them, I know not what; but in the end they were licenſed to depart under ſureties to appear again before him within three weeks, and then to go to Lancaſter. However, in the mean time it ſo pleaſed God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noiſed that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after the ſaid Jeffery Hurſt had his two books ſent home, and nothing was ſaid unto him.

It followed after this that God's word began to take place, and the queen's viſitors came down into that country, who choſe four men in the pariſh, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurſt, Henry Brown, George Eccerſley, which four were proteſtants, to ſee the queen's proceedings take place; who according to their power did ſo, notwithſtanding it little prevailed; and therefore the ſaid Jeffery being ſorely grieved with the office, fell ſick, in which ſickneſs it pleaſed God to call him, making a very godly end, God have the praiſe for it.

Now to return to the aforeſaid Thomas Lelond again, he continued ſtill in his office, did very ſeldom come to the church, but ſaid he was aged, and might not labour, and there kept with him ſir Ralph Parkinſon, his prieſt, who could (as it was ſaid) adminiſter the communion unto the people, and ſing maſs unto his maſter: yes, and (as the ſame reported) did a prettier feat than all that, for he begat two children by a ſervant in his houſe, his maſter knowing it, and ſaying nothing, for that he would not loſe his good maſs-prieſt.

Furthermore, this was noted in the ſame juſtice Lelond's behaviour at church time, he had a little dog which he would play with all ſervice time, and the ſame dog had a collar full of bells, ſo that the noiſe of them moleſted and troubled others as well as himſelf, from hearing the ſervice. Alſo it was obſerved in the ſame juſtice, that as he ſat in his chapel at ſervice time, his manner was on a willow bark to knit knots, for that, he could not be ſuffered to have his beads, and to put the ſame upon a ſtring alſo. Witneſs hereof Edward Hurſt, with others.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Brown, one of the four choſen men before-mentioned, this is alſo to be noted, that the ſaid Henry Brown, dwelling in the town of Pinnington, in the ſame pariſh, 1564, had a little boy, who as he was playing in the town, one Glave's wife gave unto the boy a pair of beads made of wood for him to play withal. the little boy, being glad thereof to have ſuch a fine thing, went home and ſhewed them to his father. His father ſeeing the beads took them and burnt them, and when he had ſo done, went forth and aſked who had given unto his little boy that pair of beads.

That I did, ſaid Glave's wife.

Well, ſaid he, I have burnt them.

Haſt thou ſo? ſaid ſhe, and thruſt him from her. They ſhall be the deareſt beads that ever thou ſaweſt, and immediately went and complained unto the juſtice, how Brown had burned her beads.

At this the juſtice was very angry, and directed his letter unto the conſtables of the ſaid town, by his own hand ſubſcribed; the title of which ſuperſcription on the backſide was this, "To the conſtables of Pinnington give this."

This done, the conſtables according to their charge brought him before the juſtice at the time appointed; and when the juſtice came to talk with him, he was in ſuch a heat, that he called him thief, and ſaid that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beads, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purſe; wherefore (ſaid he) I will lay thee in Lancaſter dungeon for this trick.

Whilſt they were thus talking, there came all his ſervants about them from their work, ſaying, Is this maſter doctor Brown, that will burn beads? I pray you, ſir, let us have him here and preach: I will give you a quarter's wages, ſaith one; and I will give you money, ſaith another, and he ſhall be maſter doctor, with much deriſion and ſcoffing at this poor man.

He hearing this, ſpake again boldly, and ſaid, Did you ſend for me to make a laughing-ſtock of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and ſee ſuch papiſtry aboliſhed yourſelf, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church as you ought to do, and therefore with more things than I have to charge you withal, I ſay you do not well. When all this miſdemeanour by the juſtice laid to his charge would not prevail, and alſo a witneſs came in of the papiſt who knew the beads, and teſtified that they were plain, and coſt but a half-penny, he then went into his parlour in a paſſion, and one maſter Exberſton, a papiſt, with him; which Exberſton turned back, and ſaid, Is it you, Henry Brown, that maketh this ſtir? You are one of them that pulled down croſſes in the church, and pulled down the rood-ſollor, and all the ſaints; you were beſt now to go paint a black devil, and ſet him up and worſhip him, for that will ſerve well for your religion. And thus, under ſuretyſhip, he departed till July following, and then he ſaid he ſhould go to Lancaſter priſon, and ſo he came away.

The time drew on that he ſhould appear, but God ſtayed the matter, and in July as the aforeſaid Thomas Lelond ſat in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down ſuddenly dead, not much moving any joint: and thus was his end; from ſuch God defend us.

WILLIAM WOOD, *of* Kent.

WILLIAM WOOD, baker, dwelling in the county of Kent, was examined before Dr. Kenall, chancellor of the dioceſe of Rocheſter, Dr. Chedſey, the mayor of Rocheſter, and Mr. Robinſon, the ſcribe, on the 19th day of October, and in the ſecond year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas church in Rocheſter.

Scribe. William Wood, you are preſented becauſe you will not come to the church, nor receive the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar. How ſay you? Have you received it, or have you not?

Wood. I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you miniſter it.

Kenall. Thou heretic, what is the cauſe that thou haſt not received the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar? And at this word they all put off their caps, and made low obeiſance.

Wood. There are three cauſes that make my conſcience afraid that I dare not receive it. The firſt, Chriſt did deliver it to his twelve apoſtles and ſaid, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c. and ye eat and drink up alone. The ſecond cauſe is; you hold it to be worſhipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou ſhalt not bow down nor worſhip. The third cauſe is; you adminiſter it in a ſtrange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I would rather have five words with underſtanding, than ten thouſand with tongues; by reaſon whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Chriſt.

Kenall. Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than theſe, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Wilt thou deny the ſcriptures?

Wood. I will not deny the holy ſcriptures, God forbid, but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul ſaith, "God calleth thoſe things that are not, as though they were:" and Chriſt ſaith, "I am a vine: I am a door." St. Paul ſaith, "The rock is Chriſt:" All which are figurative ſpeeches, wherein one thing is ſpoken, and another thing is underſtood.

Robinſon. You make a very long talk of this matter: learn, Wood, learn.

Kenall. Nay, theſe heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himſelf: thou fool, art thou wiſer than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?

Wood. And pleaſe you, Mr. Chancellor, I think you would be loth to have ſuch glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me. But the ſervant is not greater than his maſter. And where you do mock me, and ſay that I am wiſer than the queen and her council, St. Paul ſaith, "The wiſdom of the wiſe of this world is fooliſhneſs before God, and he that will be wiſe in this world, ſhall be accounted but a fool."

Kenall. Doſt not thou believe that after theſe words ſpoken by a prieſt, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, "this is my body;" there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt, as he was born of the virgin Mary, really and ſubſtantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the croſs?

Wood. I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to aſk you one queſtion, and I will anſwer you after.

Kenall. It is ſome wiſe queſtion, I warrant you.

Wood. God ſpake to the prophet Ezekiel, ſaying, "Thou ſon of man, take a razor, and ſhave off the hair of thy head, and take one part and caſt it into the air, take the ſecond part and put it into thy coat lap; and take the third part, and caſt it into the fire: and this is Jeruſalem." I pray you, Mr. Chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did caſt into the fire, or was it Jeruſalem?

Kenall. It did ſignify Jeruſalem.

Wood. Even ſo this word of Chriſt, "This is my body," is not to be underſtood, that Chriſt's carnal, natural and real body is in the ſame, in quantity and quality as it was born of the virgin Mary, and as he was crucified on the croſs, is preſent or incloſed in the ſacrament; but it doth ſignify Chriſt's body, as St. Paul ſaith, "So often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, you ſhall ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come." What ſhould the apoſtle mean by this word, "Till he come," if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the ſame quantity and quality as he was born of the virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the croſs, as you ſay? But St. Paul ſaith, "You ſhall ſhew the Lord's death till he come." This doth argue, that he is not here as you would have us to believe.

Chedſey. I will prove that Chriſt is here preſent under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall. Yes he is here preſent in quantity and quality.

Chedſey. He is here preſent under a form, and not in quantity and quality.

Yes, ſaid Kenall.

No, ſaid Chedſey.

I will prove the contrary, ſaid Chedſey.

And theſe two doctors were ſo earneſt in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending ſo fiercely one with the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to ſpit in another's face, ſo that in great fury and rage the two doctors roſe up from the judgment ſeat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood. Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Chriſt is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, preſent in the ſacrament, and yet they cannot tell themſelves, nor agree within themſelves how he is there.

At theſe words the people made a great ſhout, and the mayor ſtood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep ſilence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high prieſts, by the contention that was between the phariſees and ſadduces, did even ſo deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papiſts, by means of the contention of theſe two doctors. Bleſſed be the name of the Lord, who hath promiſed to lay no more upon his people than he will enable them to bear, and in the midſt of temptation can make a way for them (how, and when it pleaſeth him) to eſcape out of all dangers.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect ſaints and children, a remarkable inſtance of which may be ſeen in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon, in his own words as followeth.

The Hiſtory of SIMON GRINÆUS, *collected out of* Melancthon's *Commentaries upon the tenth Chapter of* Daniel.

WHEN I was (ſaith he) at the aſſembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1539, by chance Simon Grinæus came thither unto me from the univerſity of Heidelberg, where he heard Faber, the biſhop of Vienna, in a ſermon, defend and maintain many deteſtable errors. When the ſermon was done, he followed Faber out of the church, and ſaluted him reverently, telling him that he had ſomething to ſay to him: the biſhop was willing to talk with him.

Then Grinæus ſaid unto him, that he was very ſorry that a man of ſuch learning and authority ſhould openly maintain ſuch errors as were both contumelious againſt God, and alſo might be refuted by the manifeſt teſtimonies of the ſcriptures. Ireneus writeth, (ſaith he) that Polycarpus was wont to ſtop his ears whenſoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarpus have heard you argue and reaſon what is it that the mouſe eateth, when he gnaweth the conſecrated hoſt? Who would not bewail ſuch ignorance and blindneſs of the church? With this the biſhop broke off his talk, and aſked his name. This man, diſſembling nothing, gently told him that his name was Grinæus.

This biſhop, as many well know, was alſo timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grinæus, eſpecially in ſuch a matter as this was, fained as though he had been ſent for by the king, and that he had no leiſure now to reaſon upon this matter. He pretended that he was very deſirous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grinæus, intreating him, that, both for his own private cauſe, and alſo for the commonwealth, he would come again the next day unto him, and ſo ſhewed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he ſhould come. Grinæus, thinking that he had ſpoken unfeignedly, promiſed ſo to do.

When he was departed from the biſhop, he immediately came to us, and was ſcarcely ſat at the table (for it was ſupper-time) reciting part of the talk he had with the biſhop unto me, and others there preſent, when, ſitting with my company, I was ſuddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who ſhewing a ſingular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, ſpake unto me, and ſaid, that the ſerjeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being ſent by the king's command, to carry Grinæus to priſon, whom the biſhop had accuſed to the king; commanding that Grinæus ſhould immediately depart out of the town; and exhorting me, that we ſhould in no caſe delay the time: and ſo bidding me farewel, departed. But what old man this was, I neither knew then, nor ever after could underſtand. I returning again to my company, bade them ariſe, and told them what the old man had ſaid unto me.

By and by, we taking Grinæus in the midſt of us, carried him through the ſtreet to the river Rhene; and after we had ſtayed upon the hither bank awhile, until Grinæus with his companion were carried over in a ſmall boat, returning again to our lodging, we underſtood that the ſerjeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the houſe. Now in what danger Grinæus would have been, if he had been carried to priſon by this cruelty of the biſhop, every man eaſily may conjecture: wherefore we judged that that moſt cruel intent and purpoſe of his was diſappointed by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot ſay what old man it was that gave me that warning, even ſo likewiſe the ſerjeants made ſuch quick ſpeed, that, except Grinæus had been covered and defended by angels, through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have eſcaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there are many good men yet alive who know the ſame, and alſo were preſent when this circumſtance happened. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, who hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfil and do the office of our vocation.

With ſuch like examples of God's mighty and merciful cuſtody, the church of Chriſt in all ages abounds, as by manifold experience appears, as well among the Germans, as in other places and ages: but in no place more, nor at any time more plentiful, than in the perſecuting time of queen Mary, in this realm of England, as partly hath been already ſhewn, and will hereunto be added.

The Lady Catherine, *Ducheſs of* Suffolk.

STEPHEN GARDINER, biſhop of Wincheſter, furniſhing the lady Catherine, baroneſs of Willoughby and Ereſby, and ducheſs dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, becauſe he knew he had deſerved no better of her, deviſed, in the holy time of the firſt Lent in queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, firſt, by touching her in the perſon of her huſband, Richard Berty, eſquire, for whom he ſent an attachment (having the great ſeal at his devotion) to the ſheriff of Lincolnſhire, with a ſpecial letter, commanding moſt ſtrictly the ſame ſheriff to attach the ſaid Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London to his Lordſhip. Mr. Berty being clear in conſcience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cauſe of this ſtrange proceſs, unleſs it were ſome quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the proceſs pretended.

The ſheriff, notwithſtanding the commandment, adventured only to take a bond of Mr. Berty, with two ſureties, in a thouſand pounds, for his appearance before the biſhop on Good-Friday following; at which day Mr. Berty appeared, the biſhop then being at his houſe by St. Mary Overy's. Of whoſe preſence when the biſhop underſtood by a gentleman of his chamber, he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber in great rage, where he found a crowd of ſuitors, ſaying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Mr. Berty, how he, being a ſubject, durſt ſo arrogantly ſet at light two former proceſſes of the queen.

Mr. Berty anſwered, that notwithſtanding my lord's words might ſeem to the reſt ſomewhat ſharp towards him, yet he received great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremely hard to be attached, having uſed no obſtinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of thoſe words, that my lord meant not otherwiſe but to have uſed ſome ordinary proceſs: none, however, came to his hands.

Yea, marry, ſaid the biſhop, I have ſent you two ſubpœnas to appear immediately, and I am ſure you received them, for I committed the truſt of them to no worſe a man than Mr. Solicitor; and I ſhall make you an example to all Lincolnſhire for your obſtinacy.

Mr. Berty denying the receipt of any ſubpœna, humbly prayed his lordſhip to ſuſpend his diſpleaſure and the puniſhment till he had good trial thereof, and then, if it pleaſe him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, ſaid the biſhop, I have appointed myſelf this day (according to the holineſs of the ſame for devotion, and I will not further trouble myſelf with you; but I injoin you in a thouſand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again to-morrow at ſeven of the clock. Mr. Berty came at the time appointed, at which time the biſhop had with him Mr. Serjeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain queſtions of the ſaid Mr. Berty, becauſe Mr. Serjeant was towards the lord Wriothſley, late earl of Southampton, and chancellor of England, with whom the ſaid Mr. Berty was brought up. Mr. Serjeant gave a very friendly account of Mr. Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their converſation together. Whereupon the biſhop cauſed Mr. Berty to be brought in, and firſt making a falſe train (as God would, without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarrel of religion, he firſt aſſaulted him in this manner.

Biſhop of Wincheſter. The queen's pleaſure is, that you ſhall make preſent payment of 4000 pounds, due to her father by duke Charles, late huſband to the ducheſs your wife, whoſe executor ſhe was.

Berty. Pleaſeth it your lordſhip, that debt is inſtalled, and is, according to that inſtalment, truly anſwered.

Biſhop. Tuſh, the queen will not be bound to inſtalments in the time of Kett's government: for ſo I eſteem the late government.

Berty. The inſtalment was appointed by king Henry the Eighth: beſides, the ſame was, by ſpecial commiſſioners, confirmed in king Edward's time; and the lord treaſurer being an executor alſo to the duke Charles, ſolely and wholly, took upon him, before the ſaid commiſſioners, to diſcharge the ſame.

Biſhop. If it be true that you ſay, I will ſhew you favour. But of another thing, Mr. Berty, I will admoniſh you, as meaning you well. I hear of your evil religion, yet I can hardly think evil of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godly a catholic as any within this land; if yourſelf brought up with a maſter, whoſe education, if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Beſides, partly I know you myſelf, and underſtand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you; but I pray you, if I may aſk the queſtion of my lady your wife, is ſhe now as ready to ſet up the maſs, as ſhe was lately to pull it down, when ſhe cauſed, in her progreſs, a dog to be carried in a rochet, and called by my name? or doth ſhe think her lambs now ſafe enough, who ſaid to me, when I vailed my bonnet to her out of my chamber window in the Tower, That it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was ſhut up? Another time, my lord, her huſband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, deſired every lady to chuſe him whom ſhe loved beſt, and ſo place themſelves: my lady, your wife, taking me by the hand, for my lord would not have her to take himſelf, ſaid, That, foraſmuch as ſhe could not ſit down with my lord, whom ſhe loved beſt, ſhe had choſen him whom ſhe loved worſt.

Of the device of the dog, quoth Mr. Berty, ſhe was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your lordſhip, yet if it would pleaſe you, without offence, to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will clear the other. As touching ſetting up of maſs, which ſhe learned, not only by ſtrong perſuaſions of divers excellent learned men, but by univerſal conſent and order, theſe ſix years paſt, inwardly to abhor, if ſhe ſhould outwardly allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew herſelf a falſe chriſtian, and to her prince a maſquing ſubject. You know, my lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thouſand transformed temporiſers. To force a confeſſion of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation where ſalvation is pretended.

Yea, marry, quoth the biſhop, that deliberation would do well if ſhe were required to come from an old religion to a new: but now ſhe is to return from a new to an ancient religion; wherein, when ſhe made me her goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as any.

For that, my lord, (ſaid Mr. Berty) not long ſince ſhe anſwered a friend of her's, uſing your lordſhip's ſpeech, That religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſuaſion, and not by commandment.

I pray you, (quoth the biſhop) think you it poſſible to perſuade her?

Yea verily (ſaid Mr. Berty) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable enough.

The biſhop, in reply to this, ſaid, It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the queen and my lady your wife, and one of them gone from the faith.

Mr. Berty anſwered, that he truſted they ſhould find no fruits of infidelity in her.

The biſhop then perſuaded Mr. Berty to labour earneſtly for the reformation of her opinion, and offering large friendſhip, releaſed him of his bond from further appearance.

The ducheſs and her huſband, from the daily accounts which they received from their friends, underſtanding that the biſhop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, deviſed how they might paſs the ſeas by the queen's licence. Mr. Berty had a ready means; for there remained great ſums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whoſe executors the ducheſs was) beyond the ſeas, the emperor himſelf being one of thoſe debtors.

Mr. Berty communicated this his purpoſed ſuit for licence to paſs the ſeas, and the cauſe, to the biſhop, adding, that he took this to be the moſt proper time to deal with the emperor, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his ſon.

I like your device well, ſaid the biſhop, but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father.

Nay, ſaid Mr. Berty, under your lordſhip's correction, and pardon for ſo liberal ſpeech, I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſs convenient; for when the marriage is conſummated, the emperor hath his deſire, but till then he will refuſe nothing to win credit with us.

By St. Mary, ſaid the biſhop, ſmiling, you gueſs ſhrewdly. Well, proceed in your ſuit to the queen, and it ſhall not lack my helping hand.

Mr. Berty found ſo good ſucceſs, that he obtained the queen's licence, not only to paſs the ſeas, but to paſs and repaſs them as often as he ſhould think proper, till he had finiſhed his buſineſs beyond the ſeas. He accordingly embarked at Dover, about the beginning of June, in the firſt year of her reign, leaving the ducheſs behind, who, by agreement with her huſband, followed, taking barge at Lion-key, very early in the morning of the firſt of January enſuing, not without ſome danger.

None of the perſons who accompanied her, except Mr. Robert Cranwell, an old gentleman, whom Mr. Berty had provided for that purpoſe, were made privy to her departure till the inſtant. She took her daughter with her, an infant of one year old, and the meaneſt of her ſervants, for ſhe imagined the beſt would not adventure that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, who was a rider of horſes, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool, a kitchen-maid, a gentlewoman, and a laundreſs.

As ſhe departed her houſe called the Barbican, between four and five o'clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinſon, a herald, keeper of her houſe, hearing a noiſe, roſe and came out with a torch in his hand, as ſhe was going out of the gate; wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leave a mail with neceſſaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk, in the ſame gate-houſe, commanding all her ſervants to haſten forward to Lion-key: and taking with her only the two women and her child, as ſoon as ſhe was clear of her own houſe, perceiving the herald to follow, ſhe ſtept into the Charter-houſe juſt by. The herald coming out of the ducheſs's houſe, and ſeeing nobody ſtirring, nor aſſured (though by the mail ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in; and while he was ſearching the parcels left in the mail, the ducheſs iſſued into the ſtreets, and proceeded on her journey, ſhe knowing the place only by name where ſhe ſhould take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any that was with her. Likewiſe her ſervants having divided themſelves, none but one knew the way to the ſaid Lion-key.

So ſhe appeared like a mean merchant's wife, and the reſt like mean ſervants, walking in the ſtreets unknown, ſhe took the way that leads to Finſbury field, and the others walked the city ſtreets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than diſcretion, they met all ſuddenly together a little within Moregate, from whence they paſſed directly to Lion-key, and there took barge in a morning ſo miſty, that the ſteer's-man was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So ſoon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure, and ſome of them came forthwith to her houſe to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, beſides further order deviſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend and ſtay her.

The fame of her departure reached Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Goſling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the ſaid Cranwell brought the ducheſs, naming her Mrs. White, the daughter of Mr. Goſling, for ſuch a daughter he had who never was in that country. She there repoſed herſelf, and made new garments for her daughter, having loſt her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, (where ſhe was again almoſt betrayed) yet notwithſtanding by God's good working ſhe eſcaped that hazard; at length, as the tide and wind ſerved, they went aboard, and carried twice into the ſeas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and at the laſt recoil, certain perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhip; yet having examined one of her company that was on ſhore for freſh proviſion, and finding by the ſimplicity of his tale only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be on ſhip-board, he ceaſed to ſearch any further.

To be ſhort, ſo ſoon as the ducheſs had landed in Brabant, ſhe and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hooks; and ſo ſhe and her huſband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town called Santon, took a houſe there, until they might further deviſe of ſome ſure place where to ſettle themſelves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Weſell, under the ſaid Duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans-towns, privileged with the company of the Steel-yard, in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their miniſter one Francis Peruſell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received ſome courteſy in England at the ducheſs's hands. Mr. Berty being yet at Santon, practiſed with him to obtain a protection from the magiſtrates for his, and his wife's abode at Weſell; which was the ſooner procured, becauſe the ſtate of the ducheſs was not diſcovered, but only to the chief magiſtrate, earneſtly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, while this protection was in ſeeking.

In the mean while at the town of Sanſon was a muttering, that the ducheſs and her huſband were greater perſonages then they gave themſelves forth: and the magiſtrates not very well inclined to religion, the biſhop of Arras alſo being dean of the great miniſter, orders were taken that the ducheſs and her huſband ſhould be examined of their condition and religion upon a ſudden. Which being diſcovered by a gentleman of that country to Mr. Berty, he without delay taking no more than the ducheſs, her daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more than to take the air, about three o'clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring either horſe or waggon, for fear of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant privately that night to get to Weſell, leaving the reſt of his family at Santon.

After they had travelled one Engliſh mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long froſt and ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the wearineſs of thoſe new lacquies. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they ſent their two ſervants (which only went with them) to a village as they paſſed, to hire a car for their eaſe, but none could be hired. In the mean time Mr. Berty was forced to carry the child, and the ducheſs his cloak and rapier. At laſt between ſix and ſeven o'clock of a dark night, they came to Weſell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and ſome repoſe, after ſuch a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn, offering large ſums of money for a ſmall lodging, they were refuſed by all the inn-holders, ſuſpecting Mr. Berty to be a launce-knight, and the ducheſs to be his woman. The child for cold and ſuſtenance cried pitifully, the mother wept as faſt, and the heavens rained as faſt as the clouds could pour.

Mr. Berty, deſtitute of all other ſuccour of hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the ducheſs to the porch of the great church in the town, and ſo to buy coals, victuals, and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Mr. Berty at that time underſtood not much Dutch, and by bad weather and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeak Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latin, till at laſt going towards the church-porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two ſtivers to bring him to ſome Walloon's houſe.

By theſe boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the firſt upon the houſe where Mr. Peruſell ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magiſtrates of that town. At the firſt knock, the good man of the houſe himſelf came to the door, and opening it, aſked Mr. Berty who he was. Mr. Berty ſaid, an Engliſhman, that ſought for one Mr. Peruſell's houſe. The Walloon deſired Mr. Berty to ſtay a while, then went back, and told Mr. Peruſell, that the ſame Engliſh gentleman, of whom he had talked at ſupper-time, had ſent by likelihood his ſervant to ſpeak with him. Whereupon Mr. Peruſell came to the door, and beholding Mr. Berty, the ducheſs, and their child, their faces, apparel, and bodies ſo far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heavineſs, could not ſpeak to them, nor they to him for tears. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo together entered the houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; Mr. Berty changing his apparel with the good man, the ducheſs with the good wife, and their child with the child of the houſe.

Within a few days after, by Mr. Peruſell's means, they hired a very fair houſe in the town, and did not delay to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good ſort as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole town, what diſcourteſy the inn-holders had ſhewed unto them at their entry, inſomuch that on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly in ſharp terms rebuked that great incivility toward ſtrangers, by allegation of ſundry places out of the holy ſcriptures, diſcourſing how not only princes ſometimes are received in the image of private perſons, but angels in the ſhape of men, and that God of his juſtice would make them ſtrangers one day in another land, to have more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger.

The time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves thus happily ſettled, ſuddenly a watch-word came from ſir John Maſon, then queen Mary's ambaſſador in the Netherlands, that my lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunſwick was ſhortly with ten enſigns to paſs by Weſell for the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria againſt the French king, the ſaid ducheſs and her huſband ſhould be with the ſame company intercepted.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of theſe enemies, Mr. Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Wineheim, under the Palſgrave's dominion; where under his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to fail them, and they, almoſt fainting under ſo heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At which time, in the midſt of their deſpair, there came ſuddenly to them, letters from the Palatine of Vilva, that the king of Poland was informed of their hard eſtate by a baron, named Joannes Alaſco, that was ſometime in England, offering them great courteſy. This proviſion unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy ſpirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remove from many of their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place ſo far diſtant, a country not frequented by the Engliſh, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding what they looked for, the end of their journey ſhould be worſe than the beginning, they adviſed thereupon with one Mr. Carloe, late biſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So finding him agreeable, they ſent with him letters of thanks to the king and Palatine, and alſo a few principal jewels (which only they had left of many), to ſolicit for them, that the king would vouchſafe under his ſeal, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honourably by letters had offered.

That favour, by the forwardneſs of the Palatine, was as ſoon granted as uttered. Upon which aſſurance the ſaid ducheſs and her huſband, with their family, began their journey in April, 1557, from the caſtle of Wineheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort. In which their journey, it were too long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the way, upon them and their whole company, by reaſon of the Landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a ſpaniel of Mr. Berty's, ſet upon them in the highway with his horſemen, thruſting their boar-ſpears through the waggon where the women and children were, Mr. Berty having but four horſemen along with him. In which ſcuffle it happened that the captain's horſe was ſlain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was ſpread immediately through the towns and villages about, that the Landgrave's captain ſhould be ſlain by certain Walloons, which exaſperated the countrymen the more fiercely againſt Mr. Berty, as afterwards it proved. For being motioned by his wife to ſave himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and to reach ſome town thereby for his reſcue, he ſo doing, was in worſe caſe than before: for the townſmen and the captain's brother, ſuppoſing no leſs but that the captain had been ſlain, preſſed ſo eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would have it) eſpied a ladder leaning to a window, by which he got into the houſe, and went up into the garret, where, with his dagger and rapier he defended himſelf for a time: but at length the burgh-maſter coming thither with another magiſtrate, who could ſpeak Latin, he was adviſed to ſubmit himſelf to the order of the law. Mr. Berty knowing himſelf to be clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magiſtrate would receive him upon ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, he willingly delivered up his weapons, and peaceably ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of the magiſtrates, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody till the truth of his cauſe could be tried.

Then Mr. Berty wrote a letter to the Landgrave, and another to the earl of Erbagh, dwelling about eight miles off, who came early in the morning to the town, where the ducheſs was brought with her waggon, Mr. Berty alſo being in the ſame town under cuſtody.

The earl, who had ſome intelligence before of the ducheſs, after he had come and had ſhewn her ſuch courteſy as he thought belonged to her eſtate and dignity, the townſmen perceiving the earl behave himſelf ſo humbly to her, began to conſider more of the matter, and further underſtanding the captain to be alive, both they and the authors of this ſtir, drew in their horns, ſhrunk away, and made all the friends they could to Mr. Berty and his lady, beſeeching them not to report their doings after the worſt manner.

And thus Mr. Berty and his wife, eſcaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in concluſion they were quietly entertained by the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the ſaid king of the Poles, in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Mr. Berty with the ducheſs, having the king's abſolute power of government over the ſaid earldom, continued in honour, peace and plenty, till the death of queen Mary.

THOMAS HORTON, Miniſter.

THOMAS HORTON uſed often to travel between Germany and England, for the benefit and ſuſtenance of the poor Engliſh exiles there: ſo he journeying on a time between Maeſtricht and Cologn, chanced to be taken by certain rovers, and ſo being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the ſame.

THOMAS SPRAT, *of* Kent, Tanner.

HE had been ſome time a ſervant to one juſtice Brent, a heavy perſecutor, and therefore forſaking his maſter for religion's ſake, he went to Calais, (accompanied by one William Porrege, who was afterwards a miniſter) from whence they uſed often for their neceſſary affairs to have recourſe to England.

In the fourth year of queen Mary they landed at Dover, and taking their journey together towards Sandwich, ſuddenly upon the way, three miles from Dover, they happened to meet juſtice Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen with their ſervants, to the number of ten or twelve horſes. One of the Blachendens happened to know William Porrege, the other had only heard of his name.

Sprat firſt eſpying his maſter Brent, was much ſurpriſed, ſaying to his companion, yonder is Mr. Brent, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth Porrege, ſeeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And ſo thinking to paſs by them, they kept themſelves at a diſtance, Sprat alſo ſhadowing his face with his cloak.

One of Mr. Brent's ſervants knowing Sprat, called out to his maſter, ſaying, Yonder is Thomas Sprat; at which words they all ſtopt their horſes, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. They call you, ſaid William Porrege; now there is no remedy, but we are taken: and ſo would have perſuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no eſcaping from ſo many horſemen in thoſe plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, and but one hedge about a ſtone's throw off. All this notwithſtanding, Sprat ſtaid, and would not go. Then they called again, ſitting ſtill on horſeback. Ah, ſirrah, quoth the juſtice, why come you not hither? And ſtill his companion moved him to go, ſeeing there was no hope of getting away. Nay, ſaid Sprat, I will not go to them; and therewith took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They ſeeing that, ſet ſpurs to their horſes, thinking it impoſſible for him to eſcape their hands. When he got to the hedge, ſcrambling through the buſhes, they were at his heels, and ſtruck at him with their ſwords, one of the Blachendens (both of them haters of God's word) cruelly crying, Cut one of his legs off.

He had no ſooner got through the hedge, but one of juſtice Brent's ſervants (a fellow that had ſome time been his fellow-ſervant) followed him on foot: the reſt rode up the other ſide of the hedge to meet him at the end.

While they were following Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege (which was one of the Blachendens, but not he that knew him), who began to queſtion him, not aſking what was his name (as God would have it) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he got into Sprat's company, and whither he was going: he anſwered, that he came from Calais, and Sprat came over with him in the paſſage-boat, and they were both going to Sandwich: and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart. But to return.

As Sprat was purſued on the one ſide of the hedge by his old fellow-ſervant in his boots, and on the other ſide by horſemen, his fellow-ſervant cried out, You had as good tarry: for we will have you, we will have you: yet notwithſtanding he ſtill kept his courſe till he came to a ſteep down-hill at the end of the hedge, down which he ran from them, for the horſemen could not follow him without fetching a great compaſs about. After he had ran almoſt a mile he got into a wood, but by that time they were juſt behind him: but night coming on, and it beginning to rain, they purſued him no further. And thus by the providence of God they both got clear.

Not long after this, one of the two cruel Blachendens was murdered by his own ſervant.

JOHN CORNET.

THIS young man was apprentice to a muſician at Colcheſter, and being ſent by his maſter to a wedding (in the ſecond year of queen Mary), in a town hard by, called Rough-hedge, was requeſted by a company there of good men (the conſtables being preſent), to ſing ſome ſongs of the ſcripture: he happened to ſing a ſong, called, News out of London, which tended againſt the maſs, and againſt the queen's miſ-proceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accuſed by the parſon of Rough-hedge, called Yackſley, and committed, firſt to the conſtable, where his maſter gave him over, and his mother forſook and curſed him. From thence he was ſent to Juſtice Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was firſt put in irons and chains, and after that ſo manacled, that the blood ſpirted out of his finger's ends, becauſe he would not confeſs the names of thoſe who allured him to ſing. After that, he was ſent again to Rough-hedge, and there whipped till the blood followed, and baniſhed the town for ever.

THOMAS BRYCE.

HE being in the houſe of John Seal, in the pariſh of Horting, the bailiff and other neighbours were ſent by ſir John Baker, to ſearch for, and apprehend him, and though they perfectly knew his ſtature and the colour of his garments, yet then they had no power to know him, though he ſtood before their faces. So miraculouſly did the Almighty dazzle their eyes, that they aſked for him, and looked on him, yet notwithſtanding he quietly took his bag of books, and departed out of the houſe without any hand laid upon him.

Alſo another time, about the ſecond year of queen Mary, the ſaid Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce, his elder brother, coming then from Weſell, meeting together at their father's houſe, as they travelled towards London, to give warning to one Springfield there, which elſe was like to be taken unawares by his enemies waiting for him upon Gad's-hill, fell into company with a promoter, who dogged and followed them again to Graveſend, into the town, and laid the houſe for them where they were, all the way they ſhould go to the water's ſide, ſo that it had not been poſſible for them to have avoided the preſent danger of thoſe perſecutors, had not God's provident care otherwiſe diſpoſed for his ſervants, through the oſtler of the inn, who conveyed them under cover by a ſecret paſſage; whereby they took barge a mile out of town, and ſo in the end both the lives of them, and alſo Springfield, were preſerved, through God's gracious protection.

GERTRUDE CROKHAY.

GERTRUDE CROKHAY, dwelling in St. Catherine's, by the Tower of London, and being then in her huſband's houſe, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope's childiſh Saint Nicholas went about the pariſh. Which ſhe underſtanding, ſhut her door againſt him, not ſuffering him to enter into the houſe.

Then doctor Mallet hearing thereof, and being then maſter of the ſaid St. Catherine's, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to affright her, and aſked why ſhe would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his bleſſing, &c. To whom ſhe anſwered thus: Sir, I know not that St. Nicholas came hither. Yes, quoth Mallet, here was one that repreſented St. Nicholas.

Indeed ſir, (ſaid ſhe) here was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purſe cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks, &c. So Mallet perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and ſhe for that time eſcaped.

Then in the year 1557, a little before Whitſuntide, it happened that the ſaid Gertrude anſwered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was chriſtened ſecretly in a houſe after the order of the ſervice-book in king Edward's time; and that being ſoon known to her enemies, ſhe was ſought for; who underſtanding nothing thereof, went beyond the ſea into Guelderland, to ſee certain lands that ſhould come to her children in the right of her firſt huſband, who was a ſtranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at length coming home by Antwerp, ſhe chanced to meet with one John Johnſon, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, ſhipper, who ſeeing her there, went out of malice to the Margrave, and accuſed her of being an anabaptiſt, whereby ſhe was taken and carried to priſon. The cauſe why he did thus, was becauſe he claimed of Mr. Crokhay, her huſband, a piece of money which was not his due, for a ſhip that Mr. Crokhay bought of him, and becauſe he could not get it, he wrought this diſpleaſure. Well, ſhe being in priſon, lay there a fortnight. In which time ſhe ſaw ſome that were priſoners there, who privately were drowned in Rheniſh-wine-fats, and after ſecretly put in ſacks and caſt into the river. Now ſhe, good woman, expecting to be ſo ſerved, took thereby ſuch fear, that it brought the beginning of her ſickneſs, of which at length ſhe died.

Then at laſt was ſhe called before the Margrave, and charged with anabaptiſtry: which ſhe there utterly denied, and deteſted the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the Margrave hearing the ſame, in the end being well pleaſed with the profeſſion, at the ſuit of ſome of her friends delivered her out of priſon, but took away her book, and ſo ſhe came over into England again.

THOMAS ROSE, *a* Preacher.

HE was a Devonſhire man, born in Ermouth, and being made prieſt in that country, was brought out of it by one Mr. Fabian, to Polſted, in Suffolk, where the ſaid Mr. Fabian was parſon, and in a ſhort time after by his means was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, firſt coming to ſome knowledge of the goſpel, began there to treat upon the creed, and thereupon took occaſion to inveigh againſt purgatory, praying to ſaints and images, about the time that Mr. Latimer began to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney and Arthur; inſomuch that many embracing the truth of Chriſt's goſpel, againſt the ſaid purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increaſing, the adverſaries began to ſtir againſt him, inſomuch that Mr. Bate (who afterwards became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach againſt the ſaid Thomas Roſe; notwithſtanding this, he continued ſtill very vehemently againſt images, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his labours, that many began to contrive how they might deface and deſtroy them, and eſpecially four men, whoſe names were, Ring, Debnam, Marſh, and Gard, who uſually reſorted to his ſermons, by which they were ſo inflamed, that ſoon after they ventured to deſtroy the rood of the court of Dover, which coſt three of them their lives, who were hanged in chains, becauſe they would not accuſe Thomas Roſe as their counſellor. The ſaid Roſe had the coat of the rood brought to him afterwards, who burnt it. The rood was ſaid to have done many and great miracles, yet being in the fire, could not help himſelf, but burned like a block, as indeed it was.

At this time there were two ſore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, two brothers: theſe complained to the council, that an hundred men were not able to fetch Thomas Roſe out of Hadley, who then was upon examination of his doctrine committed to the commiſſaries keeping. And indeed ſuch was the zeal of a number towards the truth then in that town, that they were much offended that their miniſter was ſo taken from them, and had therefore by force brought him from the commiſſary, if certain wiſe men had not otherwiſe perſuaded them, who at length alſo with more quiet placed him in his office again: which ſo enraged the two brothers, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as aforeſaid; whereupon a ſerjeant at arms was ſent from the council to arreſt Thomas Roſe and bring him before them. Then his adverſaries laid to his charge, that he was privy to the burning of the rood at Dover court, and upon this he was committed to priſon in the biſhop of Lincoln's houſe in Holborn, where he remained from Shrovetide to Whitſuntide, and great part of the time in the ſtocks.

The ſtocks was very high and large, ſo that day and night he lay with his back on the ground, upon a little ſtraw, with his heels ſo high, that the blood was fallen from his feet, which were ſo benumbed that he could hardly feel them for a long time. By this treatment he fell ſick, and the keeper often hearing him cry and groan through extremity of pain, was moved with pity, and went to the biſhop and told him, that he would not keep him to die under his hand, and upon this he had ſome more eaſe and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to ſee him, but ſhe was not ſuffered to ſpeak with him (ſuch was their cruelty), but the biſhop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon-beads, and bade her go home and pray, for ſhe might not ſee him; which thing pierced the hearts both of the mother and the ſon. At this time alſo certain men of Hadley, very deſirous to ſee him, endeavoured to ſpeak with him, but might not be ſuffered, till at length they gave the keeper four ſhillings, and yet then might not ſpeak to him, or ſee him, otherwiſe than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midſummer in priſon. Then he was removed to Lambeth, in the firſt year of Dr. Cranmer's conſecration, who uſed him much more courteouſly than ever the biſhop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and ſet him at liberty: but yet ſo, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the goſpel half a year, till Hadley men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley again, and indeed by means of ſir John Rainford, knight, obtained at the archbiſhop's houſe to have him thither: however, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years, till at length the adverſaries procured an inhibition from the biſhop of Norwich, to put him to ſilence. But a great number laboured to have him continue in preaching, and ſubſcribed a ſupplication to the archbiſhop, with one hundred and twenty hands, who under their ſeals alſo teſtified of his honeſt demeanour, ſo that the adverſaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury, in Suffolk, ſo that he was conſtrained to flee to London, and to uſe the aid of the lord Audley, then lord chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after examination of the matter, ſet him free, and ſent him by a token to the lord Cromwell, then lord privy ſeal, for a licence from the king to preach: which being obtained by the lord Cromwell's means (who hereupon alſo had admitted the ſaid Thomas Roſe his chaplain), forthwith he was ſent into Lincolnſhire and to York. In the mean time ſuch complaint was made to the duke of Norfolk, for that he preached againſt auricular confeſſion, tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch other points contained in the ſix articles (which then to have done, by law was death), that the duke in his own perſon not only ſought him at Norwich, but alſo beſet all the ports for him, from Yarmouth to London; and being lieutenant, commanded, that whoſoever could take the ſaid Thomas Roſe, ſhould hang him on the next tree. However, the ſaid Thomas Roſe at his coming home, having warning thereof by certain godly perſons, was conveyed away and paſſed over to Flanders, and ſo to Zurich in Switzerland, where a time he remained with Mr. Bullinger, and afterwards went to Baſil, and there hoſted with Maſter Grinæus, till letters came that Maſter doctor Barnes ſhould be biſhop of Norwich, and things ſhould be reformed and reſtored. But when he came to England again, it was not ſo, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the ſeas, being ſo beſet, as if the mighty providence of God had not ſent him in readineſs to receive him the ſelf ſame man, boat, and boy that before carried him over, it had been impoſſible for him to have eſcaped. But ſuch was the goodneſs of God towards him, that he ſafely was conveyed, and lived at Barrow the ſpace of three years, till at length purpoſing to come over into England, about buſineſs that he had, he, his wife, and their child, being but a year and three quarters old, upon the ſea, the ſhip being in great danger, wherein they failed (for the maſt being cut away in that peril, they were carried whitherſoever the waves toſſed them), they with divers others expected nothing but death. However, at length they were taken priſoners, and carried into Dieppe in France, having all their ſtuff taken from them, and forty pounds in money. There they remained priſoners from Michaelmas till Allhallowtide, in great heavineſs, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's providence. It pleaſed God at the ſame time, that one Mr. Young, of the town of Rye (who had heard him preach before), came thither for the redeeming of certain Engliſhmen there taken priſoners. This Mr. Young moved to ſee them in this caſe, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ranſom, and ſo he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye, and from thence by ſtealth they came to London. At length the honourable earl of Suſſex, hearing of the ſaid Thomas Roſe, ſent for him, his wife, and his child, and had them to his houſe at Attleborough, where they continued, till at length it was blazoned abroad, that the earl was a maintainer of ſuch a man to read in his houſe, as had preached againſt the catholic faith (as they term it); the earl being at the parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warn him to make ſhift for himſelf, and to eſcape. So that from thence he paſſed to London, making hard ſhift for a year there and ſomewhat more, till the death of king Henry. After the king's death, he and others, who in the king's general pardon were excepted (and therefore dead men, if they had been taken whilſt king Henry lived), by certain of the council were ſet at liberty, and after king Edward was crowned, were licenſed to preach again by the king, who gave unto the ſaid Thomas Roſe the benefice of Weſt-Ham, by London. But at the death of that virtuous and noble prince, he was deprived of all, and ſo ſhould alſo have been of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London ſecretly, as their teacher in the congregation, among whom for the poor priſoners at their aſſemblies forty-one in a night oftentimes were gathered. And thus he continued amongſt them, and with the lady Vane almoſt a year in the reign of queen Mary. But although he oftentimes eſcaped ſecretly whilſt he read to the godly in ſundry places of London, yet at length through a Judas that betrayed them, he with 35 more were taken in Bow-church yard, at a ſheerman's houſe on New-years day at night. The reſt being committed to priſon, the ſaid Thomas Roſe was had to Stephen Gardiner, the biſhop of Wincheſter, who would not ſpeak with him that night, but committed him to the Clink, till the Tueſday after.

The Firſt Examination *of* THOMAS ROSE, *at* St. Mary Overy's, *before the* Biſhop *of* Wincheſter.

Roſe. I Wonder, my lord, that I ſhould be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been eſtabliſhed, and by the laws of this realm hath been allowed, and by your own writing ſo notably in your book *De vera obedientia*, confirmed.

Biſhop. Ah ſirrah, haſt thou gotten that?

Roſe. Yea, my lord, I thank God, and do confeſs myſelf much thereby confirmed. For as touching the doctrine of ſupremacy, againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority, no man hath ſaid further. And as I remember, you confeſs it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the ſcales to fall from your eyes.

Biſhop. Thou lieſt like a varlet, there is no ſuch thing in my book: but I ſhall handle thee, and ſuch as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who are thy maintainers, or elſe I will make thee a foot longer.

Roſe. My lord, you ſhall do as much as pleaſeth God, and no more, yet the law is in your hand; but I have God for my maintainer, and none other. At theſe words one of the ſervants ſtepped forth, and ſaid, My lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in ſir John Robſter's houſe, and in his prayer he deſired God to turn queen Mary's heart, or elſe to take her out of the world: and this was in king Edward's time.

Roſe. My lord, I made no ſuch prayer, but next after the king, I mentioned her in this manner, ſaying, Ye ſhall pray for my lady Mary's grace, that God will vouchſafe to endue her with his Spirit, that ſhe graciouſly may perceive the myſteries contained within his holy laws, and ſo render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her ſovereign lord and king, to the good example of the inferior ſubjects. And this, my lord, is already anſwered in mine own hand-writing to the council.

Unto this he ſaid little, but turning his face to ſome that were by him, This is he, ſaid the biſhop, that my lord of Norwich told me had gotten his maid with child.

Roſe. This is no hereſy, my lord, although it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked perſons raiſed this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached: but for purgation of myſelf herein I had no leſs than ſix of the council's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination of this matter in the country, by men of worſhip appointed for that purpoſe, who can all teſtify, I thank God, that I am moſt clear from ſuch wickedneſs, and indeed they have cleared me from it; and therefore I doubt not but all good men will ſee the miſchievous device of mine adverſaries, who, when other means failed, by ſuch ſiniſter means, went about to draw me into diſcredit and hatred: but God, who is the helper of the innocent, and ſearcher of men's hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their ſhame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I ſhould ſo abuſe myſelf, was one Mr. Clark, ſervant, and in ſome eſtimation with the old lord treaſurer of England, reputed and taken for a conjuror, who afterwards hanged himſelf in the Tower. Then the biſhop commanded that I ſhould be carried to the Tower and kept ſafely; where I lay till the week before Whitſuntide. After which time I was twice called, when the biſhop came to the Tower about other priſoners. Notwithſtanding, the biſhop had no great talk with me, but ſpake friendly. One ſir Richard Southwell, knight, however, ſtill accuſed me for my prayer, and ſaid I did put a difference betwixt lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in king Edward's faith, and prayed that he would confirm lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun upon her. Upon this the biſhop ſaid little. But in the week before pentecoſt, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the biſhop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The Second Examination *of* THOMAS ROSE, *before* Dr. HOPKINS, Biſhop *of* Norwich, *in the Preſence of* Sir W. WOODHOUSE, Mr. STEWARD *the* Chancellor, Dr. BARRET, *with divers others* 1553.

AFTER I was preſented by my keeper, the biſhop immediately aſked me what I was. I told him I had been a miniſter.

Biſhop. What is this to the purpoſe? Were you a friar or a prieſt?

Roſe. Friar was I never, but a prieſt have I been, and beneficed by the king's majeſty.

Biſhop. Where were you made prieſt?

Roſe. In Exeter, in the county where I was born. Then the biſhop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Biſhop. Well, you are ſent to me to be examined; what ſay you, will you ſubmit yourſelf to the order of the church of England.

Roſe. My lord, I truſt I am not out of the order of Chriſt's church in England, neither do I know myſelf an offender thereagainſt.

Biſhop. What? yes, you have here preached moſt damnable and deviliſh doctrine.

Roſe. Not ſo, my lord. The doctrine by me here preached was both true, ſincere, and holy. But, indeed, the doctrine that is now ſet forth is moſt wicked and damnable, yea, and that both againſt God's laws and men's. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, ſet out alſo by the authority of two moſt mighty kings, with the conſent of all the nobility and clergy of the ſame: ſo that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad ſeal for confirmation of the ſame, for which my doing you cannot juſtly charge me. And ſince the law ceaſed, I have kept ſilence; ſo that the council which ſent me unto you, have not charged me therewith. Wherefore you do me open wrong to burthen me with that wherein I am free.

Chan. What, ſir? you are very captious; anſwereſt thou my lord after ſuch a ſort?

Roſe. Sir, I anſwer for myſelf, and according to the truth; wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God.

Chan. Thou art an evil man. Waſt thou not abjured before now?

Roſe. No, you untruly report me, and are in no wiſe able to prove that which you have ſpoken: ſo that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deſerved at your hands. But in this I well perceive you are made an inſtrument to utter other men's malice conceived of old.

Chan. What ſayeſt thou to the real preſence in the ſacrament?

Roſe. I know right well you are made an inſtrument to ſeek innocent blood: well, you may have it, if God permit, it is preſent at hand, for I am not come hither to lye, but to die (if God ſee it good) in defence of that which I have ſaid. Wherefore you may begin when you ſhall think good, for I have ſaid nothing but the truth, and that which, in thoſe days, was by all men allowed for truth, and againſt which you at that time durſt not once whiſper, although you now brag ever ſo much.

Biſhop. Well, father Roſe, whatſoever hath been done in times paſt, ſhall not now be called in queſtion, ſo that you now ſubmit yourſelf: for not only you, but all the whole realm, hath been out of the right way, both high and low, ſpiritual and temporal; but all notwithſtanding have ſubmitted themſelves, and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore if you will be accounted for an Engliſhman, you muſt likewiſe ſubmit yourſelf.

Roſe. My lord, I am an Engliſhman born, and do moſt humbly require of the chriſtian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the ſame, and with all due reverence ſubmit myſelf as in the form and manner following: That whatſoever law or laws ſhall be ſet forth in the ſame for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's true religion, and that, according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt and his holy apoſtles, with the faithful fathers of Chriſt's primitive church, I do not only hold it, and believe it, but alſo moſt reverently obey it. At which my aſſertion, the biſhop ſeemed to be greatly rejoiced, and ſaid, Well, then we ſhall ſoon be at a point: but you ſhall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, ſo that you ſhall now depart, and conſider with yourſelf until we call for you again: and ſo ended our firſt meeting.

The Third Examination *of* THOMAS ROSE.

ON Friday following, I was called again into Chriſtchurch within their lady's chapel, as they termed it, were was gathered a great part of the whole city of Norwich, and after I was preſented by my keeper, the biſhop began with a great proteſtation, and after many words, demanded of me, whether I would ſubmit myſelf or no. I anſwered as before I had done, that, according to my former proteſtation, I would moſt gladly obey. Then ſaid the chancellor, (to utter his gentleneſs) I think you do but feign.

Roſe. The fault then, ſaid I, ſhall be in yourſelf, and not in me: for if you burden me with nothing but ſcriptures, and the fathers of Chriſt's primitive church, then, as I ſaid before, ſo I ſay again, I ſhall moſt gladly obey.

Chan. Well then, ſeeing you challenge to be member of the church of England, your mother here, for a trial of obedience, provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand.

Roſe. Forſooth, ſaid I, if ſhe offer it me, as received of God my father, I ſhall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and ſpiritual mother.

Chan. What ſay you to ear-confeſſion? Is it not a law eccleſiaſtical and neceſſary for the church of England?

Roſe. Some ways it might be permitted, and ſome ways not, and that becauſe it had not its original of God and his bleſſed word; and yet I deny not, but that a man, being troubled in his conſcience, and reſorting to a diſcreet, ſober, and chriſtian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted: but to bind a man, under pain of damnation, once every year, to number his ſins into the ears of a filthy, lecherous prieſt, is not of God, neither can be proved by his word.

Biſhop. Ah, ſirrah, you will admit nothing but ſcripture, I ſee well.

Roſe. No truly, my lord, I admit nothing but ſcripture for the rule of the ſoul: for why? faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; and where the word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given: for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin. And here they left off ſpeaking any more of that matter.

Mr. Chancellor then began to whet his teeth at me, ſaying, Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and ſubſtantial preſence of Chriſt is not in the ſacrament. What ſay you to that?

Roſe. Verily, I ſay that you are a bloody man, and ſeek to quench your thirſt in the blood of an innocent, and therefore, to ſatisfy you in that behalf, I ſay verily unto you, that ſo I have here preached: although, contrary to law you challenge me with the ſame, yet will I in no wiſe deny it, though juſtly I might do it, but ſtand thereunto, even to ſeal it with my blood, deſiring all that are here preſent to teſtify the ſame, and believe it as the only truth.

Biſhop. I charge you all to believe it not.

Roſe. Yea, but my lord, if you will needs have credence given you, you muſt bring God's word to maintain your ſayings.

Biſhop. Why, doth not Chriſt ſay, This is my body? And can there be any plainer words ſpoken?

Roſe. It is true, my lord, the words are as plain as can be; and even ſo are theſe, where it is ſaid, I am a door, a vine, and Chriſt called a ſtone, a lion, and yet is he naturally none of theſe: for they are all figurative ſpeeches, as both the ſcriptures and fathers do ſufficiently prove.

At which ſaying, the biſhop would have had me ſtay, ſaying I ſhould have another day wherein I might take better advice.

Roſe. Not ſo, my lord, for I am at a full point with myſelf in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your tranſubſtantiation, with the real preſence, to be againſt the ſcriptures and the ancient fathers of the primitive church: for Juſtin, who is one of the moſt ancient writers that ever wrote upon the ſacrament, writeth in his ſecond apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the ſacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but are meats purpoſely obtained to give thanks unto God, and therefore are called Euchariſtia, and alſo have the names of the body and blood of Chriſt; and that it is not lawful for any man to eat or drink of them, but ſuch as profeſs the religion of Chriſt, and live alſo according to their profeſſion: and yet, ſaith he, the ſame bread and drink is changed into our fleſh and blood, and nouriſheth our bodies. By which ſaying, it is evident that Juſtin meant, that the bread and wine remain ſtill, or elſe they could not have turned into our fleſh and blood, and nouriſh our bodies.

At which my ſaying they were greatly troubled, but inforced themſelves to have denied the doctor, and would ſuffer me to ſpeak no more, but ſtraitway was I carried away unto my lodging: and ſo ended the ſecond day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitſun week, and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. However, upon what occaſion I know not, it was deferred unto Wedneſday.

In the mean time, the biſhop ſent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communications about the real preſence. After long reaſoning concerning this point, at length I drove them to this iſſue; whether they did confeſs that Chriſt in the ſelf-ſame body which was conceived of the virgin Mary, and wherein he ſuffered and roſe again, do in the ſelf-ſame body naturally, ſubſtantially, and really ſit at the right-hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment, or not? Whereunto they anſwered Yes, truly, we confeſs it, hold it, and believe it. Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm after the words pronounced by the miniſter, there to remain fleſh, blood, bones, hairs, nails, as is wont moſt groſsly to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation anſwered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of ſuch groſs doctrine, but alſo would deteſt themſelves, if they ſhould ſo think.

At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellouſly encouraged. Whereupon I demanded of them again, what manner of body they then affirmed it to be in the ſacrament? Forſooth, ſaid they, not a viſible, palpable, or circumſcriptable body, for that is always at the Father's right hand; but in the ſacrament it is inviſible, and can neither be felt, ſeen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's holy word, they know not how.

And for this they brought in St. Auguſtine, although by them not truly underſtood, yet they would admit no other ſenſe than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin: ſo that I, perceiving their obſtinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterwards talked with Dr. Barret, whom I alſo found of the ſame opinion. For, ſaid he, if you would diſſent from the fathers of the primitive church, of which St. Auguſtine is one, you ſhall be contented to die out of the favour of God. Well, I gave them over, being obſtinate in their errors; however, to bring them to confeſs that openly which they had granted privately, I granted them according to the ſcriptures, and my former proteſtation, a preſence, although not as they ſuppoſed.

After all this, the honourable earl of Suſſex came to me, and that gentle knight ſir William Woodhouſe, with great perſuaſions: to whom, after long talk, I ſaid, That I would do all that I might, ſaving my conſcience, which I would in no wiſe pollute: and neither have I, as knoweth God, by whom all men muſt be judged.

The Laſt Examination *of* THOMAS ROSE *before the* Biſhop.

NOW to come to my laſt appearance, the biſhop forthwith demanded of me, whether I were reſolved as he had heard ſay. To whom I anſwered, that as I always had ſaid before, even ſo I was now. Then by low bowing my knee, I gave him my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Suſſex was there. At this ſome who would be counted great goſpellers, were (contrary to all chriſtianity) ſore offended. I then ſaid, that whatſoever laws were ſet forth for the eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Chriſt's holy apoſtles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but moſt earneſtly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet to the further blinding of their eyes, I ſaid, that if any thing could juſtly be proved by God's holy word, by me heretofore preached or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, unwarily, or through ignorance, yet by better knowledge, when it ſhall juſtly be tried and examined by the ſame, I ſhall not refuſe (the thing perfectly proved) to revoke the ſame, provided always the word of God herein be my judge.

All this ſpake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from ſuſpecting that which I went about, and that they ſhould have no occaſion to judge me of obſtinacy. Then ſaid I, moreover, all you muſt of force confeſs, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, beſides the authority of God's eternal verity, the authority of two moſt noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counſel of all the nobility and clergy of the land, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open diſputations in both the univerſities, enacted alſo by parliament with the conſent of the whole body and commons of the ſame, and that without any reſiſtance or gainſaying eſtabliſhed, as a religion moſt pure and perfect, moſt earneſtly and ſincerely preached by the principal biſhops and doctors, and that before the king's majeſty's perſon; and I, as one who was called to that office, did the like with all the reſt, and in the zeal of God, and with a pure conſcience, did ſet forth the ſame, as the only and abſolute truth of God, and the juſt and moſt true proceedings of my ſovereign lord and king: and I had then my head where it now ſtandeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the ſame, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was eſtabliſhed and taught, as the only and abſolute truth, and a thing unto me moſt deſirable, and well willing, without any deſire to hear the contrary, till now, through this my captivity, I am compelled to hear the contrary part ſpeak, who are even here preſent, and whom my lord ſent unto me.

After ſeveral long private diſputations had happened betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard, and therefore muſt confeſs mine own ignorance in the ſame: for, quoth I, after I had inforced theſe men here preſent (meaning the biſhop's two chaplains) to confeſs Jeſus Chriſt's natural body, with his full complete members, in due order and proportion of a perfect man's body, to be preſent at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the laſt judgment, and alſo that after the words pronounced by the prieſt, there remaineth no ſuch groſs preſence of fleſh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached; but that after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be preſent, they ſaid, a body inviſible by the omnipotency of God's word, which neither can be felt or ſeen, nor that hath any diſtinction of members, but ſuch a body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how; neceſſity compelled me to confeſs my ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they ſhould do ſo: for by this their confeſſion, and my ſilence afterward, I perceived their horrid blaſphemies.

And methought in this I had well diſcharged at that time my conſcience, in cauſing them, in open audience, to confeſs the ſame, and ſo I granted a preſence, but not as they ſuppoſed: for I only ſaid, that Chriſt, after the words pronounced, is preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy ſupper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of. For, ſaid I, Euſebius Emiſſenus, a man of ſingular fame and learning, about three hundred years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, ſaith, that the converſion of the viſible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Chriſt, is like unto our converſion in baptiſm, where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt, which faſhioneth and frameth Chriſt in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, Acts ii. by which he ſo pierced their conſcience, that they openly, with moſt earneſt repentance, confeſſed their ſins, ſaying, "Men and brethren, what ſhall we do? Repent and be baptized every one of you," ſaid Peter, "in the name of Jeſus Chriſt;" ſo that at this ſermon there were turned unto Chriſt three thouſand perſons; in whom Chriſt was ſo faſhioned and formed, as that he dwelt in every one of them, and they in him; and after the like manner, ſaid I, is Chriſt preſent in the lawful uſe and right diſtribution of his holy ſupper, and not otherwiſe. For although I ſaid, according to the truth, that Chriſt dwelt in every one of theſe perſons rehearſed, yet meant I not that he in them ſhould have a groſs, carnal, or fleſhly dwelling.

And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or groſsly to be in the ſacrament, but according to the ſcriptures, and my former proteſtation, that is, to the ſpiritual nouriſhment of all ſuch as worthily come unto that holy ſupper, receiving it according to his holy inſtitution.

And thus I ended; which the papiſts moſt maliciouſly and ſlanderouſly named a recantation; which I never meant nor thought, as God knoweth.

Now after I had thus concluded my ſpeech, the biſhop taking me by the hand, ſaid, Father Roſe, you may be a worthy inſtrument in God's church, and we will ſee to you at our coming home (for he was about to take his journey in viſitation of his dioceſe), and they feared much at this very time, leſt queen Mary ſhould have miſcarried in her child-travail, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, ſo that they were not ſo fierce as they had been, and were apprehenſive of ſome ſtir, if I ſhould have ſuffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, ſo that by any colourable means for their own diſcharge it might be; and the night following I was only committed to mine own lodging.

On the morrow, when the biſhop was ready to ride forth in viſitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that ſir William Woodhouſe did bear me great favour, ſaid, he was ſorry for me and my expences, and therefore wiſhed that I was ſomewhere where I might ſpend no more money till his return. Why, my lord, ſaid ſir William Woodhouſe, he ſhall have meat and drink, and lodging with me, till you return again, ſeeing you now break up houſe; and hereupon I went home with ſir William, that good knight, who moſt genteely entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this the popiſh prieſts of the college of Chriſt's church in Norwich, becauſe they ſaw me at liberty in ſir William's abſence, who had been from home a fortnight, blazed it abroad that ſir William was bound for me in body and lands. At his coming home, therefore, I aſking ſir William if he were ſo bound for me, he denied it. Then, ſaid I, ſir, but for the reverence I bear to you, I might have been an hundred miles from you before this. I now truſt, ſir, as you are not bound for me, I may go and viſit my friends. Go where you will, ſaid ſir William; for I told the biſhop I would not be your gaoler, but promiſed only meat, drink, and lodging for you. Shortly after, by the advice of ſome friends, I was ſecretly conveyed to a friend's houſe, where I was cloſely kept for near a month, until rumours were over: for at the biſhop's return, ſearch was made for me in all houſes where it was known I had been acquainted, and in the ſhips at Yarmouth.

At length the biſhop ſent to a conjuror, to know of him which way I was gone; and he anſwered, that I was gone over water, and in keeping of a woman. And in very deed I was paſſed over a ſmall water, and was hid by a bleſſed woman, who lived in a ſmall cottage, the ſpace of three weeks, till the inquiries had nearly ſubſided.

I was then conveyed to London, and from thence paſſed over the ſeas, where I lived till the death of queen Mary, and till it pleaſed God, for the comfort of his church, and reſtoring of all poor exiles and priſoners, for his name's ſake, to bleſs this realm with the government of our noble queen, whom God, to the glory of his own name, and the defence of his church, according to his good will and pleaſure, long preſerve and continue over us.

A Brief Diſcourſe *concerning the* Troubles *and happy* Deliverance *of* Dr. SANDS, *firſt* Biſhop *of* Worceſter, *next of* London, *afterwards* Archbiſhop *of* York.

AT king Edward's death, the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having commiſſion to proclaim lady Jane queen, and by power to ſuppreſs lady Mary, who took upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed queen in Norfolk. The duke ſent for Dr. Sands, the vice-chancellor, Dr. Parker, Dr. Bill, and Mr. Leaver, to ſup with him. Amongſt other ſpeeches, he ſaid to them, Maſters, pray for us, that we ſpeed well: if not, you ſhall be made biſhops, and we deacons. And even ſo it came to paſs: Dr. Parker and Dr. Sands were made biſhops, and he and ſir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons not long after, on Tower-hill. Dr. Sands being vice-chancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an auditory, and to ſpeak of ſuch a matter; yet he refuſed not the thing, but went into his chamber, and ſo to bed. He roſe at three o'clock in the morning, took his bible in his hand, and after he had prayed a conſiderable time, he ſhut his eyes, and holding his bible before him, earneſtly prayed to God that it might fall open where a moſt fit text ſhould be for him to treat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the firſt chapter of Joſhua, the three laſt verſes, where he found ſo convenient a place of ſcripture for that time, that the like he could not find in the whole Bible. His text was thus: "And they anſwered Joſhua, ſaying, All that thou commandeſt us we will do, and whitherſoever thou ſendeſt us, we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moſes in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moſes. Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy word, in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death: only be ſtrong, and of a good courage."

Whoever ſhall conſider what was concluded by ſuch as called themſelves the ſtate, and likewiſe the auditory, the time, and other circumſtances, may eaſily ſee that this text moſt fitly ſerved for the purpoſe. And as God gave the text, ſo gave he ſuch order and utterance, as drew tears from the eyes of the greateſt of them.

In the time of his ſermon, one of the guard lifted a maſs-book and a grail up to him in the pulpit, which ſir George Haward, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in Mr. Hurleſtone's houſe, where lady Mary had been a little before, and there had maſs. The duke, with the reſt of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his ſermon in writing, and appointed Mr. Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Mr. Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to ſhift for himſelf, for the duke was retired, and queen Mary proclaimed.

Dr. Sands was not troubled thereat; but gave the ſermon written to Mr. Layfield. Mr. Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Mr. More's, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner, Mrs. More ſeeing him merry and pleaſant (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified), drank unto him, ſaying, Maſter Vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the laſt time that I ſhall ſee you. And ſo it was; for ſhe was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and ſent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place to proclaim queen Mary. The duke caſt up his cap with others; but tears ran down his cheeks for grief. He told Dr. Sands, that queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had ſent unto her to know her pleaſure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands anſwered, My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or ſaid any thing that urgeth my conſcience. For that which I ſpake of the ſtate, I have inſtructions warranted by the ſubſcription of ſixteen counſellors, neither can ſpeech be treaſon; neither yet have I ſpoken further than the word of God, and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you aſſured, you ſhall never eſcape death, for if ſhe ſhould ſave you, thoſe that now ſhall rule will kill you.

That night the guard apprehended the duke; and certain grooms of the ſtable were as buſy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a priſoner. But ſir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands's houſe, ſharply rebuked them, and drove them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time, the univerſity, contrary to all order, had met together in conſultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouſe and Dr. Hatcher ſhould repair to Dr. Sands's lodging, and bring away the ſtatute-book of the univerſity, the keys, and ſuch other things as were in his keeping; and ſo they did: for Dr. Mouſe being an earneſt proteſtant the day before, and whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papiſt, and his great enemy. Certain of the univerſity had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands came out of the fields, and ſending for the beadles, aſked what the matter meant, and required them to wait upon him to the ſchools, according to their duty. So they did. And as ſoon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent houſe and took his chair, one Mr. Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papiſts, went into a bye-ſchool, and conſpired together to pull him out of his chair, and to uſe violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expoſtulating with the univerſity, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had ſaid nothing in his ſermon, but what he was ready to juſtify, and their caſe was all one with him: for they had not only concealed, but conſented to that which he had ſpoken.

And thus while he remembered them how beneficial he had been to the univerſity, and their unthankfulneſs to him again, in came Mr. Mitch with his conſpirators, about twenty in number. One laid hands on the chair to pull it from him; another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they uſed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had diſpatched ſome of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed for God's ſake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was perſuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceaſed, he ended his oration; and having ſome money of the univerſity's in his hands, he there delivered the ſame every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the univerſity, and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the univerſity a better officer, and to give them better amd more thankful hearts, and ſo repaired home to his own college.

On the morrow after there came unto him one Mr. Gerningham, and Mr. Thomas Mildmay. Gerningham told him, that it was the queen's pleaſure, that two of the guard ſhould attend upon him, and that he muſt be carried priſoner to the Tower of London, with the duke. Mr. Mildmay ſaid, he marvelled that a learned man would ſpeak ſo unadviſedly againſt ſo good a prince, and wilfully run into ſuch danger. Dr. Sands anſwered, I ſhall not be aſhamed of bonds, but if I could do as Mr. Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds: for he came down in payment againſt queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returned in payment for queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend; I cannot with one mouth blow hot and cold after this manner.

Upon this his ſtable was robbed of four very good geldings, the beſt of them Mr. Huddleſtone took for his own ſaddle, and rode on him to London in his ſight. An inventory was taken of all his goods by Mr. More, beadle for the univerſity. He was ſet upon a lame horſe that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, ſome papiſts reſorted thither to jeer at him, and ſome of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at Biſhopſgate, one like a milk-woman hurled a ſtone at him, and hit him on the breaſt, with ſuch a blow, that he was like to fall off his horſe. To whom he mildly ſaid, Woman, God forgive thee. Truth is, that that journey one evil intreating ſo mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill-ſtreet, one woman ſtanding at her door, cried, Fie on thee, thou knave, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic. Whereat he ſmiled. Look, the deſperate heretic, ſaid ſhe, laughed at this jeer. A woman on the other ſide of the ſtreet anſwered, ſaying, Fie on thee, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this gentleman whom thou knoweſt not, nor the cauſe why he is thus treated. Then ſhe ſaid, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee ſtrength to ſtand in God's cauſe, even to the end. And thus he paſſed through rough and ſmooth to the Tower, the firſt priſoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what elſe ſoever he had. His man, one Quinting Suainton, brought after him a Bible, and ſome ſhirts, and ſuch like things. The Bible was ſent in to him, but the ſhirts and ſuch like ſerved the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad priſon, he was brought up into Nun's-Bower, a better priſon, where was put along with him Mr. John Bradford.

At the day of queen Mary's coronation their priſon door was ſet open, ever ſhut before. One Mr. Mitchell, his old acquaintance, who had been priſoner before in the ſame place, came in to him, and ſaid, Maſter Sands, there is ſuch a ſtir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor priſoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone, you may go out of the gates without queſtioning, ſave yourſelf, and let me do as well as I can. A rare friendſhip; but he refuſed the offer, ſaying, I know no cauſe why I ſhould be in priſon. And to do thus were to make myſelf guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet muſt I think myſelf much obliged to you: and ſo Mr. Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Mr. Bradford were thus in cloſe priſon twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverſe papiſt, yet by often perſuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle uſing of him, at length he began to miſlike popery, and to favour the goſpel, and was ſo perſuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday when they had maſs in the chapel, he brought up a ſervice book, a manchet, and a glaſs of wine, and there Dr. Sands miniſtered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their ſon begotten in bonds. When Wyat was in arms, and the old Duke of Norfolk ſent forth with a number of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him and other his accomplices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Bradford, were caſt into one priſon, and Dr. Sands with nine other preachers were ſent unto the Marſhalſea.

The keeper of the Marſhalſea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the ſtreet; he cauſed them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people every where prayed God to comfort him, and to ſtrengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered, popery began to be unſavoury. After they paſſed the bridge, the keeper ſaid to Dr. Sands, I perceive the vain people would ſet you forward to the fire. You are vain as they, if you being a young man will ſtand in your own conceit, and prefer your own judgment before that of ſo many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men as be in this realm. If you ſo do, you ſhall find me a ſevere keeper, as one that utterly diſliketh your religion. Dr. Sands anſwered, I know my years to be young, and my learning but ſmall, it is enough to know Chriſt crucified, and he hath learned nothing who ſeeth not the great blaſphemy that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man: I have read in the ſcriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one; if not, I truſt he will give me ſtrength and patience to bear your hard uſage. Then ſaid the keeper, Are you reſolved to ſtand to your religion? Yes, quoth the doctor, by God's grace. Truly, ſaid the keeper, I love you the better for it; I did but tempt you: what favour I can ſhew you, you ſhall be ſure of, and I ſhall think myſelf happy if I might die at the ſtake with you. He was as good as his word, for he truſted the doctor to walk in the fields alone, where he met with Mr. Bradford, who was alſo a priſoner in the King's-Bench, and had found the ſame favour from his keeper: he laid him in the beſt chamber in the houſe; he would not ſuffer the knight-marſhal's men to lay fetters on him, as others had. And, at his requeſt, he put Mr. Sanders in along with him, to be his bed-fellow, and ſundry times after he ſuffered his wife, who was Mr. Sands's daughter of Eſſex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and ſoul, to reſort to him. There was great reſort to Dr. Sands; and Mr. Sanders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great many communicants. Dr Sands gave ſuch exhortation to the people, (for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent) that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the maſs, and defy all popery.

When Wyat with his army came into Southwark, he ſent two gentlemen into the Marſhalſea, to Dr. Sands, ſaying, that Mr. Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates ſhould be ſet open for all the priſoners. He anſwered, Tell Mr. Wyat, if this his riſing be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed here by order, I will be diſcharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So anſwered Mr. Sanders, and the reſt of the preachers, being there priſoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks priſoner in the Marſhalſea, by the mediation of ſir Thomas Holcroft, knight marſhal, he was ſet at liberty; ſir Thomas ſued earneſtly to the biſhop of Wincheſter, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance, after many repulſes: but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be of their ſect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at laſt, that if the queen would grant him his deliverance, he would not be againſt it; for that was ſir Thomas's laſt requeſt. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy chamber to move the queen in it; who was contented if the biſhop of Wincheſter would like it. The next time that the biſhop went into the privy chamber to ſpeak with the queen, Mr. Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands's remiſſion ready, and prayed the two ladies, when the biſhop ſhould take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen ſaid, Wincheſter, what think you of Dr. Sands, is he not ſufficiently puniſhed? As it pleaſe your majeſty, ſaith Wincheſter. That he ſpake, remembering his former promiſe to Mr. Holcroft, that he would not be againſt Dr. Sands, if the queen ſhould like to diſcharge him. Saith the queen, Then truly, we would that he were ſet at liberty. Immediately Mr. Holcroft offered the queen the warrant, who ſubſcribed the ſame, and called Wincheſter to put to his hand, and ſo he did. The warrant was given to the knight marſhal again, by ſir Thomas Holcroft. As the biſhop went forth of the privy chamber door, he called Mr. Holcroft to him, commanding him not to ſet Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken ſureties of two gentlemen of this country with him, each one bound in 500l. that Dr. Sands ſhould not depart out of the realm without licence. Mr. Holcroft immediately after met with two gentlemen of the North, friends, and couſins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the ſame day, Mr. Holcroft ſent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Weſtminſter, requiring the keeper to accompany him. He came accordingly, finding Mr. Holcroft alone walking in the garden. Mr. Holcroft imparted his long ſuit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands; much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two ſureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands anſwered, I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me ſo well, and I think myſelf moſt bound unto you. God ſhall requite, and I ſhall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will alſo deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into priſon; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, ſo I will not hurt them. And if I be ſet at liberty, I will not tarry ſix days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, ſend me to the Marſhalſea again, and there you ſhall be ſure of me.

This anſwer Mr. Holcroft much miſliked: he told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would ſhortly come, the ſtate was but a cloud, and would ſoon ſhake away. And that his couſin ſir Edward Bray would gladly receive him and his wife into his houſe, where he ſhould never need to go to church, and the lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not ſo deal with him to loſe all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former ſaying, Mr. Holcroft ſaid, Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpoſe and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will ſet you at liberty: and ſeeing you have a mind to go over ſea, get you gone as quick as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to me hither, for ſo you may undo me. He friendly kiſſed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, ſaying, Let me anſwer Wincheſter as I may. Dr. Sands returning with the keeper to the Marſhalſea, tarried all night, and on the morrow he gave a dinner to all the priſoners, to which he invited his bed-fellow, and ſworn ſtake-fellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God. When he took his leave, he ſaid, Mr. Sanders, farewel, with many tears and kiſſes, the one falling on the other's neck, and ſo departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the King's-bench, and there talked with Mr. Bradford, and Dr. Farrar, biſhop of St. David's, then priſoners. Then he comforted them, and they praiſed God for his happy deliverance. He went by Wincheſter's houſe, and there took boat, and came to a friend's houſe in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. The next night he ſhifted to another friend's houſe, and there he heard that ſearch was made for him.

Dr. Watſon and Mr. Chriſtopherſon coming to the biſhop of Wincheſter, told him, that he had ſet the greateſt heretic in England at liberty, and one that had of all others moſt corrupted the univerſity of Cambridge, namely, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the biſhop, being chancellor of England, ſent for all the conſtables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him, and whoſoever of them ſhould take him and bring him to him, he ſhould have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands ſuſpecting the matter, conveyed himſelf by night to one Mr. Berty's houſe, a ſtranger, who was in the Marſhalſea priſoner with him awhile; he was a good proteſtant, and dwelt in Mark-lane. There he was ſix days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he removed to one of his acquaintance in Cornhill; he cauſed his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Eſſex, to Mr. Sands his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At going to bed he found that a pair of hoſe which he had newly bought were too long for him: he deſired the good woman of the houſe to ſend for ſomebody that could cut them two inches ſhorter. The wife required the boy of the houſe to carry them to the next taylor: which he accordingly did: and he chanced (or rather God ſo provided) to go to the very perſon that firſt made them, whoſe name was Benjamin, a good proteſtant in Birchin-lane; and the boy deſired him to cut the hoſe. Said he, I am not thy maſter's taylor. Said the boy, Becauſe you are our next neighbour, and my maſter's taylor dwelleth afar off, I came to you, being late in the night, for he muſt put them on betimes in the morning. Benjamin took the hoſe, and looking upon them, knew his handy work, and ſaid, Theſe are not thy maſter's hoſe, they belong to Dr. Sands, I made them for him in the Tower. The boy confeſſed it to be ſo. Said he, go to thy miſtreſs, pray her to ſit till twelve o'clock, and then I will bring the hoſe and ſpeak with the doctor for his good.

At midnight the good wife of the houſe and Benjamin came to Dr. Sands's chamber: the good woman deſired him not to be ſurpriſed at their coming. He anſwered, Nothing can be amiſs; what God will, that ſhall be done. Then Benjamin told him that he was the man that made his hoſe, and by good chance they now came to his hands. God uſed the means, he might admoniſh him of his danger, and adviſe him how to eſcape it, telling him, that all the conſtables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and ſome were ſo greedily ſet, they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and he ſhould have the five pounds. It is well known (quoth Benjamin) that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you intend to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow morning, and there then you are ſure to be taken. Follow my advice, and by God's grace you ſhall eſcape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the ſtreet where your horſes ſtand, booted and ready to ride. The good man's ſervant of the houſe ſhall take the horſes, and carry them to Bethnal-green. The good man ſhall be booted, and follow after, as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight o'clock, it is both term and parliament time, here we will break our faſt, and when the ſtreets are full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your brother in the ſtreets, ſhun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingly Dr. Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all reſpects, and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in priſon out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin-lane, and from one lane to another till he came to Moregate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal-green, where the horſes were ready, and Mr. Hurleſtone to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kiſſed each other: he put his hand in his purſe, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet ſince that, Dr. Sands remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law Mr. Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told Mr. Sands, that there were two of the guard which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands, and ſo they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honeſt farmer near the ſea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without company. After that he ſhifted to one James Mower, a ſhipmaſter, who dwelt at Milton Shore, where he expected wind for the Engliſh fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation; they liked him ſo well, that they promiſed to die for it, before that he ſhould be apprehended.

The ſixth of May, being Sunday, the wind ſerved. He took his leave of his hoſt and hoſteſs, and went towards the ſhip. In taking his leave of his hoſteſs who was barren, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and ſaid, Be of good comfort, before that one whole year be paſt, God ſhall give you a child; a boy. And it came to paſs, that that day twelvemonth lacking one day, God gave her a fair ſon.

At the ſhore Dr. Sands met with Mr. Iſaac, of Kent, who had his eldeſt ſon there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, ſent his ſon with him, who afterwards died in his father's houſe in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ſhip, being one Cockrel's ſhip, and were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner by Mr. Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin, being ſecretary to the Engliſh houſe, and kinſman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and ſaid, king Philip hath ſent to make ſearch for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they roſe from their dinner in great haſte, and went out of the gate leading toward Cleveland. They found a waggon, and haſting away, got ſafe to Augſburg, in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then travelled towards Straſburgh, where after he had lived one year, his wife came to him. He fell ſick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which died of the plague. His wife at length fell into a conſumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Mr. Sampſon went away to Emanuel, a man ſkilful in Hebrew. Mr. Grindal went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands ſtill remained in Straſburgh, whoſe ſupport was chiefly from one Mr. Iſaac, who loved him moſt dearly, and was ever more ready to give than to receive. He gave him in that ſpace above an hundred marks, which ſum the ſaid Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendſhip ſhewed himſelf to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's houſe for the ſpace of five weeks. Being there, as they ſat at dinner, word ſuddenly came that queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was ſent for by his friends at Straſburgh. That news made Mr. Martyr, and Mr. Jarret then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it ſmote into his heart that he ſhould be called to miſery.

Mr. Bullinger and the miniſters feaſted him, and he took his leave and returned to Straſburgh, where he preached; and ſo Mr. Grindall and he came over to England, and arrived in London, the ſame day that queen Elizabeth was crowned.

The miraculous Preſervation *of the* Lady ELIZABETH, *afterwards* Queen *of* England, *from extreme* Calamity *and* Danger *of* Life, *in the* Time *of* Queen MARY, *her* Siſter.

BUT when all hath been ſaid and told, whatſoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's preſent hand in defending and delivering any one perſon out of thraldom, never was there ſince the memory of our fathers, any example to be ſhewed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably ſhewed itſelf, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous eſcape of the lady Elizabeth, in the time of queen Mary, her ſiſter.

In which ſtory we firſt have to conſider in what extreme miſery, ſickneſs, fear, and peril her highneſs was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death ſhe was brought: firſt, with great bands of armed men (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her), being fetched up as the greateſt traitor in the world, clapped into the Tower, and again toſſed from thence, and from houſe to houſe, from priſon to priſon, from poſt to pillar, at length alſo priſoner in her own houſe, and guarded with a ſet of cut-throats, who ever gaped for the ſpoil, whereby they might be fingering of ſomewhat.

Secondly, we have to conſider again, all this notwithſtanding, how ſtrangely, or rather miraculouſly, ſhe was delivered from the danger, what favour and grace ſhe found with the Almighty; who, when all the help of man, and hope of recovery was paſt, ſtretched out his mighty protection, and preſerved her highneſs, and placed her in her princely ſeat of reſt and quietneſs.

In which ſtory, if I ſhould ſet forth at large all the particulars and circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as juſt occaſion of the hiſtory requireth; beſide the importunate length of the ſtory diſcourſed, peradventure it might move offence to ſome, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithſtanding I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to uſe ſuch brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the diſcharge of the ſtory, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now to enter into the diſcourſe of this tragical matter, firſt here is to be noted, that queen Mary, when ſhe was firſt queen, before ſhe was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and ſend for her to dinner and ſupper; but after ſhe was crowned ſhe never dined or ſupped with her, but kept her apart from her, &c. After this it happened immediately upon the riſing of ſir Thomas Wyat (as before was mentioned) that the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney were charged with falſe ſuſpicion of ſir Thomas Wyat's riſing. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that ſurmiſe, or for what other cauſe I know not, being offended with the ſaid lady Elizabeth her ſiſter, at that time lying in her houſe at Aſhbridge, the next day after the riſing of Wyat, ſent to her three of her counſellors, to wit, ſir Richard Southwell, ſir Edward Haſtings, then maſter of the horſe, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horſemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty, who at their ſudden and unprovided coming, found her at the ſame time ſick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, aſcending up to her grace's chamber, they deſired one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare to her grace, that there were divers come from the court who had a meſſage from the queen.

Her grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; however, being then very ſick, and the night far ſpent (which was at ten o'clock) ſhe requeſted them by the meſſenger, that they would reſort thither in the morning. To this they anſwered, that they muſt needs ſee her, and would ſo do, in what caſe ſoever ſhe were. Whereat the lady being ſurpriſed, went to ſhew her grace their words, but they haſtily following her, came ruſhing as ſoon as ſhe into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At whoſe ſudden coming into her bed-chamber, her grace, being greatly amazed, ſaid unto them, Is the haſte ſuch that it might not have pleaſed you to come to-morrow in the morning?

They made anſwer, that they were right ſorry to ſee her in that caſe; and I (ſaid ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they anſwered, That they came from the queen to do their meſſage and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleaſure was, that ſhe ſhould be at London the ſeventh day of that preſent month. Whereunto ſhe ſaid, Certainly no creature can be more glad than I to come to her majeſty, being right ſorry that I am not in caſe at this time to wait on her, as you yourſelves do ſee, and can teſtify.

Indeed we ſee it true, ſaid they, that you do ſay; for which we are very ſorry. Although, we let you to underſtand, that our commiſſion is ſuch, and ſo ſtraiteneth us, that we muſt needs bring you with us, either alive or dead. Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſorrowfully ſaid, That their commiſſion was very ſore; but yet notwithſtanding ſhe hoped it would be otherwiſe, and not ſo ſtrait. Yes verily, ſaid they. Whereupon they calling for two phyſicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether ſhe might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whoſe anſwer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their opinion to the contrary, but that ſhe might travel without danger of life.

In concluſion, they deſired her to prepare againſt the next morning, at nine o'clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the meſſengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, departed to their chamber, being entertained as became their worſhips.

The next morning, at the time preſcribed, they had her forth as ſhe was, very faint and feeble, and in ſuch caſe that ſhe was ready to ſwoon three or four times between them. What ſhould I ſpeak here, that cannot well be expreſſed, what a heavy houſe there was, to behold the irreverend and doleful dealings of theſe men, but eſpecially the fear and captivity of their innocent lady and miſtreſs.

Now to proceed in her journey from Aſhbridge; ſick in the litter, ſhe came to Redborne, where ſhe was guarded all night. From thence to St. Alban's, to ſir Ralph Rowlet's houſe, where ſhe tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortleſs in mind. From thence they paſſed to Mr. Dod's houſe at Myms, where they alſo remained that night; and ſo from thence ſhe came to Highgate, where ſhe being very ſick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many purſuivants and meſſengers from the court, but for what purpoſe I cannot tell.

From that place ſhe was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen to accompany her highneſs, who were very ſorry to ſee her in that ſituation. But eſpecially a great multitude of people were ſtanding by the way, who then flocking about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her eſtate. Now when ſhe came to the court, her grace was there ſhut up, and kept a cloſe priſoner a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, ſeeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, ſir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time ſir William Sentlowe was called before the council. To whoſe charge was laid, that he knew of Wyat's rebellion, which he ſtoutly denied, proteſting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels; but being ſtraitly examined, he was in concluſion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the biſhop of Wincheſter with nineteen others of the council (who ſhall be here nameleſs) came unto her grace from the queen's majeſty, and burdened her with Wyat's conſpiracy; which ſhe utterly denied, affirming that ſhe was altogether guiltleſs therein. They being not contented with this, charged her grace with buſineſs made by ſir Peter Carew, and the reſt of the gentlemen of the Weſt country: which alſo ſhe utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In concluſion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleaſure that ſhe ſhould go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

Whereat ſhe being amazed, ſaid, that ſhe truſted the queen's majeſty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her highneſs would not otherwiſe conceive of her but that ſhe was a true woman; declaring furthermore to the lords, that ſhe was innocent in all thoſe matters wherein they had burdened her, and deſired them therefore to be a further means to the queen her ſiſter, that ſhe being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majeſty, might not be committed to ſo notorious and doleful a place; proteſting that ſhe would requeſt no favour at her hand, if ſhe ſhould be proved to have conſented unto any ſuch kind of matter as they laid unto her charge, and therefore in fine deſired their lordſhips to think of her what ſhe was, and that ſhe might not ſo extremely be dealt withal for her truth.

Whereunto the lords anſwered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's majeſty was fully determined that ſhe ſhould go unto the Tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the ſpace of an hour or a little more, came four of the aforeſaid lords of the council, which were the lord treaſurer, the biſhop of Wincheſter, the lord ſteward, the earl of Suſſex, with the guard; who warding the next chamber to her, ſecluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; except that for one gentleman uſher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women to give attendance likewiſe upon her, that none ſhould have acceſs to her grace.

At which time there was an hundred northern ſoldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, and a great fire being made in the midſt of the hall, two certain lords were watching there alſo with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council, (the one was the earl of Suſſex, the other ſhall be nameleſs) came and certified her grace, that ſhe muſt go forthwith unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for no body. In heavy mood her grace requeſted the lords that ſhe might tarry another tide, truſting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requeſted him that ſhe might be ſuffered to write to the queen's majeſty, he anſwered, that he durſt not permit that: adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her grace in ſo doing.

But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Suſſex) kneeling down, told her grace that ſhe ſhould have liberty to write, and as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's highneſs, and bring an anſwer of the ſame, whatſoever came thereof. Whereupon ſhe wrote, although ſhe could in no caſe be ſuffered to ſpeak with the queen, to her great diſcomfort, being no offender againſt the queen's majeſty.

And thus the time and tide paſſed away for that ſeaſon, they privily appointing all things ready that ſhe ſhould go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear ſhe ſhould be taken by the way, they durſt not. So they ſtayed till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine o'clock theſe two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She anſwered, if there be no remedy, I muſt be contented, willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, ſhe caſt her eyes towards the window, thinking to ſee the queen, which ſhe could not. Whereat ſhe ſaid, ſhe marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that ſort would ſuffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for ſhe did not. In the mean time commandment was given throughout London, that every one ſhould keep the church, and carry their Palms, while in the mean ſeaſon ſhe might be conveyed without any concourſe of people to the Tower.

After this, ſhe took her barge with the two aforeſaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman uſher, and two of her grooms lying and hovering upon the water a certain ſpace, for that they could not ſhoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to ſhoot the ſame ſo ſoon as they did, becauſe of the danger thereof: for the ſtern of the boat ſtruck upon the ground, the fall was ſo great, and the water was ſo ſhallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there ſtayed again a while. At landing ſhe firſt ſtayed, and refuſed to land at thoſe ſtairs where all traitors and offenders cuſtomably uſed to land, neither could ſhe well, unleſs ſhe ſhould go over her ſhoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and aſked why ſhe came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word ſhe would not come.

Then ſaid one of the lords, who ſhall be nameleſs, that ſhe ſhould not chuſe; and becauſe it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which ſhe, putting it back with her hand with a good daſh, refuſed. So ſhe coming out, having one foot upon the ſtairs, ſaid, Here landeth as true a ſubject, being priſoner, as ever landed at theſe ſtairs: and before thee, O God, I ſpeak it, having no other friends but thee alone.

To whom the ſame lord anſwered again, that if it were ſo, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their ſervants and warders ſtanding in their order. What needed all this, ſaid ſhe? It is the uſe, ſaid ſome, ſo to be when any priſoner came thither. And if it be, quoth ſhe, for my cauſe, I beſeech you that they may be diſmiſſed. Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice deſired God to preſerve her grace, who the next day were releaſed of their old coats.

After this, paſſing a little further, ſhe ſat down upon a cold ſtone, and there reſted herſelf. To whom the lieutenant then being, ſaid, Madam, you were beſt to come out of the rain, for you ſit unwholſomely. She then replying, anſwered again, It is better ſitting here, than in a worſe place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that her gentleman uſher wept; ſhe demanding of him what he meant by uſing her ſo uncomfortably, ſeeing ſhe took him to be her comfort, and not to diſmay her, eſpecially for that ſhe knew her truth to be ſuch, that no man ſhould have cauſe to weep for her. But forth ſhe went into priſon.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which greatly diſcomforted and diſmayed her grace. At which time ſhe called to her gentlewomen for her book, deſiring God not to ſuffer her to build her foundation upon the ſands, but upon the rock, whereby all blaſts of bluſtering weather ſhould have no power againſt her. The doors being thus locked, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing ſtraitly and circumſpectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Suſſex, ſwearing, ſaid, My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commiſſion will bear us out in, whatſoever ſhall happen hereafter. And further, let us conſider that ſhe was the king our maſter's daughter; and therefore let us uſe ſuch dealing, that we may anſwer it hereafter, if it ſhall ſo happen; for juſt dealing (quoth he) is always anſwerable; whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well ſaid of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was that ſhe ſhould have maſs within her houſe. One Mr. Young was then her chaplain, and becauſe there were none of her men ſo well learned to help the prieſt to ſay maſs, the maſs ſtayed for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to ſchool before, and were learned, had two abcies provided, and delivered them, ſo that upon the abcies they ſhould help the prieſt. One of the ſaid yeomen, holding the abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at *Kyrie Eleyſon*, ſet the prieſt, making as though he could anſwer no further.

It would make a pitiful and a ſtrange ſtory, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to find out the knife that ſhould cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to ſee the day wherein they might waſh their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but eſpecially the biſhop of Wincheſter, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, who within five days after came unto her with divers others of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Awbridge, between her and ſir James Acroft, concerning her removing from thence to Dunnington caſtle, requiring her to declare what ſhe meant thereby.

At the firſt ſhe being ſo ſuddenly aſked, did not well remember any ſuch houſe; but within a while, well adviſing herſelf, ſhe ſaid, Indeed I do now remember that I have ſuch a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember.

Then, to enforce the matter, they brought forth ſir James Acroft. The biſhop of Wincheſter demanded of her what ſhe ſaid to that man. She anſwered, that ſhe had little to ſay to him, or to the reſt that were then priſoners in the Tower: but, my lords, ſaid ſhe, you do examine every mean priſoner of me, wherein methinks you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's majeſty, let them anſwer to it accordingly. I beſeech you, my lords, join not me in this ſort with any of theſe offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington caſtle, I do remember that Mr. Hobby and mine officers, and you ſir James Acroft, had ſuch talk; but what is that to the purpoſe, my lords, but that I may go to mine own houſes at all times?

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, ſaid, Your grace ſaith true, and certainly we are very ſorry that we have troubled you about ſo vain matters. She then ſaid, My lords, you do ſift me very narrowly: but well I am aſſured, you ſhall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and God forgive you all.

At their departure, ſir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring he was ſorry to ſee the day in which he ſhould be brought as a witneſs againſt her grace. But I aſſure your grace, ſaid he, I have been marvellouſly toſſed and examined touching your highneſs, which, the Lord knoweth, is very ſtrange to me: for I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I ſhould be driven to ſo ſtrict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made proviſion for her diet, brought the ſame to the outer gate of the Tower, the common raſcal ſoldiers receiving it; which was no ſmall grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they deſired to ſpeak with the lord-chamberlain, who was then conſtable of the Tower. On coming into his preſence, they declared unto his lordſhip, that they were much afraid to bring her grace's diet, and to deliver it to ſuch common and deſperate perſons as thoſe who received it, beſeeching his honour to conſider her grace, and to give ſuch order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them, who had been appointed for that purpoſe. Yea, ſirs, ſaid he, who appointed you this office? They anſwered, her grace's council. Council, ſaid he, there is none of them which hath to do either in that caſe, or any thing elſe within this place; and I aſſure you, for that ſhe is a priſoner, ſhe ſhall be ſerved by the lieutenant's men, as other the priſoners are. One of the gentlemen on this told him, that they truſted for more favour from his hands, conſidering her perſonage: and added, that they imagined the queen and her council would be better to her grace than ſo; and ſhewed themſelves to be offended at the ungracious words of the lord-chamberlain reſpecting their lady and miſtreſs.

On this he ſwore by God, ſtriking himſelf upon the breaſt, that if they did either frown or ſhrug at him, he would ſet them where they ſhould ſee neither ſun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they deſired God to bring him into a better mind towards her grace, and departed from him.

Upon which occaſion, her grace's officers made great ſuit unto the queen's council, that ſome proper perſons might be appointed to bring her grace's diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered by the common ſoldiers of the Tower: which being reaſonably conſidered, was by them permitted; and one of her gentlemen, her clerk of the kitchen, and her two purveyors, were appointed to bring in her proviſion once a day: the warders, however, continued to wait upon them on theſe occaſions.

The lord chamberlain himſelf being always with them, circumſpectly and narrowly watched and ſearched what they brought, and took care that they ſhould have no talk with any of her grace's waiting ſervants, and ſo guarded them both in and out. At the ſaid ſuit of her officers, were ſent by the commandment of the council to wait upon her grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and ewry, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder, all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the conſtable, being at the firſt not very well pleaſed with the coming in of ſuch a company againſt his will, would have had his men ſtill to have ſerved with her grace's men; which her ſervants would by no means ſuffer, deſiring his lordſhip to be contented, for that orders were given, that no ſtranger ſhould come within their offices. At which anſwer being ſore diſpleaſed, he broke out into theſe threatening words, Well, I will handle you well enough. Then he went into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roaſted with her grace's, and ſaid, that his cook ſhould come thither and dreſs it. To that her grace's cook anſwered, My lord, I will never ſuffer any ſtranger to come about her diet, but her own ſworn men, as long as I live. He ſaid they ſhould. But the cook ſaid, his lordſhip ſhould pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor ſervants very grievouſly; though afterward he was otherwiſe adviſed, and they were more courteouſly uſed at his hands. And good cauſe why. For he had good cheer, and fared of the beſt, and her grace payed well for it. Wherefore he uſed hinſelf afterward more reverently toward her grace.

Having been a whole month there in cloſe priſon, and being on that account uneaſy, ſhe ſent for the lord-chamberlain and the lord Chandois to come and ſpeak with her. When they were come, ſhe requeſted them that ſhe might have liberty to walk in ſome place, for that ſhe felt herſelf not well. To which they anſwered, that they were right ſorry that they could not ſatisfy her grace's requeſt, for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durſt not in any wiſe break. She then deſired of them, if that could not be granted, that ſhe might but walk into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that, they anſwered, could by any means be obtained without a further ſuit to the queen and her council. Well, ſaid ſhe, my lords, if the matter be ſo hard that they muſt be ſued unto for ſo ſmall a thing, and that friendſhip be ſo ſtrict, God comfort me; and ſo they departed, ſhe remaining in her old dungeon ſtill, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day lord Chandois came unto her grace, declaring unto her that he had applied to the council for further liberty. Some of them conſented thereunto, divers others diſſented, for that there were ſo many priſoners in the Tower. But, in concluſion, they did all agree that her grace might walk into thoſe lodgings, ſo that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen, did accompany her, the windows being ſhut, and ſhe not ſuffered to look out at any of them: wherewith ſhe contented herſelf, and gave him thanks for his good-will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being ſhut up, which was as much diſcomfort to her as the walk in the garden was pleaſant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the priſoners on that ſide were ſtrictly commanded not to ſpeak or look out of the windows into the garden, till her grace was gone out again, having their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her grace with this ſmall liberty contented herſelf in God, to whom be praiſe therefore.

During this time, there uſed a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to reſort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers; which he likewiſe did to the other priſoners confined there. Whereupon ſome evil and ſuſpicious perſons, thinking to make ſomething out of this, on a time called the child unto them, promiſing him figs and apples, and aſking him when he had been with the earl of Devonſhire, not ignorant of the child's often viſiting him. The boy anſwered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He anſwered, every day. They then aſked him what the lord of Devonſhire ſent by him to her grace. The child ſaid, I will go know what he will give to carry to her. Such was the diſcretion of the child, though only four years of age. This ſame is a crafty boy, ſaid the lord-chamberlain. How ſay you, my lord Chandois? I pray you, my lord, ſaid the boy, give me the figs you promiſed me. No marry, anſwered he, thou ſhalt be whipped if thou come any more to the lady Elizabeth, or the lord Courtney. The boy anſwered, I will bring my lady my miſtreſs more flowers. Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy to come no more up into their chambers.

The next day as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, called unto her, Miſtreſs, I can bring you no more flowers. At which ſhe ſmiled, but ſaid nothing, underſtanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore the chamberlain highly rebuked his father afterwards, and commanded him to put the child out of the houſe. Alas, poor infant! ſaid the father. It is a crafty knave, ſaid the lord-chamberlain; let me ſee him here no more.

The fifth day of May, the conſtable of the Tower was diſcharged from his office, and one ſir Henry Beniſield placed in his room, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared; which ſudden alteration occaſioned her no ſmall ſurprize. He brought with him an hundred ſoldiers in blue coats, wherewith ſhe was marvellouſly diſcomforted, and demanded of ſuch as were about her, whether the lady Jane's ſcaffold were taken away or not, fearing, by reaſon of their coming, left ſhe ſhould have played her part. To whom anſwer was made, that the ſcaffold was taken away, and that ſhe need not be apprehenſive of any ſuch tyranny; for God would not ſuffer any ſuch treaſon againſt her perſon. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether ſatisfied, ſhe aſked what ſir Henry Beniſield was, and whether he was of that conſcience, or no, that if her murdering were ſecretly committed to his charge he would ſee the execution thereof.

She was anſwered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. However they perſuaded her that God would not ſuffer ſuch wickedneſs to proceed. Well, quoth ſhe, God grant it be ſo. For thou, O God, canſt mollify all ſuch tyrannous hearts, and diſappoint all ſuch cruel purpoſes; and I beſeech thee to hear me thy creature, who am thy ſervant, and at thy commandment, truſting by thy grace ever ſo to remain.

About which time it was ſpread abroad, that her grace ſhould be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his ſoldiers; but whither it could not be learned. Which was unto her a great grief, eſpecially for that ſuch a company was appointed for her guard, requeſting rather to continue there ſtill, than to be led thence by ſuch a ſet of raſcals. At laſt, plain anſwer was made by the lord Chandois, that there was no remedy, but from thence ſhe muſt needs depart to the manor of Woodſtock, as he thought. Being demanded by her, for what cauſe; For that, quoth he, the Tower is like further to be furniſhed. She being deſirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith. He anſwered, with ſuch matter as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and ſo departed.

In concluſion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, ſhe was removed from the Tower, the lord treaſurer being there for the lading of her carts, and diſcharging the place of the ſame, where ſir Henry Beniſield (being appointed her jailor) received her with a company of rake hells to guard her, beſides the lord of Darby's band, waiting in the country about for the moon-ſhine in the water. Unto whom at length came my lord of Tame, joined in commiſſion with the ſaid ſir Henry, for the ſafe guiding of her to priſon; and they together conveyed her grace to Woodſtock, as hereafter followeth.

The firſt day they conducted her to Richmond, where ſhe continued all night, being deprived of her own men which were lodged in out-chambers, and ſir Henry Beniſield's ſoldiers were appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her perſon. Whereat ſhe being marvelouſly diſmayed, thinking verily ſome ſecret miſchief to be working towards her, called her gentleman uſher, and deſired him with the reſt of his company to pray for her, for this night, ſaid ſhe, I think to die. Wherewith he being ſtruck to the heart, ſaid, God forbid that any ſuch wickedneſs ſhould be intended againſt your grace. So comforting her as well as he could, at laſt he burſt out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and ſir Henry Beniſield.

Then he coming to the lord of Tame (who had profered him much friendſhip) deſired to ſpeak a word or two with him. Unto whom he familiarly ſaid, he would with all his heart. Which when ſir Henry, ſtanding by, heard, he aſked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman uſher anſwered. No great matter, ſir, but to ſpeak with my lord a word or two.

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he ſpake on this wiſe, My lord, quoth he, you have been always my good lord, and ſo I beſeech you to remain. The cauſe why I come to you at this time, is to deſire your honour unfeignedly to declare unto me whether any danger is meant towards my miſtreſs this night, or not, that I and my poor fellows may take ſuch part as ſhall pleaſe God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die, than ſhe ſhould ſecretly and innocently miſcarry. Marry, ſaid the lord of Tame, God forbid that any ſuch wicked purpoſe ſhould be wrought; and rather than it ſhould be ſo, I with my men are ready to die at her feet alſo: and ſo (praiſed be God) they paſſed that doleful night, with no little heavineſs of heart.

Afterwards paſſing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windſor, her grace eſpied certain of her poor ſervants ſtanding on the other ſide, which were very deſirous to ſee her. Whom when ſhe beheld, turning to one of her men ſtanding by, ſhe ſaid, Yonder I ſee certain of my men: go to them and ſay theſe words from me, *Tanquam ovis*, that is, Like a ſheep to the ſlaughter.

So ſhe paſſing forward to Windſor, lodged that night in the dean of Windſor's houſe, a place more meet for a prieſt than a princeſs.

And from thence her grace was guarded and brought the next night to Mr. Dormer's houſe, where much people ſtanding by the way, ſome preſented to her one gift, and ſome another, ſo that ſir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very ſore, for ſhewing their loving hearts in ſuch a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with ſuch like vile words.

Beſides, as ſhe paſſed through the villages, the townſmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking indeed that it had been otherwiſe than it was, as the ſequel proved after to the ſaid poor men. For immediately the ſaid ſir Henry hearing the ſame, ſent his ſoldiers thither, who apprehended ſome of the ringers, ſetting them in the ſtocks, and otherwiſe uncourteouſly miſuſing ſome others for their good wills.

On the morrow, her grace paſſing from Mr. Dormer's (where was for the time of her abode there, a ſtrict watch kept), came to my lord of Tame's houſe, where ſhe lay all night, being very princely entertained both by knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat ſir Henry Benifield grumbled, and was highly offended, ſaying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to anſwer their doings in that behalf, letting them to underſtand, that ſhe was the queen's priſoner, and no otherwiſe; adviſing them therefore to take heed and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the lord of Tame anſwered in this wiſe; That he was well adviſed of his doings, being joined in commiſſion as well as he, adding with warrant, that her grace might and ſhould, while in his houſe, be merry.

The next day, as ſhe ſhould take her journey from Richmond towards Woodſtock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing, and dropping vie crowns, the lady Elizabeth paſſing by, ſtayed, and ſaid ſhe would ſee the game played out, which ſir Henry Benifield would ſcarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing drop vie crowns, Come on, ſaith he; I will tarry, ſaith ſhe, and will ſee this game out.

After this, ſir Henry Benifield went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her grace a chair, two cuſhions, and a foot carpet, very fair and prince-like, wherein preſumptuouſly he ſat, and called one Barwick, his man, to pull off his boots. Which as ſoon as it was known among the ladies and gentlemen, every one muſed thereat, and laughed him to ſcorn, obſerving his indiſcreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When ſupper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies ſhould withdraw themſelves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there ſuch a large company, conſidering the great charge he had committed to him.

Sir Henry, quoth my lord, content yourſelf, all ſhall be avoided, your men and all. Nay, my ſoldiers, quoth ſir Henry, ſhall watch all night. The lord of Tame anſwered, There is no need. Well, ſaid he, need or need not, they ſhall ſo do, miſtruſting perhaps the company, which God knoweth was without cauſe.

The next day her grace took her journey from thence to Woodſtock, where ſhe was incloſed, as before in the Tower of London, the ſoldiers guarding both within and without the walls, every day, to the number of ſixty; and in the night without the walls forty, during the time of her impriſonment there.

At length ſhe had gardens appointed for her to walk in, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when ſhe recreated herſelf therein, the doors were faſt locked up, in as ſtrict a manner as they were in the Tower, being at leaſt five or ſix locks between her lodging and her walks; ſir Henry himſelf keeping the keys, and truſting no man therewith. Whereupon ſhe called him her jailor; and he kneeling down, deſired her grace not to call him ſo, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. From ſuch officers (quoth ſhe) good Lord deliver me.

And now by the way, as digreſſing, or rather refreſhing the reader, if it be lawful in ſo ſerious a ſtory to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the ſame; occaſion here moveth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefly what happened in the ſame place and time, by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her grace: who obſerving the ſtrict and ſtrange keeping of his lady and miſtreſs, by the ſaid ſir Henry Benifield, with ſo many locks and doors, with ſuch a watch and guard about her, as was ſtrange and wonderful, eſpied a goat in the ward where her grace was; and whether to refreſh her oppreſſed mind, or to notify her ſtrait handling by ſir Henry, or elſe both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her grace therewith as ſhe was going into her lodging.

Which when ſhe ſaw, ſhe aſked him what he would do with it, deſiring him to let it alone. The man anſwered, No, by St. Mary (if it pleaſe your grace), will I not; for I cannot tell whether he be one of the queen's friends or not. I will carry him to ſir Henry Benifield (God willing) to know what he is: ſo leaving her grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to ſir Henry: who when he ſaw him coming with it, aſked him, half angrily, what he had there.

Unto whom the man anſwered, ſaying, Sir, I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my lady's grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell. For I underſtand him not, but he ſhould ſeem to me to be ſome ſtranger, and I think verily a Welſhman, for he hath a white frize coat on his back. And forſomuch as I being the queen's ſubject, and perceiving the ſtrict charge committed to you, that no ſtranger ſhould have acceſs to her without ſufficient licence, I have here found a ſtranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her grace was walking: and therefore for the neceſſary diſcharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the ſaid ſtranger to you, to examine as you ſee cauſe; and ſo he ſet him down. At this ſir Henry ſeemed much diſpleaſed, and ſaid, Well, well, you will never leave this gear, I ſee; and ſo they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digreſſed, after her grace had been there a time, ſhe applied to the counſel for leave to write to the queen. This at laſt was permitted: ſo ſir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and ſtanding by her while ſhe wrote (which he ſtrictly obſerved), ſhe being ſometimes weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when ſhe called for them. When ſhe had finiſhed, he would fain have been meſſenger to the queen with the ſame. Whoſe requeſt her grace denied, ſaying, One of her own men ſhould carry them, and that ſhe would neither truſt him, nor any of his with them.

Then he anſwered again, ſaying, None of them durſt be ſo bold (he thought) as to carry her letters for her in her preſent ſituation. Yes, ſaid ſhe, I am aſſured I have none ſo diſhoneſt as to deny my requeſt in that behalf, but will be as willing to ſerve me now as before. Well, ſaid he, my commiſſion is to the contrary, and I may not ſo ſuffer it. Her grace replying again, ſaid, You charge me very often with your commiſſion. I pray God you may juſtly anſwer the cruel dealings you uſe towards me.

Then he kneeling down, deſired her grace to think and conſider how he was a ſervant, and put in truſt there by the queen to ſerve her majeſty; proteſting, that if the caſe were her's, he would as willingly ſerve her grace, as now he did the queen's highneſs. For which anſwer her grace thanked him, deſiring God that ſhe might never have need of ſuch ſervants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor anſwerable, but more than all the friends he had would ſtand by.

To whom ſir Henry replied, and ſaid, that there was no remedy but his doings muſt be anſwered, and ſo they ſhould, truſting to make good account thereof. The cauſe which moved her grace ſo to ſay, was, for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to ſend for her gentleman from the town of Woodſtock, demanding of him whether he durſt enterpriſe the carriage of her grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he anſwered, Yea ſir, that I will with all my heart. Whereupon ſir Henry, half againſt his ſtomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, ſent by the queen to her grace, for that ſhe was ſickly; who miniſtering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her grace five or ſix days. Then ſhe being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and council of her grace's behaviour and humility towards the queen's highneſs. Which her majeſty hearing, took very thankfully; but the biſhops repined thereat, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled much that ſhe ſubmitted not herſelf to her majeſty's mercy, conſidering that ſhe had offended her highneſs.

About this time, her grace was requeſted by a ſecret friend, to ſubmit herſelf to the queen's majeſty, which would be well taken, and to her great quiet and advantage. Unto whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would never ſubmit herſelf to them whom ſhe never offended. For (quoth ſhe) if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I ſhould have had before this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myſelf (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wiſhing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am aſſured I ſhould not be ſo locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaſeth him.

About this time there was a great conſultation among the biſhops and gentlemen, touching the marriage of her grace, which ſome of the Spaniards wiſhed to be with ſome ſtranger, that ſhe might go out of the realm with her portion; ſome ſaying one thing, and ſome another.

A lord (who ſhall be here nameleſs) being there, at laſt ſaid, That the king ſhould never have any quiet common-wealth in England, unleſs her head were ſevered from her ſhoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards anſwered, ſaying, God forbid that their king and maſter ſhould have that mind to conſent to ſuch a miſchief.

This was the courteous anſwer of the Spaniards to the Engliſhmen, ſpeaking after that ſort againſt their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good perſuaſions to the king, that the like honour he ſhould never obtain, as he ſhould in delivering the lady Elizabeth's grace out of priſon; whereby at length ſhe was happily releaſed from the ſame. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counſellors toward her grace (praiſed be God therefore), who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon ſhe was ſent for ſhortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

But before her removing away from Woodſtock, we will ſtay a little to declare in what dangers her life was, during the time ſhe remained there: firſt through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where ſhe lay, whether by a ſpark of fire getting accidentally into a crevice, or whether for the purpoſe by ſome that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheleſs a worſhipful knight of Oxfordſhire, which was there joined the ſame time with ſir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire) verily ſuppoſed it to be done for the purpoſe.

Furthermore it is thought, and affirmed (for truth) of one Paul Penny, the keeper of Woodſtock, a notorious ruffian, and a butcherly wretch, that he was appointed to aſſaſſinate the ſaid lady Elizabeth; who both ſaw the man being often in her ſight, and alſo knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named James Baſſet, came to Blandenbridge, a mile from Woodſtock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and ſent for ſir Henry Benifield to come and ſpeak with him. But as God would, who diſpoſeth all things according to his own will, ſo it happened, that a little before, the ſaid ſir Henry Benifield was ſent for by poſt to the council, leaving ſtrict word behind him with his brother, that no man, whoſoever he were, though coming with a note of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, ſhould have acceſs to her before his return again. By reaſon whereof it ſo fell out, that Mr. Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would ſuffer him in no caſe to come in, who otherwiſe (as is ſuppoſed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a writ came down, ſubſcribed with certain hands of the council for her execution: which if it were certain, as it is reported, Wincheſter (no doubt) was deviſer of that miſchievous drift: and doubtleſs the ſame Ahithophel had brought his impious purpoſe that day to paſs, had not the fatherly purpoſe of Almighty God ſtirred up Mr. Bridges, lieutenant the ſame time of the Tower, to come in haſte to the queen to give certificate thereof, and to know further her conſent touching her ſiſter's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was diſappointed, and Wincheſter's deviliſh platform, which he ſaid he had caſt, through the Lord's great goodneſs came to no effect.

There moreover is to be noted, that during the impriſonment of this lady and princeſs, one Mr. Edmund Tremaine was on the rack, and Mr. Smithwike, and others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuſe the guiltleſs lady, being in her captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithſtanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as ſhe the ſame time lying at Woodſtock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mrs. Cleve from her father, was let in, and ſo gave them ſecretly to underſtand of all this matter. Whereupon the lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodſtock, wrote theſe lines with her diamond in a glaſs window:

Much ſuſpected by me;
Nothing proved can be.
Quoth ELIZABETH, Priſoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of lady Elizabeth, at Woodſtock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the ſame time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became ſurety for her, to have her from Woodſtock to his houſe, and had obtained a grant thereof. Thereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Mr. Benifield, or by the advice of Wincheſter her mortal enemy, letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her journey was ſtopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppreſſed with continual ſorrow, could not be permitted to have recourſe to any friends ſhe had, but ſtill in the hands of her enemies was left deſolate, and utterly deſtitute of all that might refreſh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if ſhe hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodſtock, a certain milkmaid ſinging pleaſantly, wiſhed herſelf to be a milkmaid as ſhe was, ſaying that her caſe was better, and life more merry than her's, in that ſtate as ſhe was.

Now after theſe things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, ſir Henry Benifield and his ſoldiers, with the lord of Tame, and ſir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the firſt night from Woodſtock ſhe came to Ricot. In which journey ſuch a mighty wind did blow, that her ſervants were fain to hold down her cloaths about her: inſomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Thereupon ſhe deſiring to return to a certain gentleman's houſe there near, could not be ſuffered by ſir Henry Benifield ſo to do, but was conſtrained under an hedge to trim her head as well as ſhe could.

After this, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and ſo to Colbroke, where ſhe lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbroke, certain of her grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threeſcore, much to all their comforts, who had not ſeen her grace for a long time before: notwithſtanding they were commanded in the queen's name immediately to depart the town, to both their's, and her grace's no little heavineſs, who could not be ſuffered once to ſpeak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, ſaving her gentleman-uſher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the ſoldiers watching and warding about the houſe, and ſhe cloſe ſhut up within her priſon.

The next day following, her grace entered Hampton-Court on the back-ſide into the prince's lodging; the doors being ſhut upon her, and ſhe guarded with ſoldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at leaſt, before any had recourſe unto her: at length came the lord William Haward, who uſed her grace honourably. Whereat ſhe took much comfort, and requeſted him to be a means that ſhe might ſpeak with ſome of the council. To whom not long after came the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewſbury, ſecretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themſelves to her grace. She again likewiſe ſaluting them, ſaid, My lords, I am glad to ſee you; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you deſolote and alone. Wherefore I would deſire you to be a means to the king and queen, that I may be delivered from priſon, wherein I have been kept a long time, as to you my lords is well known.

When ſhe had ſpoken, Stephen Gardiner, the biſhop of Wincheſter, kneeled down, and requeſted that ſhe would ſubmit herſelf to the queen's grace, and in ſo doing he had no doubt but that her majeſty would be good to her: ſhe made anſwer, That rather than ſhe would ſo do, ſhe would lay in priſon all the days of her life; adding, that ſhe craved no mercy at her majeſty's hand, but rather deſired the law, if ever ſhe did offend her majeſty in thought, word, or deed: and beſides this, in yielding (quoth ſhe) I ſhould ſpeak againſt myſelf, and confeſs myſelf to be an offender, which I never was towards her majeſty, by occaſion whereof the king and queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion: and therefore I ſay, my lords, it were better for me to lie in priſon for the truth, than to be abroad and ſuſpected by my prince. And ſo they departed, promiſing to declare her meſſage to the queen.

On the next day the biſhop of Wincheſter came again unto her grace, and kneeling down, declared that the queen marvelled that ſhe would ſo ſtoutly uſe herſelf, not confeſſing that ſhe had offended: ſo that it ſhould ſeem that the queen's majeſty had wrongfully impriſoned her grace.

Nay, quoth the lady Elizabeth, it may pleaſe her to puniſh me as ſhe thinketh good.

Well, quoth Gardiner, her majeſty willeth me to tell you, that you muſt tell another tale before that you be ſet at liberty.

Her grace anſwered, that ſhe had as ſoon be in priſon with honeſty and truth, as to be abroad, ſuſpected by her majeſty; and this that I have ſaid, I will ſtand unto, for I will never belie myſelf.

Wincheſter again kneeled down, and ſaid, Then your grace hath the advantage of me and other lords for your wrong and long impriſonment.

What advantage I have (quoth ſhe) you know; taking God to record, I ſeek no advantage at your hands for your ſo dealing with me, but God forgive you and me alſo. With that the reſt kneeled, deſiring her grace that all might be forgotten, and ſo departed, ſhe being faſt locked up again.

A ſeven-night after the queen ſent for her grace at ten o'clock at night to ſpeak with her: for ſhe had not ſeen her for two years before. Yet for all that, ſhe amazed at the ſuddenneſs of the meſſage, thinking it had been worſe than afterwards it proved, deſired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her, for that ſhe could not tell whether ever ſhe ſhould ſee them again or no.

At which time ſir Henry Benifield with Mrs. Clarencius coming in, her grace was brought into the garden, unto a ſtairs foot that went into the queen's lodging, her grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-uſher, and her grooms going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to ſtay, all ſaving one woman, Mrs. Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber where her majeſty was.

At the ſight of whom her grace kneeled down, and deſired God to preſerve her majeſty, not miſtruſting but that ſhe ſhould prove herſelf as true a ſubject towards her majeſty as ever any did, and deſired her majeſty even ſo to judge of her; and ſaid, that ſhe ſhould not find her to the contrary, whatſoever report otherwiſe had gone of her.

To whom the queen anſwered, You will not confeſs your offence, but ſtand ſtoutly to your truth; I pray God it may ſo fall out.

If it doth not, (quoth the lady Elizabeth) I requeſt neither favour nor pardon at your majeſty's hands. Well, (ſaid the queen) you ſtiffly ſtill perſevere in your truth. Belike you will not confeſs but that you have been wrongfully puniſhed.

I muſt not ſay ſo (if it pleaſe your majeſty) to you.

Why then (ſaid the queen) belike you will to others.

No, if it pleaſe your majeſty (quoth ſhe) I have borne the burden, and muſt bear it. I humbly beſeech your majeſty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true ſubject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life laſteth: and ſo they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in Engliſh: but what ſhe ſaid in Spaniſh, God knoweth. It was thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not ſeen, and that he ſhewed himſelf a very great friend in that matter, &c.

Thus her grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day ſeven-night was releaſed of ſir Henry Benifield her gaoler (as ſhe termed him), and his ſoldiers, and ſo her grace being ſet at liberty from impriſonment went into the country, and had appointed to go with her ſir Thomas Pope, one of queen Mary's counſellors, and one of her gentlemen-uſhers, Mr. Gage, and thus ſtrictly was ſhe looked after all queen Mary's time. And this is the diſcourſe of her highneſs's impriſonment.

Then there came to Lamhevre, Mr. Jerningham and Mr. Noris, gentlemen-uſhers, queen Mary's men, who took away from her grace, Mrs. Aſhly to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her grace, ſaying, that ſhe thought they would fetch all away at the end. But God be praiſed, ſhortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the merciful providence of the Lord's goodneſs, by occaſion of whoſe opportune deceaſe (as is partly touched in this ſtory before) the life of this excellent princeſs, and the wealth of England was preſerved. For this is credibly to be ſuppoſed, that the ſaid wicked Gardiner, of Wincheſter, had long laboured his wits, and to this only moſt principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear ſovereign out of the way; as both by his words and doings before notified, may ſufficiently appear.

But ſuch was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preſervation not only of her royal majeſty, but alſo of the miſerable and woful ſtate of this whole iſland, and poor ſubjects of the ſame, whereby the proud platforms and peeviſh practices of this wicked Ahithophel prevailed not: but contrariwiſe, both he and all the ſnares and traps of his pernicious council laid againſt another, were turned to a net to catch himſelf, according to the proverb, "The miſchief he deſigned for another, fell upon his own head."

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death alſo and drooping away of other her enemies, whereby little and little her jeopardy decreaſed, fear diminiſhed, hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full aſſurance of perfect ſafety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length in the month of November, and ſeventeenth day of the ſame, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queen Mary.

Although this hiſtory following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the ſame may here not unaptly be inſerted, for that it doth diſcover and ſhew forth the malicious hearts of the papiſts to the lady Elizabeth in the time of queen Mary her ſiſter, which is reported, by ſundry honeſt perſons, of unqueſtionable credit. The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the ſtir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to the lady Elizabeth for that cauſe, it happened that one Robert Farrer, a haberdaſher of London, dwelling near Newgate-market, in a certain morning was at the Roſe tavern, where chanced to meet him one Laurence Shiriff, grocer, dwelling alſo not far from thence; they drinking together as good friends (as they had been for a long time before), Farrer being a little elevated, and not conſidering who were preſent, began to talk at large againſt the lady Elizabeth, and ſaid, That jilt hath been one of the chief doers in this rebellion of Wyat, and before all be done, ſhe and all the heretics ſhall well underſtand it. Some of them hope that ſhe ſhall have the crown, but ſhe and they (I truſt) that ſo hope, ſhall hop headleſs, or be fried with faggots before ſhe come to it.

Laurence, the grocer, being ſworn ſervant to the lady Elizabeth, could no longer bear theſe ſcandalous expreſſions of his old acquaintance concerning his miſtreſs, but ſaid to him, Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee, but in this I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her grace's ſworn ſervant, and ſhe is a princeſs, and the daughter of a noble king, and it doth not become thee to call her a jilt; and for thy ſo ſaying, I ſay thou art a knave, and I will complain of thee. Do thy worſt, ſaid Farrer, for what I ſaid, I will ſay again; and ſo Shiriff went out of his company.

Shortly after, the ſaid Shiriff, taking an honeſt neighbour with him, went before the commiſſioners to complain, who ſat then at biſhop Bonner's houſe near St. Paul's, Bonner being then chief commiſſioner, the lord Mordaunt, ſir John Baker, Dr. Darbiſhire, chancellor to the biſhop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others, being preſent.

Mr. Shiriff coming before them, declared the manner of Farrer's talk againſt the lady Elizabeth. Bonner anſwered, Peradventure you took him worſe than he meant.

Yea, my lord, ſaid Dr. Story, if you knew the man as I do, you would ſay there is not a better catholic, nor an honeſter man in the city of London.

Well, ſaid Mr. Shiriff, my lord, ſhe is my gracious lady and miſtreſs, and it is not to be ſuffered that ſuch a varlet as he is ſhould call ſo honourable a princeſs by the name of jilt: and I ſaw yeſterday at court that my lord cardinal Poole, meeting her in the chamber of preſence, kneeled down on his knees and kiſſed her hand; and I ſaw alſo that king Philip meeting her, made her ſuch obeiſance, that his knee touched the ground; and then methinketh it were too much to ſuffer ſuch a varlet as this is, to call her jilt, and to wiſh them to hop headleſs that ſhall wiſh her grace to enjoy the poſſeſſion of the crown, when God ſhall ſend it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance.

Yea; ſtay there, quoth Bonner. When God ſendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly (ſaid he) the man that ſpake the words that you have reported, meant nothing againſt the lady Elizabeth your miſtreſs, and no more do we: but he like an honeſt and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore (ſaid Bonner), good man, go your ways home and report well of us to your miſtreſs, and we will ſend for Farrer and will rebuke him for his raſh and indiſcreet words, and we truſt he will not do the like again. And thus Shiriff came away, and Farrer had a ſlap with a fox's tail.

Queen Mary, being long ſick before, upon the 17th day of November, in the year above mentioned, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth her ſiſter. Concerning whoſe death, ſome ſay that ſhe died of a tympany, ſome (by her great ſighing before her death) ſuppoſed ſhe died of thought and ſorrow. Whereupon her council ſeeing her ſighing, and deſirous to know the cauſe, to the end they might the more readily miniſter conſolation unto her, feared, as they ſaid, that ſhe took that thought for the king her huſband, who was gone from her. To whom ſhe anſwering, ſaid, Indeed that may be one cauſe, but that is not the greateſt wound that pierceth my oppreſſed mind; but what that was, ſhe would not expreſs to them.

However afterward ſhe opened the matter more plainly to Mr. Riſe and Mrs. Clarencius (if it be true what they told me, who heard it of Mr. Riſe himſelf), who then being moſt familiar with her, told her, that they feared ſhe took thought for king Philip's departing from her. Not that only, ſaid ſhe, but when I am dead and opened, you ſhall find Calais lying in my heart, &c. And here is an end of queen Mary, and of her perſecutions.

Of which queen this truly may be affirmed, and left in ſtory for a perpetual memorial or epitaph, for all kings and queens that ſhall ſucceed her to be noted, That before her never was read in the hiſtory of any king or queen of England, ſince the time of king Lucius, under whom in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and impriſoning, ſo much chriſtian blood was ſpilled, and ſo many Engliſhmen's lives loſt within this realm, as under the ſaid queen Mary for the ſpace of four years was to be ſeen, and I beſeech the Lord never may be ſeen hereafter.

A brief Declaration, *ſhewing the unproſperous* Succeſs *of* Queen Mary *in perſecuting* God's People, *and how mightily* God *wrought againſt her in all her* Affairs.

As queen Mary during all her reign was ſuch a vehement adverſary againſt the ſincere profeſſors of Chriſt and his goſpel; for which there be many who do highly magnify and approve her doings therein: to the intent therefore that all men may underſtand, how the bleſſing of God did not only not attend her proceedings, but contrariwiſe rather how his manifeſt diſpleaſure ever wrought againſt her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and ſubverting all her counſels and attempts, whatſoever ſhe took in hand, we will beſtow a little time therein, to ſurvey the whole courſe of her actions, and conſider what ſucceſs ſhe had in the ſame. Which being well conſidered, we ſhall never find any reign of any prince in this land, or any other, which did ever ſhew in it (for the proportion of time) ſo many arguments of God's wrath and diſpleaſure, as were to be ſeen in the reign of this queen, whether we behold the ſhortneſs of her time, or the unfortunate events of all her purpoſes, who ſeemed never to purpoſe any thing that came luckily to paſs, neither did any thing frame to her purpoſe, whatſoever ſhe took in hand touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in ſcripture, in ſhewing mercy and pity, in ſeeking God's will in his word, and ſubverting the monuments of idolatry, how God bleſſed their ways, increaſed their honours, and mightily proſpered all their proceedings, as we ſee in king David, Solomon, Joſias, Joſaphat, Ezechias, with ſuch others; Manaſſes made the ſtreets of Jeruſalem to ſwim with the blood of his ſubjects; but what came of it, the text doth teſtify.

Of queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we muſt needs ſay, which we ſee, that ſhe in ſparing the blood, not only of God's ſervants, but alſo of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of queen Mary her ſiſter, with ſuch abundance of peace and proſperity, that it is hard to ſay, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in queen Mary's time, or of God's favour and mercy in theſe bleſſed days of queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel, ſpeaking his mind in the council of the Phariſees concerning Chriſt's religion, gave this reaſon, that if it were not of God, it could not ſtand. So may it be ſaid of queen Mary and her Romiſh religion, that if it were ſo perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the goſpellers were ſo deteſtable and heretical as they make it; how cometh it then, that this ſo catholic a queen, ſuch a neceſſary pillar of his ſpouſe the church, continued no longer, till ſhe had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to ſpare theſe poor heretics, rooted out queen Mary ſo ſoon from her throne, after ſhe had reigned but only five years and five months?

Further, how God bleſſed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, while ſhe thus perſecuted the true ſervants of God, remaineth to be diſcuſſed. Where this is firſt to be noted, that when ſhe firſt began to ſtand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no reſiſtance againſt Chriſt and his goſpel, but had promiſed her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by king Edward her brother, ſo long God went with her, advanced her, and by the means of the goſpellers brought her to the poſſeſſion of the realm. But after that, ſhe breaking her promiſe with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her ſupremacy to the pope, by and by God's bleſſing left her, neither did any thing thrive well with her afterward, during the time of her government.

For firſt, the greateſt and fineſt ſhip ſhe had, called Great Harry, was burnt; ſuch a veſſel as was not to be matched in theſe parts of Europe.

Then would ſhe needs bring in king Philip, and by her ſtrange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England ſubject to a ſtranger. And all that notwithſtanding, that ſhe either did, or was able to do, ſhe could not bring to paſs to ſet the crown of England on his head. With king Philip came in the pope and his popiſh maſs; with whom alſo her purpoſe was to reſtore again the monks and nuns to their places, neither lacked there any attempts to the utmoſt of her power; and yet therein God ſtopt her of her will, that it came not forward. After this, what a famine happened in her time here in her land? The like whereof hath not been in England, inſomuch that in ſundry places her poor ſubjects were forced to live upon acorns for want of corn.

Furthermore where other kings are wont to be renowned by ſome worthy victory and valour atchieved, let us now ſee what valiant victory was gotten in this queen Mary's days. King Edward the Sixth, her bleſſed brother, how many rebellions did he ſuppreſs in Devonſhire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordſhire, and elſewhere? What a famous victory was got in his time in Scotland, by the ſingular working (no doubt) of God's bleſſed hand, rather than by any expectation of man? King Edward the Third (which was the eleventh king from the conqueſt) by princely puiſſance purchaſed Calais unto England, which hath been kept Engliſh ever ſince, till at length came queen Mary, the eleventh likewiſe from the ſaid king Edward, who loſt Calais from England again; ſo that the victories of this queen were very ſmall, and what the loſſes were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of queen Mary have had no great ſucceſs, as you have heard: but never had any woman worſe ſucceſs than ſhe had in her childbirth. For ſeeing one of theſe two muſt needs be granted, that either ſhe was with child, or not with child; if ſhe were with child, why was it not ſeen? If ſhe were not, how was all the realm deluded? And in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the ſolemn proceſſions, the devout maſſes of the catholic clergy? Why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were ſo godly as they pretend? If their maſſes indeed be able to fetch Chriſt from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory; how chanced it then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if ſhe had been with child indeed? If not, how then came it to paſs that all the catholic church of England did ſo err, and was ſo deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after theſe manifold plagues and corrections, which might ſufficiently admoniſh her of God's diſfavour provoked againſt her, would not yet ceaſe her perſecution, but ſtill continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, ſetting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half dozens. Whereupon God's wrathful indignation, increaſing more and more againſt her, ceaſed not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (which chiefly and above all things ſhe deſired), then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things ſhould have been her chief ſtay of honour, and ſtaff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company, even of her own huſband, by whoſe marriage ſhe had promiſed before to herſelf whole heaps of ſuch joy and felicity; but the omnipotent Governor of all things ſo turned the wheel of her own ſpinning againſt her, that her high buildings of ſuch joys and felicities came all to nothing; her hopes being confounded, her purpoſes diſappointed, and ſhe alſo brought to deſolation; who ſeemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her ſubjects, nor even the love of her huſband; who neither had fruit by him while ſhe had him, neither could enjoy him whom ſhe had married, nor yet at liberty to marry any other whom ſhe might. Now obſerve the woeful adverſity of this queen, and learn hence what the Lord can do when man's wilfulneſs will needs reſiſt him, and will not be ruled.

At laſt, when all theſe fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to ſtay the tyranny of her prieſts, nor yet to ſpare her own ſubjects, but that the ſervants of God were drawn daily by heaps moſt pitifully as ſheep to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the heavenly Majeſty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would ſerve, ſeaſonably to cut her off by death, who in her life ſo little regarded the lives of others, giving her throne, which ſhe abuſed to the deſtruction of Chriſt's church and people, to another who more temperately and quietly could guide the ſame, after ſhe had reigned here the ſpace of five years and five months. The ſhortneſs of whoſe reign, ſcarce we find in any other ſtory of king or queen ſince the conqueſt or before (being come to their own government), ſave only king Richard III.

And thus much here, as in the cloſing up of this ſtory I thought to inſinuate, touching the unlucky and deplorable reign of queen Mary: not for any detraction to her place and ſtate-royal, whereunto ſhe was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect, that forſomuch as ſhe would needs ſet herſelf ſo confidently to work and ſtrive againſt the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only ſee how the Lord did work againſt her therefore, but alſo by her may be advertiſed and learn what a dangerous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to ſtir up perſecution in the chriſtian church, to the effuſion of chriſtian blood, leſt it prove in the end with them (as it did here), that while they think to perſecute heretics, they ſtumble at the ſame ſtone as did the Jews in perſecuting Chriſt and his true members to death, to their own confuſion and deſtruction.

The ſevere Puniſhment *of* God *upon the* Perſecutors *of his* People *and* Enemies *to his* Word, *with ſuch alſo as have been* Blaſphemers, Contemners, *and* Mockers.

QUEEN MARY being dead and gone, we will now leave her, and treat of thoſe under her who were the chief inſtruments in this perſecution, the biſhops and clergy, to whom ſhe, as a true catholic, gave all the execution of her power, as did queen Alexandra to the Phariſees after the time of the Maccabees; of whom Joſephus thus writeth: She only retained to herſelf the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power ſhe gave to the phariſees to poſſeſs, &c. Touching which prelates and prieſts, here is to be noted in like manner the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he ſhortened the reign of their queen, ſo he ſuffered them not to eſcape unviſited: firſt beginning with Stephen Gardiner, the arch-perſecutor of Chriſt's church, whom he took away about the midſt of the queen's reign; of whoſe poiſoned life and ſtinking end, forſomuch as ſufficient hath been touched before, I need not here make rehearſal thereof.

After him dropped away others alſo, ſome before the death of queen Mary, and ſome after, as Morgan, biſhop of St. David's, who ſitting upon the condemnation of biſhop Farrer, and unjuſtly uſurping his room, not long after was ſtruck by God's hand in ſuch a ſtrange manner that his meat would not go down, but riſe and puke up again, ſometimes at his mouth, ſometimes blown out at his noſe, moſt nauſeous to behold, and ſo he continued till his death.

Where note moreover, that when Mr. Leyſon, being then ſheriff at biſhop Farrer's burning, had brought away the cattle of the ſaid biſhop, from his ſervant's houſe, named Matthew Harbottel, into his own cuſtody, the cattle coming into the ſheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and ſo died.

What a ſtroke of God's hand was brought upon the cruel perſecutor of the holy ſaints of God, biſhop Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, who after he had exerciſed his cruel tyranny upon ſo many pious men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a Saturday from the chapter-houſe at Canterbury to Borne, and there upon Sunday following looking upon his men playing at bowls, fell ſuddenly in a palſy, and ſo had to bed, was willed to remember God: Yea, ſo I do, ſaid he, and my lord cardinal too, &c.

After him ſucceeded another biſhop or ſuffragan, ordained by the aforeſaid cardinal. It is reported that he had been ſuffragan before to Bonner, who, not long after being made biſhop or ſuffragan of Dover, broke his neck falling down a pair of ſtairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's bleſſing.

John Cooper, of the age of 44 years, dwelling at Watſam, in the county of Suffolk, a carpenter by trade, a man of a very honeſt report, and a good houſekeeper, a harbourer of ſtangers that travelled for conſcience, and one that favoured religion, and thoſe that were religious.

This man being at home, there came unto him one William Fenning, a ſerving-man, dwelling in the ſaid town of Watſam, and underſtanding that the ſaid Cooper had a couple of fat bullocks, and did deſire to buy them of him, becauſe he had brought them up for his own uſe, and if he ſhould ſell them, he then muſt be compelled to buy others, and that he would not do.

When Fenning ſaw he could not get them (for he had often tried), he ſaid, he would ſit as much in his light, and ſo departed, and went and accuſed him of high-treaſon. The words he was charged with were theſe, How he ſhould pray, if God would not take away queen Mary, that then the devil would take her away. Of theſe words did this Fenning charge him before ſir Henry Doiel, knight (unto whom he was carried by Mr. Timperley, of Hincleſam, in Suffolk, and one Grimwood, of Lowſhaw, conſtable), which words Cooper flatly denied; and ſaid he never ſpoke them; but that did not avail.

Notwithſtanding that, he was arraigned at Bury, before ſir Clement Higham, at a Lent aſſize, and there this Fenning brought two vile men, that witneſſed to the ſpeaking of the aforeſaid words, whoſe names were Richard White, of Watſam, and Grimwood, of Hitcham, in the ſaid county of Suffolk. Whoſe teſtimonies were received as truth, although this good man, John Cooper, had ſaid what he could to declare himſelf innocent therein, but to no purpoſe, God knows. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by ſir Clement Higham's words, who ſaid he ſhould not eſcape, for an example to all heretics, as indeed he thoroughly performed: for immediately he was ſentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was accordingly performed ſoon after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him a wife and nine children, with goods and cattle to the value of 300 marks, all which ſubſtance was taken away by the ſaid ſir Henry Doiel, ſheriff, but his wife and poor children were left to the wide world in their clothes, and ſuffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had ſore laboured for, unleſs they made friends to buy it with money of the ſaid ſheriff, ſo cruel and greedy was he and his officers upon ſuch things as were there left.

Now, this innocent man being dead, his goods ſpoiled, his wife and children left deſolate and comfortleſs, and all things huſhed, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who ſurely doth revenge the guiltleſs blood, would not ſtill ſo ſuffer it, but at length began to puniſh it himſelf. For in the harveſt following, as the ſaid Grimwood, of Hitcham, one of the witneſſes before mentioned, was at his labour ſtacking up a goff of corn, being in health, and fearing no danger, ſuddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and thus moſt miſerably he died: ſuch was the terrible judgment of God, to ſhew his diſpleaſure againſt his bloody act, and to warn the reſt by theſe his judgments to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the ſame, for his mercy's ſake. Amen.

In the ſtory of Mr. Bradford mention was made before of Mr. Woodroffe, who being the ſheriff, uſed much to rejoice at the death of the poor ſaints of Chriſt, and ſo hard was he in his office, that when Mr. Rogers was in the cart going towards Smithfield, in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; Mr. Woodroffe had the carman's head broken, becauſe of his ſtopping his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the ſpace of a week, but he was ſtricken ſuddenly by the hand of God, the one half of his body was in ſuch a condition, that he lay benumbed and bed-ridden, not able to move himſelf, but as he was lifted by others; and ſo he continued in that infirmity the ſpace of ſeven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewiſe touching Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought by ſome, that the ſaid Ralph was afterward attached himſelf, arraigned, and hanged.

Who, being at the bar, before the judges, and a great number of people, ſpake theſe words: This is moſt juſtly fallen upon me, for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of that good and juſt man George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of queen Mary through my procurement, when I ſold his blood for a little money.

Among other perſecutors, there came alſo to our hands the cruelty of one Mr. Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames-ſtreet, who hearing one Angel's wife, a midwife, that kept herſelf from their popiſh church, to be at the labour of one Mrs. Walter, at Crooked-lane end, took with him three more, and beſet the houſe about, and took her and carried her to Bonner's officers, big with child, twenty-eight weeks gone, who laid her in Lollards' Tower; where, the ſame day ſhe came in, through fear, and a fall at her taking, ſhe was delivered of a male child, and could have no women to aſſiſt her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, ſhe was delivered under ſureties by friendſhip; and Dr. Story hearing thereof, charged her with felony, and ſo ſent her to Newgate. The cauſe was, becauſe that ſhe having a woman at her houſe that died in labour, and the child alſo, and ſo charged her with both their deaths.

But when ſir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were ſo long, died the ſaid Mr. Swingfield, and the other three that came to take her.

Becauſe ſome there be, and not a few, who have ſuch great devotion in ſetting up the popiſh maſs, I would deſire them to mark well the following ſtory. There was a certain bailiff, of Crowland, in Lincolnſhire, named Burton, who pretending an earneſt friendſhip to the goſpel in king Edward's days, at leaſt in outward ſhew (although inwardly he was a papiſt or atheiſt, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life), ſet forth the king's proceedings luſtily, till the time that king Edward was dead, and queen Mary placed quietly in her eſtate.

Then perceiving by the firſt proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewiſe; and ſo he moved the pariſh to ſhew themſelves the queen's friends, and ſo ſet up the maſs ſpeedily. Nevertheleſs the moſt ſubſtantial of the pariſh marvelling much at the bailiff's inconſtancy, conſidering alſo his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his requeſt, knowing moreover that their duty and friendſhip to the queen ſtood not in ſetting up the maſs, ſpared to provide for it, as long they might, but the bailiff called on them ſtill in the queen's name.

At laſt, when he ſaw his words were not regarded, and purpoſing to win his ſpurs by playing the man in the maſs's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon a Sunday morning, when the curate was beginning the Engliſh ſervice, according to the ſtatute ſet forth by king Edward the Sixth; the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and ſaith, Sirrah, will you not ſay maſs? Buckle yourſelf to maſs, you knave, or by God's blood I ſhall ſheath my dagger in your ſhoulder. The poor curate for fear ſettled himſelf to the maſs.

Not long after this, the bailiff rode from home upon certain buſineſs, accompanied by one of his neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the Fennebank homeward again, a crow ſitting in a willow-tree took her flight over his head, ſinging after her wonted note, knave, knave, and withal let fall upon his face, ſo that her excrements ran from the top of his noſe down to his beard.

The poiſoned ſcent and ſavour whereof ſo annoyed his ſtomach, that he never ceaſed vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was ſo ſore, and his body ſo diſtempered, that through extreme ſickneſs he got him to bed, and ſo lying, he was not able for the ſtink in his ſtomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out ſtill, ſorrowfully complaining of that ſtink, and with no ſmall oaths curſed the crow that poiſoned him. To make ſhort, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he deſperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

> Reported and teſtified for a certainty, by divers of his neighbours, both honeſt and credible perſons.

As James Abbes was led by the ſheriff towards his martyrdom, divers poor people ſtood in the way, and aſked their alms. He then having no money to give them, and deſirous yet to diſtribute ſomething amongſt them, did pull off his apparel, ſaving his ſhirt, and gave the ſame unto them, to ſame one thing, to ſome another, in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be ſtrong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Chriſt, to ſtand ſtedfaſt unto the truth of the goſpel, which he (through God's help) would then in their ſight ſeal and confirm with his blood. While he was thus charitably occupied, and zealouſly inſtructing the people, a ſervant of the ſheriff's going by and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blaſphemouſly ſaid, Believe him not, good people, he is an heretic and a mad-man, out of his wits; believe him not, for it is hereſy that he ſaith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, ſo did this wicked wretch ſtill blow forth his blaſphemous exclamations, until they came unto the ſtake where he ſhould ſuffer. Unto which this conſtant martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his ſtory more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (ſuch was the fearful ſtroke of God's juſtice upon this blaſphemous railer), that he was there preſently, in the ſight of all the people, ſtricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before moſt railingly charged that good martyr of God, who in this furious rage and madneſs caſting off his ſhoes with all the reſt of his clothes, cried out unto the people, and ſaid, Thus did James Abbes the true ſervant of God, who is ſaved, but I am damned. And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, ſtill crying out, that James Abbes was a good man and ſaved, but he was damned.

The ſheriff then being amazed, cauſed him to be taken and tied in a dark houſe, and by force compelled him again to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to ſome quietneſs. But (all that notwithſtanding) as ſoon as they were gone, he continued his former raging, and caſting off his clothes, cried as he did before, James Abbes is the ſervant of God, and is ſaved, but I am damned.

At length he was tied at a cart, and brought home to his maſter's houſe, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the prieſt of the pariſh was ſent for: who coming unto him, brought with him the crucifix, and their houſeling hoſt of the altar. Which gear when the poor wretch ſaw, he cried out to the prieſt, and defied all that baggage, ſaying, that the prieſt, with ſuch others as he was, was the cauſe of his damnation, and that James Abbes was a good man and ſaved. And ſo ſhortly after died.

Clark, an open enemy to the goſpel and all godly preachers, in king Edward's days hanged himſelf in the Tower of London.

The great and notable papiſt, called Troling Smith, of late fell down ſuddenly in the ſtreet, and died.

Dale, the promoter, was eaten into his body with lice, and ſo died, as it is well known of many, and confeſſed alſo by his fellow John Avales, before credible witneſs.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to thoſe that lay there for religion, died very miſerably, being ſo ſwollen, that he was more like a monſter than a man, and ſo rotten within, that no man could abide the ſmell of him. This cruel wretch, to haſten the poor lambs to the ſlaughter, would go to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, and others, crying out, Rid my priſon, rid my priſon. I am too much peſtered with theſe heretics.

The ſon of the ſaid Alexander, called James, having left unto him by his father great ſubſtance, within three years waſted all to nought: and when ſome marvelled how he ſpent theſe goods ſo faſt: O, ſaid he, evil gotten, evil ſpent; and ſhortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down ſuddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, ſon-in-law to this Alexander, and an horrible blaſphemer of God, and no leſs cruel to the ſaid priſoners, rotted away, and ſo moſt miſerably died. Who commonly, when he would affirm any thing, were it true or falſe, uſed to ſay, If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die. Witneſs the printer hereof, with divers others.

And what a notable ſpectacle of God's revenging judgment have we to conſider in Sir Ralph Ellerker, who as he was deſirous to ſee the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, whom they moſt wrongfully put to death: ſo ſhortly after the ſaid Sir Ralph Ellerker being ſlain of the French, they fell to mangling him, and after they had cut off his privy members, would not ſo leave him before they might ſee his heart cut out of his body.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of judge Hales, after he had drowned himſelf, taking occaſion thereby, called the following and profeſſion of the goſpel a doctrine of deſperation. But as judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had conſented to papiſtry; ſo whoſo well conſidereth the end of doctor Pendleton, (which at his death full ſore repented that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papiſts as he did) and likewiſe the miſerable end of the moſt part of the papiſts beſides, and eſpecially of Stephen Gardiner himſelf, who after ſo long profeſſing the doctrine of papiſtry, when there came a biſhop to him on his death-bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his maſter; he anſwering again, ſaid, that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter, and ſo both ſtinkingly and unrepentedly died, will ſay, as Stephen Gardiner alſo himſelf gave an evident example of the ſame to all men, to underſtand that popery rather is a doctrine of deſperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

And thus much concerning thoſe perſecutors.

The perſecuting clergy who died in the time of perſecution, we ſhall take no notice of, but thoſe who remained after the death of queen Mary were deprived, and committed to ſeveral priſons.

In the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, archbiſhop of York, and lord chancellor.
Thomas Thirlby, biſhop of Ely.
Thomas Watſon, biſhop of Lincoln.
Gilbert Bourne, biſhop of Bath and Wells.
Richard Pates, biſhop of Worceſter.
Troublefield, biſhop of Exeter.
John Fecknam, abbot of Weſtminſter.
John Borall, dean of Windſor and Peterborough.

Of David Pool, biſhop of Peterborough, it is not known whether he was in the Tower, or in ſome other priſon.

Goldwel, biſhop of St. Aſaph, and Maurice, elect of Bangor, ran away.

Edmund Bonner, biſhop of London, in the Marſhalſea.

Thomas Wood, biſhop elect, in the Marſhalſea.

Cuthbert Scot, biſhop of Cheſter, was in the Fleet, from whence he eſcaped to Louvain, and there died.

In the Fleet.

Henry Cole, dean of St. Paul's.
John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich.
Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.
Anthony Draycot, archdeacon of Huntingdon.
William Chedſey, archdeacon of Middleſex.

Concerning which doctor Chedſey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of king Edward's reign he recanted and ſubſcribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully conſented and agreed with his own hand-writing to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning juſtification by faith only, as alſo the doctrine of the two ſacraments then received, denying as well the pope's ſupremacy, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, invocation of ſaints, elevation and adoration of the ſacrament, the ſacrifice, and veneration of the maſs, as alſo all other like excrements of popiſh ſuperſtition, according to the king's book then ſet forth.

Wherefore the more marvellous it is, that he, being counted ſo famous and learned a clerk, would ſhew himſelf ſo fickle and unſtable in his aſſertions, ſo double in his doing, to altar his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought beſt, but what he might moſt ſafely defend. So long as the ſtate of the lord protector and of his brother ſtood upright, what was then the conformity of this doctor Chedſey, his own articles in Latin, written and ſubſcribed with his own hand, do declare, what I have to ſhew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not ſo faſt, but his religion turned withal, and he took upon him to diſpute with Peter Martyr, in upholding tranſubſtantiation, at Oxford, which a little before with his own hand-writing he had overthrown.

After this enſued the time of queen Mary, wherein doctor Chedſey, to ſhew his double diligence, was ſo eager in his commiſſion to ſit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the laſt year of queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, ſir Thomas Cornwallis, lord Clinton, and divers others of the council had ſent for him by a ſpecial letter to repair to London out of Eſſex, he writing again to the biſhop of London, ſought means not to come at the deſire of the council, but to continue ſtill in his perſecuting progreſs. The copy of whoſe letter I have alſo in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

It happened in the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, that one William Mauldon was bound ſervant to one Mr. Hugh Aparry, then a wheat-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who being newly come to him, and having no book there to look upon, being deſirous to occupy himſelf virtuouſly, looked about the houſe, and found a primmer in Engliſh, wherein he read on a winter's evening. While he was reading, there ſat one John Apowel, that had been a ſerving-man, about thirty years of age, born in Wales, whom the ſaid Mr. Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till ſuch time as he could get a ſervice. And as William Mauldon read in the book, the ſaid John Apowel mocked after every word, with contrary and flouting words irreverently, inſomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned to him and ſaid, John, take heed what thou doſt; thou doſt not mock me, but thou mockeſt God: for in mocking of his word, thou mockeſt him; and this is the word of God, though I be ſimple that read it; and therefore beware what thou doſt.

Then Mauldon fell to reading again, and ſtill he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Mauldon had read certain Engliſh prayers, in the end he read, Lord have mercy upon us, Chriſt have mercy upon us, &c.

And as Mauldon was reciting theſe words, the other with a ſtart ſuddenly ſaid, Lord have mercy upon me.

With that Mauldon ſaid, What aileſt thou, John?

He ſaid, I was afraid.

Whereof waſt thou afraid? ſaid Mauldon.

Nothing now, ſaid the other: and ſo he would not tell him. After this, when Mauldon and he went to bed, Mauldon aſked him what he was afraid of.

He ſaid, when you read, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. methought the hair of my head ſtood upright, with a great fear which came upon me.

Then ſaid Mauldon, John, thou mayeſt ſee, the evil ſpirit could not abide that Chriſt ſhould have mercy upon us. Well, John, ſaid Mauldon, repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jeſt at his word, he will puniſh us.

Alſo you uſe ribaldry words, and ſwearing very much: therefore, for God's ſake, John, amend thy life. So I will (ſaid he) by the grace of God; I pray God I may. Amen, ſaid the other, with other words, and ſo went to bed.

On the morrow, about eight o'clock in the morning, John came running down out of his chamber in his ſhirt into the hall, and wreſtled with his miſtreſs as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat ſhe ſhrieked out, and called her ſervants to help her, and took by ſtrength and carried him up unto his bed, and there bound him; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almoſt a day and a night, his tongue never ceaſed, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever ſtill, O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell, I would ſee the devil of hell, there he is, there he goeth, &c.

Thus he lay without amendment about ſix days, that his maſter and all the family being weary of the noiſe, agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and ſent him thither.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of God: therefore repent and amend, leſt the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witneſs hereof, William Mauldon, of Newington.

The ſame William Mauldon chanced afterwards to dwell at a town ſix miles from London, called Walthamſtow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord, 1563, and the fourth year of queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this ſchool, amongſt other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As theſe children were talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be buſy with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reaſon among themſelves, after their childiſh diſcretion, what he ſhould be. Some anſwered one thing, ſome another. Among whom, when one of the children had ſaid, He was a good old Father, Dennis Benfield ſaid, He is an old doating fool.

What wretched and blaſphemous words were thoſe you heard? Now mark what followed.

When Mauldon heard of theſe abominable words of the girl, he deſired his wife to correct her for the ſame; which was appointed to be done the next day; but when the morrow came, her mother would needs ſend her to London market: the girl greatly intreated her mother that ſhe might not go; however, through her mother's compulſion, ſhe was forced to go. And what happened? Her buſineſs being done at London, as ſhe was returning again homeward, a little beyond Hackney, ſhe was ſuddenly ſtruck on one ſide, which turned black, and ſhe ſpeechleſs. Whereupon ſhe was carried back to Hackney, and there died the ſame night. Witneſs of the ſame, William Mauldon and his wife, alſo Benfield her father, and mother.

A dreadful example, no doubt, both to old and young, what it is for children to blaſpheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to ſuffer their young ones to grow up in ſuch blaſphemous blindneſs, and not to nurture them betimes in the rudiments of the chriſtian catechiſm, to know firſt their creation, and then their redemption in Chriſt our Saviour, to fear the name of God, and to reverence his Majeſty. For what elſe do they deſerve but to be taken away by death, who contemptuouſly deſpiſe him they derive the benefit of life from?

Therefore let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched creature, not only to avoid blaſpheming the ſacred Majeſty of the omnipotent God their creator, but alſo not once to take his name in vain, as they are taught in his commandments.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to ſee to the inſtruction and catechiſing of their children, for whom they have bound themſelves in promiſe both to God and to his church: for if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers, had done their duty by this young girl, this deſtruction might not have fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind atheiſts, epicures, mammoniſts, belly-gods of this world, and ſons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, who ſay in their hearts, there is no God, learn alſo hereby not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but alſo in this miſerable creature here puniſhed in this world, behold what ſhall likewiſe fall on them in the world to come, unleſs they will be warned betimes by ſuch examples as the Lord doth give them.

Fourthly and laſtly, here may alſo be a ſpectacle for all thoſe who are blaſphemers and abominable ſwearers, or rather tearers of God, abuſing his glorious name in ſuch a contemptuous and deſpiteful manner as they frequently do: whom if neither the command of God, nor the calling of the preacher, nor remorſe of conſcience, nor rule of reaſon, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs, will admoniſh, yet let theſe terrible examples of God's ſtrict judgment ſomewhat move them to take heed to themſelves. For if this young maiden, who was not full twelve years old, for her irreverent ſpeaking of God (and that but at one time) did not eſcape the ſtroke of God's terrible hand, what then have they to look for, who being men grown in years, and often warned by the preacher, yet ceaſe not continually with their blaſphemous oaths, not only to abuſe his name, but alſo moſt contumeliouſly to tear him (as it were) and all his parts to pieces?

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, give ſentence againſt the lord Cobham, and died himſelf before him, being ſo mortified in his tongue, that he could neither ſwallow nor ſpeak for ſome time before his death?

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was ſhortly after ſo plagued of God, that all the hair of his head, and nails of his fingers and toes, went off, his eyes almoſt cloſed up, that he could ſcarce ſee.

I truſt, however, the goſpel of Chriſt being now received in the queen's court amongſt the courtiers and ſervants of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all ſobriety, and merciful compaſſion towards their own chriſtians, that they need not greatly any other inſtructions to be given them in this ſtory: yet forasmuch as examples frequently operate more effectually on the minds and memories of men; and alſo partly conſidering with myſelf how theſe, above all other ſorts of men in the whole realm, in time paſt ever had moſt need of ſuch wholeſome leſſons and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of drunkenneſs, and their heatheniſh prophaneneſs of life, I thought it may not be improper here to ſet before their eyes a terrible example, not of a ſtrange and foreign perſon, but of one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guards, not feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all courtiers, and of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord 1568: and as the ſtory is true, ſo is the name of the party not unknown, being called Chriſtopher Landeſdale, living in Hackney, in Middleſex: the order of whoſe life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is as follows.

This Landeſdale, who was married to an old woman of conſiderable property, lived notwithſtanding in a ſtate of whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a ſon and a daughter, whom he kept in his own houſe till his deceaſe. It was cuſtomary for him, when he ſhould have been ſerving God on the ſabbath-day, to be riding or walking about his fields, neither he nor any of his houſe coming to church after the Engliſh ſervice was again received. Beſides this, he was a great ſwearer, and a great drunkard, and alſo took great delight in making other men drunk, whom, when he had made drunkards, he would have to call him father, and he would call them his ſons; and of theſe ſons, by report, he had above forty. If he ſaw a man that would drink freely, he would take great notice of him, and ſpend his money chearfully with him in ale or wine, but moſtly in wine, to make him the ſooner drunk. Theſe bleſſed ſons of his would have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own houſe and at taverns: and not long before his death, he was ſo very much diſguiſed with liquor, at a tavern oppoſite his own houſe, that he fell down in a ſtate of inſenſibility; nor could he ariſe till helped up, and carried home.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaſter of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others, ſo his poor neighbours and tenants fared little the better for him, except it were with ſome broken meat, which, after his feaſts his wife would ſend unto them, or ſome alms given at his door.

Beſides all this, he did much injury to his poor neighbours, in turning his cattle on the adjoining commons, which eat up all from the poor without pity or mercy.

About two years before he died, a poor man, who was ill of a flux, happened, through weakneſs, to lie down in a ditch of the ſaid Landeſdale's, a ſmall diſtance from his houſe, where he had a little ſtraw brought him. Notwithſtanding the ſaid Landeſdale had out-houſes and barns enough to have laid him in, but would not ſhew him ſo much pity. In that ſituation the poor man lay night and day about ſix weeks before he died.

Certain good neighbours hearing of this, procured things neceſſary for his relief, but he was ſo far ſpent that he could not be recovered; lying in the hot ſun, with a horrible ſmell, moſt pitiful to behold.

A little before this poor man died, he deſired to be moved to another ditch more ſhady. Whereupon one of the neighbours coming to Landeſdale's wife for a bundle of ſtraw for him to ſit upon, ſhe required to have him removed to Newington ſide, becauſe, ſhe ſaid, if he ſhould die, it would be very far to carry him to the church.

Beſides this, there was a marriage in Landeſdale's houſe, and the gueſts that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they paſſed, and repaſſed him, but Landeſdale diſdained to contribute any thing to his relief, notwithſtanding that he had promiſed to Mr. Searles, one of the queen's guard, who had more pity on him, to miniſter to him things neceſſary.

To be ſhort, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney church-yard; upon whom Landeſdale did not ſo much as beſtow a winding-ſheet towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.

About two years after, the ſaid Landeſdale being full of liquor (as his cuſtom was), came riding in great haſte from London on St. Andrew's day, 1568, and as was reported by thoſe who ſaw him, reeling to and fro, with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch, tumbled headlong into it. Some ſay that the horſe fell upon him, but that is improbable. True it is, however, that the horſe, more ſober than his maſter, came home, leaving him behind. Whether he broke his neck with the fall, or was drowned, (though the water was ſcarce a foot deep) is uncertain; but certain it is, he was there found dead. Being thus found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as is the cuſtom) ſat upon him: and how the matter was managed to ſave his goods, the Lord knoweth; but the goods were ſaved, and the poor horſe indicted for his maſter' death.

The neighbours hearing of this man's death, and conſidering the manner thereof, ſaid it was juſtly fallen upon him, that, as he ſuffered the poor man to lie and die in a ditch near his own houſe, ſo his end was to die in a ditch likewiſe. And thus, chriſtian reader, in this ſtory, I have ſet before your eyes the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus; by which we may diſcover what happeneth in the end to ſuch voluptuous epicures and atheiſts, who, being void of all ſenſe of religion, and fear of God, yield themſelves up to all profaneneſs of life, neither regarding honeſty at home, nor ſhewing mercy to their neighbours abroad.

Chriſt our Saviour ſaith, Matt. v. "Bleſſed are the merciful, for they ſhall obtain mercy:" but judgment without mercy ſhall be executed on them which have ſhewed no mercy, &c. and St. John ſaith, 1 John iv. "He that ſeeth his brother have need, and ſhutteth up his compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him." Again, Iſaiah crieth out againſt ſuch profane drunkards, "Woe be unto them that riſe up early to follow drunkenneſs, and to them that ſo continue until night, till they be ſet on fire with wine. In thoſe companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes, and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and conſider not the operation of his hands," &c. Woe be unto them that are ſtrong to ſpue out wine, and expert to ſet up drunkenneſs.

The puniſhments of ſuch as are dead, are wholeſome documents to ſuch as are alive. Therefore, as the ſtory above exemplified may ſerve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard; ſo by what followeth, I would admoniſh all gentlemen to take heed in time, and forſake their outrageous ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Lord their God.

In the reign of king Edward, there was in Cornwal a certain luſty young gentleman, who rode in company with other gentlemen, and their ſervants, to the number of about forty horſemen. This youngſter entering into converſation with ſome of them, began to ſwear moſt horribly, blaſpheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words beſides. One of the company, not able to abide the hearing of ſuch blaſphemous abomination, told him in gentle words, that he ſhould give anſwer and account for every idle word.

The gentleman, offended thereat, ſaid, Why takeſt thou thought for me? take thought for thy windingſheet. Well, ſaid the other, amend, for death giveth no warning; for as ſoon cometh a lamb's ſkin to the market as an old ſheep's. God's wounds, ſaith he, care not thou for me; raging ſtill after this manner worſe and worſe in words, till at length, on their journey, they came riding over a large bridge, ſtanding over a piece of an arm of the ſea. Upon which bridge this gentleman ſwearer ſpurred his horſe in ſuch a manner, that he ſprang clean over with him on his back; who, as he was going, exclaimed, Horſe and man, and all to the devil. This terrible ſtory happening at a town in Cornwal, I would have been afraid to have related here, but for the teſtimony of Mr. Heynes, a miniſter, who was both the reprehender of his ſwearing, and witneſs of his death. Ridley, then biſhop of London, alſo preached and declared the ſame fact and example at Paul's Croſs. The name of the gentleman I could by no means obtain of the party and witneſs aforeſaid, for dread of thoſe (as he ſaid) of his kindred who yet remained in the ſaid county.

Having now ſufficiently admoniſhed, firſt the courtiers, then the gentlemen, now thirdly, for a brief admonition to the lawyers, we will here inſert the ſtrange end and death of one Henry Smith, a ſtudent of the law.

Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman for his father, and an ancient proteſtant, living at Camden, in Glouceſterſhire, was virtuouſly brought up by him in the knowledge of God's word and ſincere religion; wherein he ſhewed himſelf in the beginning ſuch an earneſt profeſſor, that he was called by the papiſts prattling Smith. After theſe good beginnings, he went to be a ſtudent of the law in the Middle Temple, London, where, by ill company, he began to be perverted to popery, and afterwards going to Louvain, was more deeply grounded in the ſame. Inſomuch that, returning from thence, he brought with him pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he uſed commonly to wear about his neck, and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray; beſides divers other popiſh traſh, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed this I ſhould be unwilling to declare, but that the notoriety of the fact was ſuch, as amazed almoſt the whole city of London. The end was this.

A ſhort time after his return, this Henry Smith became a foul jeerer, and a ſcornful ſcoffer of that religion which he once profeſſed. In his bed-chamber, in St. Clement's pariſh without Temple-bar, as he was going to bed in the evening, having ſtripped himſelf naked, he tied his ſhirt (which he had torn for that purpoſe) about his privities, and with his girdle or garter ſtrangled himſelf; having his Agnus Dei in a ſilver table, with his other idolatrous traſh, in a window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the church-yard, he was buried in a lane called Foſkew-lane.

FOREIGN EXAMPLES.

HOIMEISTER, the great arch-papiſt, and chief maſter-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was on his journey towards the council of Ratiſbon, to diſpute againſt the defenders of Chriſt's goſpel, ſuddenly in his journey, not far from Ulmes, was prevented by the ſtroke of God's hand, and there miſerably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

Another example we have of one Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the univerſity of Louvain, well commended for his flouriſhing wit and ripeneſs of learning, who, whilſt he favoured the cauſe of the goſpel, and took part with the ſame againſt the enemies of the truth, proſpered and went well forward; but after he drew to the company of Tyleman, maſter of the pope's college in Louvain, and framed himſelf after the rule of his unſavoury doctrine, that is, to ſtand in fear and doubt of his juſtification, and to work his ſalvation by merits and deeds of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful deſpair and diſcomfort of mind; as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a man's mind from all certainty and true liberty of ſpirit, to a ſervile doubtfulneſs, full of diſcomfort and bondage of ſoul.

Thus the young man, ſeduced and perverted through this blind doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wreſtling in himſelf a long time, till at length being overcome with deſpair, and not having in the popiſh doctrine wherewith to raiſe up his ſoul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied by three other ſtudents of the ſame univerſity, his ſpecial familiars. As they returned home again, Arnoldus, through fatigue, as it ſeemed, ſat down by a ſpring ſide to reſt himſelf: the others thinking no ill, went forwards, and in the mean time Arnoldus ſuddenly took out his dagger, and ſtruck himſelf into the body.

His fellows ſeeing him ſhrinking down, and the fountain to be coloured with the blood that iſſued out of the wound, came running to him, took him up, and brought him into an houſe near at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could, to repent his fact; who then by outward geſture ſeemed to give ſome ſign of repentance. Notwithſtanding, he eſpying one of his friends there buſy about him, to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with main force ſtabbed himſelf to the heart.

Johannes Sleidanus, in his 23d book, giveth a relation of Cardinal Creſentius, the chief preſident and moderator of the council of Trent, Anno 1552. The ſtory of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was ſtrange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, ſuch as have grace to be warned by other men's evils.

The twenty-fifth day of March, in the year aforeſaid, Creſentius, the pope's legate, and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was ſitting all day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope. After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refreſh himſelf, he began to riſe; behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigneſs, his eyes ſhining with fire, and his ears hanging down well near to the ground, and ſtrait began to come towards him, and couched under the table. The cardinal, not a little ſurpriſed at the ſight thereof, ſomewhat recovering himſelf, called to his ſervants, who were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to ſeek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other chamber about, the cardinal thereupon ſtruck with a ſudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into ſuch a ſickneſs, that his phyſicians, which he had about him, with all their art and induſtry could not cure him. And ſo in the town of Verona died this popiſh cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and preſident of this council, wherein his purpoſe was (as Sleidan ſaith) to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romiſh ſee, and to ſet it up for ever.

There were in this council of Trent, beſides the pope's legates and cardinals, 24 biſhops, doctors of divinty 62. And thus was the end of this popiſh council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, diſpatched and brought to nought.

The council of Trent, being then diſſolved by the death of this cardinal, was afterward notwithſtanding collected again about the year of our Lord 1562, againſt the erroneous proceedings of which council other writers there be that ſay enough. So much as pertaineth only to my ſtory, I thought proper hereunto to add an account of two adulterous filthy biſhops belonging to the ſaid council, one of whom reſorting to an honeſt wife, was ſlain by the juſt ſtroke of God with a boar-ſpear. The other biſhop, who uſed to creep through a window, in the ſame window was ſubtilly taken and hanged in a gin laid for him on purpoſe, and ſo contrived, that in the morning he was ſeen openly in the ſtreet hanging out of the window, to the wonder of all that paſſed by.

In the city of Antwerp lived one, named John Vander Warſe, of good eſtimation amongſt the chief of that place. Who, as he was of a cruel nature, ſo he was of a perverſe and corrupt judgment, and a ſore perſecutor of Chriſt's flock, with greedineſs ſeeking and ſhedding innocent blood, and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for which he was much commended by the bloody generation. By ſome he was called a blood hound, or bloody dog. By others he was called a ſhilpad, that is to ſay, ſheltoad, for he being a ſhort grundy, and of little ſtature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a country churl.

This man being weary of his office, (wherein he had continued above twenty years) he gave it over; and becauſe he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to paſs the reſidue of his life in eaſe and pleaſure.

About the ſecond year after, he came to Antwerp, to the feaſt called our lady's Oumegang, to make merry; which feaſt is uſually kept on the Sunday following the aſſumption of our lady. The ſame day about four o'clock in the afternoon, he being well loaden with wine, rode homewards in his waggon, with his wife and a gentlewoman waiting on her, and his fool. As ſoon as the waggon was come without the gates of the city, upon the wooden bridge being at that time made for a ſhift, with rails or barriers on each ſide for the ſafety of the paſſengers (about half the heighth of man), the horſes ſtood ſtill, and would by no means go forward, whatſoever the driver of the waggon could do.

Then he cried out to him that guided the waggon, ſaying, Ride on, in the name of a thouſand devils ride on. The poor man anſwered, that he could not make the horſes go forward. By and by, while they were yet talking, ſuddenly aroſe, as it were, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noiſe (the weather being very fair, and no wind ſtirring before), and toſt the waggon into the town-ditch, the ropes that tied the horſes being broke aſunder, in ſuch a manner as if they had been cut with a ſharp knife, the waggon being alſo caſt upſide down, by the fall whereof he had his neck broke, and was ſwallowed up in the mire. His wife was taken up alive, but died in three days after. But the gentlewoman and the fool, by God's providence were preſerved from harm. The fool hearing the people ſay his maſter was dead, ſaid, And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This happened in the year 1553. Witneſs hereof not only the printer of the ſame ſtory in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whoſe name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterwards through hatred was put to death by the papiſts, but alſo divers Dutchmen here in England, and a great number of Engliſh merchants who were at that time in Antwerp.

In the year 1565, there was in the town of Gaunt, in Flanders, one William de Wever, accuſed and impriſoned by the provoſt of St. Peter's, in Gaunt (who had in his cloiſter a priſon and place of execution), and the day the ſaid William was called to the place of judgment, the provoſt ſent for Mr. Giles Brackleman, principal advocate of the council of Flanders, and burgh-maſter and judge of St. Peter's, in Gaunt, with other rulers of the town, to ſit in judgment upon him; and as they ſat in judgment, Mr. Giles Brackleman reaſoned with the ſaid William de Wever upon divers articles of his faith. One whereof was,

Why he denied that it was lawful to pray to ſaints; and he anſwered, For three cauſes, the one was, That they were but creatures, and not the Creator. The ſecond was,

That if he ſhould call upon them, the Lord did both ſee it and hear it; and therefore he durſt give the glory to none other but God. The third and chief cauſe was,

That the Creator had commanded in his holy word to call upon him in trouble, unto which commandment he durſt neither add nor take from.

He alſo demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a purgatory which he ſhould go into after this life, where every one ſhould be purified and cleanſed.

He anſwered, That he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no ſuch place, but the death of Chriſt was his purgatory: with many other queſtions, proceeding after their order, till he came to pronounce his condemnation. But before it was read, he was ſtruck with a palſy, that his mouth was almoſt drawn up to his ear, and ſo he fell down, the reſt of the lords ſtanding before him, that the people might not ſee him: and the people were deſired to depart. Then they took him up and carried him to his houſe, where he died the very next day. Yet notwithſtanding all this, they burnt William de Wever, within three hours after.

About the borders of Suevia, in Germany, there was a monaſtery of Ciſtercian monks, founded in the days of pope Innocent the Second, by a noble baron, about the year 1110. This cell, in proceſs of time, was enlarged with more ample poſſeſſions, finding many great and liberal benefactors contributing to the ſame; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons.

The earls of Montford had beſtowed upon it great privileges, upon this condition, that they ſhould receive with free hoſpitality any ſtrangers, either horſemen or footmen, for one night's lodging. But this hoſpitality did not long ſo continue, through a ſubtle and deviliſh device of one of the monks, who took upon him to play the part of the devil, rattling and raging in his chains, near the room where the ſtrangers lay, in a frightful manner, in the night time to terrify the gueſts; by reaſon whereof no ſtranger nor traveller durſt there abide; and thus he continued for a long time.

At length it happened, that one of the earls of Montford, a benefactor to that abbey, coming to the monaſtery, was there lodged; when night came, and the earl at reſt, the monk after his wonted manner began to play the devil. There was ſtamping, ramping, and ſpitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bouncing of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make a man ſtark mad. The earl hearing the ſudden noiſe, and peradventure afraid at firſt, though he had not the art of conjuring, yet taking a good heart, and running to his ſword, he laid about him ſo well, and ſtill followed the noiſe of the devil ſo cloſe, that at laſt the jeſting devil was ſlain by the earl in earneſt.

A LETTER,

Written to HENRY II. King *of* France.

CONSIDER, I pray you, ſir, and you ſhall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, ſince you have ſet yourſelf againſt thoſe who are called Lutherans.

When you made the edict of Chaſteaubriant, God ſent you war; but when you ceaſed the execution of your ſaid edict, and as long as you were an enemy to the pope, and going into Almany for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs proſpered as you would wiſh or deſire.

On the contrary, what hath become upon you ſince you were joined with the pope again, having received a ſword from him for his own ſafeguard? And who was it that cauſed you to break the truce? God hath turned in a moment your proſperities into ſuch afflictions, that they touch not only the ſtate of your own perſon, but of your kingdom alſo.

To what end came the enterpriſe of the duke of Guiſe in Italy, going about the ſervice of the enemy of God, and purpoſing after his return to deſtroy the vaillies of Piedmont, to offer or ſacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upſide down our councils and enterprizes; as he overturned of late the enterprize of the conſtable of France at St. Quintin's, having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and deſtroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory.

Have you not heard of L. Ponchet, archbiſhop of Tours, who made application for the erection of a court called Chamber Ardent, wherein to condemn the proteſtants to the fire? Who afterwards was ſtruck with a diſeaſe called the fire of God; which began at his feet, and ſo aſcended upward, that one member after another was obliged to be cut off, and ſo he miſerably died without remedy.

Alſo one Caſtellanus, who having enriched himſelf by the goſpel, and forſaking the pure doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to perſecute the chriſtians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was ſtricken in his body with a diſeaſe unknown to the phyſicians, the one half of his body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as ice; and ſo moſt miſerably lamenting and crying, ended his life.

There are other infinite examples of God's judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legate du Prat, who was the firſt that opened to the parliament the knowledge of hereſies, and gave out the firſt commiſſions to put the faithful to death, ſwearing and horribly blaſpheming God. When dead, his ſtomach was found pierced and gnawn aſunder with worms.

Alſo one named Claude de Aſſes, a counſellor in the ſaid court, the ſame day that he gave his opinion and conſent to burn a faithful chriſtian (although it was not done indeed as he would have it), after he had dined, committed whoredom with a ſervant in the houſe, and even in the very action he was ſtricken with a diſeaſe called an apoplexy, whereof he immediately died.

Peter Liſet, chief preſident of the ſaid court, and one of the authors of the aforeſaid burning-chamber, was depoſed from his office, for being known to be out of his wits and bereaved of his underſtanding.

Likewiſe John Andrew, bookbinder to the palace, a ſpy for the preſident Liſet, and of Bruſeard the king's ſolicitor, died in a fury and madneſs.

The inquiſitor John de Roma, in Provence, his fleſh fell from him by piece-meal, ſo ſtinking that no man could come near him.

Alſo John Minerius, of Provence, who was the cauſe of the death of a prodigious great number of men, women and children, at Cabriers, and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaſpheming and deſpiſing God: beſides many others whereof we might make recital, which were puniſhed with the like kind of death.

It may pleaſe your majeſty to remember yourſelf, that you had no ſooner determined to ſet upon us, but new troubles were moved by your enemies, with whom you could come to no agreement; which God would not ſuffer, foraſmuch as your peace was grounded upon the perſecution which you pretended againſt God's ſervants: as alſo your cardinals cannot ſubvert through their cruelty the courſe of the goſpel, which hath taken ſuch root in your realm, that if God ſhould give you leave to deſtroy the profeſſors thereof, you ſhould be almoſt a king without ſubjects.

Tertullian hath well ſaid, that the blood of martyrs is the ſeed of the goſpel. Wherefore to take away all theſe evils coming of the riches of papiſts, which cauſe ſo much whoredom, ſodomy, and inceſt, wherein they wallow like hogs, feeding their idle bellies, the beſt way were to put them from their lands and poſſeſſions, as the old ſacrificing Levites were, according to the expreſs commandment which was given to Joſhua. For as long as the commandment of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aſpire to principalities, riches and worldly honours, then began the abomination and deſolation that Chriſt foretold.

It was even ſo in the primitive church, for it flouriſhed and continued in all pureneſs, as long as the miniſters were of ſmall wealth, and ſought not their particular profit, but the glory of God. But ſince the pope began to be prince-like, and to uſurp the dominion of the empire under the colour of a falſe donation of Conſtantine, they have turned the ſcriptures from their true ſenſe, and have attributed the ſervice to themſelves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your majeſty may ſeize with good right upon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a ſafe conſcience to employ them to their true and right uſe.

Firſt, For the finding and maintaining of the faithful miniſters of the word of God, for ſuch livings ſhall be requiſite for them, according as the caſe ſhall require. Secondly, For the entertainment of your juſtices that give judgment. Thirdly, For the relieving of the poor, and maintainance of colleges to inſtruct the poor youth in that which they ſhall be moſt apt unto. And the reſt, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own eſtate and affairs, to the great eaſement of your poor people, which alone bear the burthen, and poſſeſs in a manner nothing.

In doing this, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, who live by the crucifix, would employ themſelves to your ſervice, and the common-wealths ſo much the more diligently, as they ſee that you recompenſe none but thoſe that have deſerved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your kingdom, which occupy the chief and greateſt benefices, who never deſerved any part of them. And thus much touching the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the pope's lordly clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth.

But when the papiſts ſee that they have not any reaſon to alledge for themſelves, they endeavour to make the Lutherans (as they call us) odious to your majeſty, and ſay, if their ſayings take place, you ſhall be fain to remain a private perſon, and that there is never a change of religion, but there is alſo a change of princedom. A thing as falſe as when they accuſe us to be ſacramentaries, and that we deny the authority of magiſtrates, under the ſhadow of certain furious Anabaptiſts, whom Satan hath raiſed in our time to darken the light of the goſpel. For the hiſtories of the emperors who have begun to receive the chriſtian religion, and that which is come to paſs in our time, ſhew the contrary.

Was there ever prince more feared and obeyed, than Conſtantine in receiving the chriſtian religion? Was he therefore put from the empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the ſame, and alſo his poſterity who ruled themſelves by his providence. But ſuch as have fallen away, and followed men's traditions, God hath deſtroyed, and their race is no more known in the earth, ſo much doth God deteſt them that forſake him.

And in our time the late kings of England and Germany, were they conſtrained in reproving ſuperſtitious, which the wickedneſs of the times had brought in, to forſake their kingdoms, and princedoms? All men ſee the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the church, do under their princes and ſuperiors. Yea, I may ſay that the princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed, at that time when the rude and ignorant people received ſo readily the diſpenſations of the pope, to drive out their own kings and natural lords.

The true and only remedy, ſir, is, that you cauſe to be holden a holy and free council, where you ſhould be chief, and not the pope and his, who ought but only to defend their cauſes by the holy ſcriptures; that in the mean-while you may ſeek out men not corrupted, ſuſpected, nor partial, whom you may charge to give report faithfully unto you of the true ſenſe of the holy ſcriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kings, Joſaphat, Ezechias, and Joſias, you ſhall take out of the church all idolatry, ſuperſtition, and abuſe, which is founded directly contrary to the holy ſcriptures of the old and new Teſtament, and by that means you ſhall guide your people in the true and pure ſervice of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the papiſts, who ſay that ſuch queſtions have been already anſwered at general councils: but it is known well enough, that no council hath been lawful ſince the popes have uſurped the principality and tyranny upon men's ſouls, but they have made them ſerve to their covetouſneſs, ambition and cruelty, and the contrary which is among thoſe councils, maketh enough for their diſproof, beſides a hundred thouſand other abſurdities againſt the word of God, which be in them. The true proof of ſuch matters is in the true and holy ſcriptures, to which no times, nor age, hath any preſcription to be alledged againſt them; for by them we receive the councils founded upon the word of God, and alſo by the ſame we reject that doctrine which is repugnant.

And if you do thus, ſir, God will bleſs your enterprize, he will increaſe and confirm your reign and empire, and your poſterity. If otherwiſe, deſtruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which ſhall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart as he did Pharaoh's, and take off the crown from your head, as he did to Jeroboam, Nadab, Baza, Achab, and to many other kings, which have followed men's traditions, againſt the commandment of God, and give it to your enemies to triumph over you and your children.

And if the emperor Antonine the Meek, although he were a pagan and idolater, ſeeing himſelf bewrapt with ſo many wars, ceaſed the perſecutions which were in his time againſt the chriſtians, and determined in the end to hear their cauſes and reaſons, how much more ought you that bear the name of the moſt chriſtian king, to be careful and diligent to ceaſe the perſecutions againſt the poor chriſtians, ſeeing they have not troubled nor do trouble in any wiſe the ſtate of your kingdom, and your affairs; conſidering alſo that the Jews be ſuffered through all Chriſtendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom we hold by common accord and conſent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour, and that until you have heard lawfully debated, and underſtand our reaſons, taken out of the holy ſcriptures, and that your majeſty have judged, if we be worthy of ſuch puniſhments. For if we be not overcome by the word of God, the fires, the ſwords, and the cruelleſt torments ſhall not make us afraid. Theſe be exerciſes that God hath promiſed to his, which he foretold ſhould come to paſs in the laſt times, that they ſhould not be troubled when ſuch perſecutions ſhall come upon them.

Tranſlated out of the French book, intitled, Commentaries of the State of the Church and Public Weal, &c. page 7.

The Story *and* End *of the* French King.

WHOSOEVER was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou ſeeſt (good reader) good counſel given to the king; if he had had the grace to receive and follow the ſame, no doubt but God's bleſſing working with him, he had not only ſet the realm in a bleſſed ſtate from much diſturbance, but alſo had continued himſelf in all flouriſhing felicity of princely honour and dignity. But inſtead of that, he was ſo outrageous againſt the proteſtants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would ſee him burn with his own eyes. But how he came ſhort of his purpoſe, the ſequel of the ſtory will make appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament-houſe, which was kept at the Friar Auguſtine's at Paris, becauſe the palace was in preparing againſt the marriage of his daughter, and his ſiſter, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counſellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſaid Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Eaux, counſellors, to be taken priſoners by the conſtable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of count Montgomery, who carried them to priſon. Againſt whom the king being full of wrath and anger, among other things, ſaid to the ſaid Anne du Bourg, Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt: and ſo on the 19th of June, commiſſion was given to judges to make their proceſs.

In the mean while, great feaſts and banquets were preparing at court, for joy and gladneſs of the marriage that ſhould be of the king's daughter and ſiſter, againſt the laſt day of June ſave one. When the time was come, the king employed all the morning in examining the preſidents and counſellors of the ſaid parliament againſt theſe priſoners, and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was ſolemnly made in St. Anthony's-ſtreet, near to the priſon where the foreſaid priſoners were committed, entered into the liſts; and therein engaging as the manner is, had broken many ſtaves very valiantly, running as well againſt the count of Montgomery, as divers others. Whereupon he was highly commended by the ſpectators. And becauſe he was thought to have done enough, they deſired him to leave off with praiſe: but he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praiſe, would needs run another courſe with Montgomery: who then refuſing to run againſt the king, and kneeling on his knees for pardon not to run; the king being eagerly ſet, commanded him on his allegiance to run, and (as ſome affirm) he alſo put the ſtaff in his hand, unto whoſe hand he had committed the aforeſaid priſoners a little before. Montgomery being thus enforced, whether he would or no, to run againſt the king, prepared himſelf after the beſt manner to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together ſo fiercely, that in breaking their ſpears the king was ſtruck with the counter blow, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the viſor of his helmet ſuddenly fell down at the ſame inſtant, that the ſplinters entered into his head; ſo that the brains were touched, and thereupon ſo feſtered, that no remedy could be found, although phyſicians and ſurgeons were ſent from all parts of the realm, and alſo from Brabant, from king Philip; but nothing availed, ſo that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July 1559, he miſerably ended his life, having reigned 12 years, 3 months, and 10 days.

The lamentable Hiſtory *of* JOHN WHITMAN, Shoemaker, *who ſuffered moſt cruel* Torments *at* Oſtend, *in* Flanders, Anno 1572.

JOHN WHITMAN, Shoemaker, about the age of 49 years, born in Tinen, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye, in the county of Suſſex, being married 23 years; always a profeſſor of the goſpel, as well in the time of freedom as in the time of perſecution. About Candlemas, in the year 1572, unknown to his friends in Rye, underſtanding of ſhipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Oſtend in Flanders, he went on board the Saturday morning, and arrived at Oſtend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinſmen dwelling there. The next day being Sunday, in the morning, he, accompanied with his ſaid kinſman, took his journey, at it were to have paſſed into the higher country.

When they were about three miles on their journey out of the town, Whitman immediately returned back to Oſtend, whither ſo ſoon as he was come, he immediately went to church, and at the time of the heave-offering, ſtept to the ſacrificer, and took from his head the idol, ſaying theſe words in the Dutch tongue, Is this your God? And ſo breaking it, caſt it down under his feet. The people laid hold on him, and he was carried immediately to priſon. The next day the judges and other counſellors being aſſembled, he was brought forth into the common-hall, and examined of this fact, the intent, the counſel, and abettors thereof, and alſo of his faith; where he very conſtantly in defence of his chriſtian faith, and great deteſtation of idolatry, behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he wrung tears from the eyes of ſeveral, both of the chief, and others preſent. So he was committed again to priſon. The next day being Tueſday, he was brought out again before the judges into the ſame place, and being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increaſed in his conſtancy. Whereupon ſentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his body ſcorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being Wedneſday, he was brought out of priſon to the townhall, ſtanding in the market-place, all things being prepared there for the execution. The hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied his hands, and came out leading him thereby. As ſoon as Whitman was out of the houſe, he made ſuch haſte, and as it were ran to the place of execution, ſo that he drew the hangman after him. There was a poſt ſet up with ſpars from the top thereof, a ſlope, down to the ground, in the manner of a tent, to the intent that he ſhould be only ſcorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman commanded him to lay down his right hand upon a block, which he immediately with a hatchet ſmote off: the good man ſtill continuing conſtant, the hangman ſtept behind him, and bid him put out his tongue, through which he thruſt a long inſtrument like a packing-needle, and ſo let it ſtick. Then the judges, ſtanding by in the common-hall, read again his crime and ſentence. Whereunto he could make no anſwer, his tongue hanging out of his head: then he was ſtripped to his waiſtcoat, and put within his tent, and made faſt with two chains, and fire was put round about, which broiled and ſcorched his body moſt miſerably, till he was quite black, he not being ſeen, but heard to make a noiſe within the tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a gibbet near the town.

The Oration *of* JOHN HALES *to her* Majeſty Queen ELIZABETH, *on her* Acceſſion *to the* Throne.

ALTHOUGH there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any perſon, on whom it ſhould pleaſe his goodneſs to beſtow it; yet is none of them either ſeparated by itſelf, or joined with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be companied to this one, That it hath pleaſed God of his mercy to deliver this realm, our country, from the tyranny of malicious Mary, and to commit it to the government of virtuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treaſure of Solomon, and might not be ſuffered to have the uſe thereof, in what better caſe was he than miſerable Tantalus, over whoſe head the apples continually hung, yet being ſtarved with hunger he could never touch them? If a man had as ſtrong a body as Sampſon had, and beſides, were as whole as a fiſh, as the proverb is, yet if he were kept in bands, what ſhould it avail him? Yea, rather, if it be well conſidered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

If a man had as many children as Gideon the judge had, and might not be ſo ſuffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good manners and knowledge, had he not been more happy without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as St. Paul had, and durſt nor profeſs it openly with his mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death ſhould declare the contrary, ſlander the word of God, and deny Chriſt, which is forbidden, ſhould it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwiſe?

And to be ſhort, if any man had all theſe gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the body, the mind, and of grace, yet if he might not have the uſe of them, what ſhould they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in uſing; not in poſſeſſing, but in occupying; not in knowledge, but in doing.

But alas, our natural mother England, which hath been counted the fureſt, the richeſt, and of late the moſt godly nation of the earth, hath been theſe whole five years moſt violently by tyrants forced to want the uſe of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and nature hath indued her. Her natural and loving children would not be ſuffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and ſuccour her or themſelves; but whatſoever they had, was either by open force, or by crafty dealing pulled from them. And ſurely this had been tolerable, if none other miſchief had been therewith intended.

He is a gentle thief (if thieves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his perſon. For ſuch loſs, with labour and diligence, may by recovered. He may be called a merciful murderer, that only killeth the aged parents, and uſeth no force on the children.

Nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like ſpace; and to kill the parents, is as it were a prevention of a ſhort time, if it were to the uttermoſt enjoyed. But theſe tyrants were more ungentle than common thieves, more devoid of mercy than common murderers. For they were contented not only to have the goods of the people, but they would have it delivered to them by the owners' own hands, that it might be ſaid to the world they gave with their heart; and they were not therewith pleaſed, but they would have their lives, that they ſhould not betray them; and yet herewith they were not ſatisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progeny and nation of Engliſhmen, that none ſhould be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our country into the Spaniards' dominion.

It is an horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for children to lay violent and murdering hands on their parents, but moſt horrible of all to murder the children in the ſight of their parents, or the parents in the ſight of their children, as theſe moſt cruel tormentors have done.

But what do I ſtand in theſe things which have ſome defence, becauſe the Turks perchance uſed ſo to do, and heathens kill one another, to make ſacrifice of men to their fantaſtical gods?

It was not enough for theſe unnatural Engliſh tormentors, tyrants, and falſe chriſtians, to be the lords of the goods, poſſeſſions, and bodies of their brethren and countrymen; but being very Antichriſts, and enemies of Chriſt's croſs, they would be gods, and reign in the conſciences and ſouls of men. Every man, woman, and child, muſt deny Chriſt in word openly; abhor Chriſt in their deeds; ſlander his goſpel with word and deed; worſhip and honour falſe gods, as they would have them, and themſelves did; and ſo give body and ſoul to the devil their maſter; or ſecretly fly; or after inward torments be burned openly. O cruelty! cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by thoſe ancient and famous tyrants and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Diocleſian, and Decius, whoſe names, for their cruel perſecution of the people of God, and their own tyranny practiſed on the people, have been, are, and ever ſhall be, in perpetual hatred, and their ſouls in continual torment in hell. If any man would take upon him to ſet forth particularly all the acts that have been done theſe full five years, by this unnatural woman, (no, no woman, but a monſter, and the devil of hell, covered with the ſhape of a woman) as it is moſt neceſſary, for the glory of God, and the profit of his church and this realm, it ſhould be done; he ſhall find it a matter ſufficient for a perfect great hiſtory, and not to be contained in an oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of one man; but to comprehend the ſum of all their wickedneſs in few words, behold, whatſoever malice in miſchief, covetouſneſs in ſpoil, cruelty in puniſhing, tyranny in deſtruction, could do, that all this poor Engliſh nation this full five years ſuffered already, or ſhould have ſuffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and loſt their lives to ſhake off this moſt rough brake, (wherewith this viragin, rather than virgin, as ſhe would be called and taken, boaſted herſelf to be ſent of God, to ride and tame the people of England) albeit there have been many that have gone about to looſe their brethren out of the yoke of this moſt miſerable captivity, and albeit ſome have proved to break the bands of this moſt cruel tyranny, yet could they never bring to paſs that which they ſo earneſtly laboured, and ſo manifeſtly attempted.

And it is not to be wondered, let the papiſts boaſt thereof what it pleaſeth them. For Almighty God being a moſt righteous governor, puniſhing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his juſtice ſuffer his ſcourge ſo ſoon to be taken from this our land, if he meant the ſalvation of the people, as moſt manifeſtly it appeareth he did. For having once given to this realm the greateſt jewel that might be, that is, the free uſe of his lovely word (which, if they had embraced and followed it, would have reformed all diſorders and ſins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked) the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abuſed it; and many made it a cloak and colour to cover their miſchief. So that if he ſhould ſuddenly have withdrawn this plague, (as tyrants and evil governors be the plague of God) they would never have paſſed on his juſtice, nor yet ſhould they have felt the ſweetneſs of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things preſent, and neither remember things paſt, nor yet paſs on things to come, unleſs they be warned by exceeding extremities.

Beſides this, it is moſt evident, that he had determined to make this noble conqueſt alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it ſhould be done by man, leſt man ſhould impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own ſtrength, or to his own policy, or that fortune ſhould ſeem to bear any ſtroke in ſo glorious a conqueſt, and ſo be partaker, in men's opinions, of the triumph ſo worthy.

Neither did this almighty power work this when man would have it diſpatched, that is, as ſoon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not ſo great a victory to diſcomfit a few diſperſed people, as it is to deſtroy a perfectly united army; but he ſuffered them to make their force as great as was poſſible, to work whatſoever miſchiefs by ſmile, baniſhment, priſonment, hanging, heading, burning, or otherwiſe could be imagined.

Neither would this moſt provident wiſdom do it out of ſeaſon: but as the good huſbandman doth not crop his tree, till he hath rendered his fruit; ſo would he not root out theſe peſtilent tyrants, till the moſt profit might be taken thereof.

When he had given ſufficient leiſure to all kind of men to declare themſelves who were crocodiles, ſometime lying in water, ſometime on land, that is, both goſpellers and papiſts; who were ſpunges, ſuſpected whether they had life or not life, whether they were chriſtians or epicures; who were camelions, that could turn themſelves into all colours, with proteſtants, proteſtants; with papiſts, papiſts; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Engliſhmen, Engliſhmen; who were Gnathos, that could apply themſelves to every man's appetite that was in authority: who were marigolds, that followed Mary's mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were maſtives, that could bite and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were foxes, that would promiſe much, and perform nothing; who could bind themſelves with many oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cains, that ſought the innocent Abels' deaths; who were the wolves that worried the lambs; and finally when he had ſuffered the ſpiritual ſhavelings to ſpue out their venom, and every man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly; then doth he work this moſt victorious conqueſt. And with his works he ſeemeth plainly to ſay thus unto us: Ye ſee, my people, what I have done for you, not for your ſakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I moſt plenteouſly poured on you, and have deſerved moſt grievous puniſhment for your unthankfulneſs; but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glory's ſake, which I will have opened to all the world in theſe latter days, to the fear of evil doers, and to the comfort of the well doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye ſee what will follow it: be hereafter more prudent and wiſe than ye were before: ye may, if ye will, be more circumſpect in time to come, than ye have been in the time paſt: ye may, if ye liſt, put me to leſs trouble, and keep yourſelves in more ſafety. I have not only diſcovered mine, your's, and my land of England's enemies, and all the crafts, ſubtilties, and policies that have been or may be uſed by them, or any like hereafter, but I have alſo taken away their head and captain, and deſtroyed a great number of them, that ye ſhould not be troubled with them, and ſome of them have I left, that ye may make them ſpectacles and examples, to the terror and fear of their poſterity. Love me, and I will love you: ſeek my honour and glory, and I will work your commodity and ſafety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever. Surely, if we conſider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleaſed God to uſe towards us, in the delivering of the realm and us his people, out of the hands of thoſe moſt cruel tyrants, as we cannot but do, unleſs we will declare ourſelves to be the moſt unthankful people that ever lived, we muſt needs judge it not only worthy to be compared, but alſo far to exceed the deliverance of the children of Iſrael out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and Senacherib. For it is not read that either Pharaoh or the other two ſought any other thing, than to be the lords of the goods and bodies of the Iſraelites; they forced them not to commit adultery, and to ſerve falſe gods, as theſe Engliſh tyrants did.

But, beſides, if we will note the wonderful works of God in handling this matter, we ſhall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his church and people, than perchance all men at the firſt do ſee. For he hath not only diſpatched the realm of the chief perſonages and head of theſe tyrants, but alſo, as it were declareth, that he minded not that either they or their doings ſhould continue. For albeit that all acts, done by tyrants tyrannouſly be by all laws, reaſon and equity, of no force; yet becauſe no diſputation ſhould follow on this, what is tyrannouſly done, and what is not tyrannouſly done, he hath provided that this queſtion needeth not to come in queſtion. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and ſuffered them to build on falſe grounds, which can no longer ſtand than they are propped up with rope, ſword, and faggot. For her firſt parliament, whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatſoever king Edward had for the advancement of God's glory brought to paſs, was of no force or authority. For ſhe perceiving that her enemies' ſtomach could not be emptied, nor her malice ſpued on the people by any good order, ſhe committeth a great diſorder. She by force and violence taketh from the commons their liberty, that, according to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the realm, they could not have their free election of knights and burgeſſes for the parliament. For ſhe well knew, that if either chriſtian men, or true Engliſhmen, ſhould be elected, it was not poſſible for that to ſucceed which ſhe intended. And, therefore, in many places divers were choſen by force of her threats, meet to ſerve her malicious affections. Wherefore that parliament was no parliament, but may be juſtly called a conſpiracy of tyrants and traitors: for the greater part, by whoſe authority and voices things proceeded in that court, by their acts moſt manifeſtly declared themſelves ſo: the reſt both chriſtians and true Engliſhmen, although they had good wills, yet were not able to reſiſt or prevail againſt the multitude of voices and ſuffrages of ſo many evil, falſe to God, and enemies to their country. Alſo divers burgeſſes being orderly choſen, and lawfully returned, (as in ſome places the people did what they could to reſiſt her purpoſes) were diſorderly and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of law put in their places. Doctor Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, a chriſtian biſhop and a true Engliſhman, being lawfully and orderly called to the parliament, and placed in the lords' houſe in his degree, was in his robes by violence thruſt out of the houſe. Alexander Nowell, with two others, all three being burgeſſes for divers ſhires, and chriſtian men and true Engliſhmen, and lawfully choſen, returned, and admitted, were by force put out of the houſe of commons: for which cauſe, the ſaid parliament is alſo void, as by a preſident of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th year of king Henry the ſixth, it moſt manifeſtly appeareth. And the third parliament, called in the name of her huſband, and of her evil grace, wherein they would have undone what her noble father and the realm had brought to paſs for the reſtitution of the liberty of the realm, and for extinguiſhment of the uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, is alſo void, and of none authority. For that the title and ſtile of the ſupreme head of the church of England, which by a ſtatute made in the 35th year of the reign of the ſaid king Henry, was ordained that it ſhould be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm, was omitted in the writs of summoning. Wherefore as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, ſo cannot thoſe writs bring forth good and ſure fruit, becauſe this part of the title, which was ordained by the parliament for the form to be always uſed in the king's ſtile, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter. And where the foundation is bad, there can nothing built thereon be good. There is no law, ſpiritual or temporal, (as they term them) nor any good reaſon, but allow theſe rules for infallible principles. And if any man will ſay, that it was not in the free choice, liberty, and pleaſure of the king of this realm, and the queen, whether they would expreſs the ſaid title in their ſtile or not, as that ſubtle ſerpent, Gardiner, being chancellor of the realm, and traiterouſly ſending out the writs of parliament without the ſame ſtile, perceiving he had overſhot himſelf in calling the parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and moſt miſchievous acts, would have excuſed it, as appears by a piece of a ſtatute made in the ſame parliament, in the eighth chapter, and two-and-twentieth leaf, it may be juſtly and truly anſwered, that they could not ſo do. For although every perſon may by law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third perſon.

And this title and ſtile more touched the commonwealth of England, than the king. For, as I ſaid before, it was ordained for the conſervation of the liberty of the whole realm, and to exclude the uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome. And therefore no king nor queen alone could renounce ſuch title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by act of parliament, ſufficiently called and ſummoned. For the natural and right way to looſe and undo things, is to diſſolve them by that means they were ordained. And ſo it moſt manifeſtly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been mere tyranny. O moſt marvellous providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth what is beſt for the wealth of his people! O moſt mighty Power, that ſo ſuddenly overwhelmeth the counſels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to naught! O infinite Mercy, that ſo gently dealeth with his people, that he ſaveth them whom he might moſt juſtly deſtroy! O moſt joyful, moſt glorious, and never-to-be-forgotten Hope-Wedneſday, in which it hath pleaſed thee, O God, to deliver thy church, this realm, and thy people from ſo horrible a tyranny! No tongue can expreſs, no pen can indite, no eloquence can worthily ſet out, much leſs exornate theſe thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodneſs ſufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped for this moſt joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy moſt ſharp viſitation, and utter deſtruction of this realm, as of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Jeruſalem.

But we ſee and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all men's ſins, and far above all thy works. And albeit, there is no chriſtian, and natural Engliſhman, woman or child, either preſent or that ſhall ſucceed us, who is not, or ſhall not be partaker of this moſt exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God; and therefore is bound continually to praiſe and thank him: yet, there is not one creature that is more bound ſo to do, than you, noble queen Elizabeth. For in this horrible tyranny and moſt cruel perſecution, your grace hath been more hunted for, than any other. Divers times they have taken you; ſometimes they have had you in ſtrong hold, ſecluded from all liberty; ſometimes at liberty, but not out of the cuſtody of cruel gaolers; and many times they determined, that without juſtice ye ſhould be privily murdered. They thought, if your grace had been ſuppreſſed, they ſhould have fully prevailed: if you had been deſtroyed, their doings for ever ſhould be eſtabliſhed: if you had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo what they had ordained. But he that ſitteth on high, and laugheth at their madneſs, would not ſuffer that the malicious purpoſes, and moſt cruel deviſed injuſtice ſhould have ſucceſs. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our Jeoſeba, that preſerved you from this wicked Athalia. He only was the Joiada that deſtroyed this cruel Athalia. He only hath made you queen of this realm, inſtead of this miſchievous Marana. No earthly creature, therefore, can claim the ſmalleſt merit: no man's force, no man's counſel, no man's aid, hath been the cauſe thereof. Therefore, the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to ſeek his glory, and to ſet forth his honour. You ſee his power, what he is able to do; he alone can ſave, and he can deſtroy; he can pull down, and he can ſet up. If you fear him, and ſeek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preſerve you to the end from all enemies, as he did king David. If you now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than Saul hath ſhewed to him. But I have a good hope, that both his juſtice and benefits be ſo printed in your heart, that you will never forget them, but ſeek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I truſt alſo, your wiſdom will not only conſider the cauſes of this late moſt ſharp viſitation, but alſo to your uttermoſt power endeavour to out-root them.

And foraſmuch as beſides this infinite mercy poured on your grace, it hath pleaſed his divine providence to conſtitute your highneſs to be our Deborah, to be the governeſs and head of the body of this realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requiſite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your diſcharge, quietneſs and ſafety, to labour that the ſame body now at the firſt be cleanſed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For, if the body of man be corrupted and diſeaſed, he is not able to manage his things at home, much leſs to do any thing abroad: ſo if the body of the realm be corrupt and out of order, it ſhall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if neceſſity ſhould require, nor yet proſper in itſelf. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobbling and botching, as was uſed in time paſt, whilſt your moſt noble father and brother reigned. For, if a man cut off one head of the ſerpent Hydra, and deſtroy not the whole body, many will grow inſtead of that one; and as in a corrupt body that hath many diſeaſes, if the phyſician ſhould labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in ſhort time break out afreſh: ſo, unleſs the body of a realm, or commonwealth, be clean purged from corruption, all the particular laws and ſtatutes that can be deviſed ſhall not profit it.

We need no foreign examples to prove it: look upon this realm itſelf, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanſe the body from it's corruption, but there muſt be alſo preſervatives miniſtered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of itſelf it is diſpoſed to putriſy: ſo, after the body of a realm is purged, unleſs there be godly ordinances for the preſervation thereof ordained, and duly miniſtered, it will return to the old ſtate. For this body, which is the people, is univerſally naturally diſpoſed to evil; and without compulſion will hardly do what is their duty.

Thus muſt your grace do, if you mind the advancement of God's glory, your own quietneſs and ſafety, and the wealth of this your politic body. And they be not hard to bring to paſs, where good-will will vouchſafe to take to her a little pain. The realm will ſoon be purged, if vice and ſelf-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good ſtate preſerved, if theſe three things—God's word truly taught and preached, youth well brought up in godly and honeſt exerciſes, and juſtice rightly miniſtered, may be perfectly conſtituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it pleaſeth them, the ſpiritual houſe of God ſhall never be well framed or builded, nor the public ſtate of your realm well ordered. For in what body God's word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is ſoon extinguiſhed. Where the youth is neglected, there can no good ſucceſs be hoped; no more than the huſbandman can look for a good crop where he ſowed no ſeed. And where juſtice is not truly and rightly miniſtered, there the more laws and ſtatutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And ſurely, if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compaſſed, (and God forbid that charges ſhould be weighed, be they ever ſo great, where God's glory and the wealth of the realm may be furthered) yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did David, and Solomon his ſon, employ to build the ſtony houſe of God? How much more charges ſhould a chriſtian prince employ to build and ſet up the lively houſe of God? But verily, I am fully perſuaded that it ſhall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of ſuperfluous charges, which otherwiſe your grace ſhall be forced to ſuſtain, ſhall thus be clean cut away, and ſo your revenues, by means moſt profitable, and to no good perſon hurtful, increaſed.

Therefore, for God's ſake, noble queen, let not the opportuity, now by God offered, be by your grace omitted. A phyſician can in nothing ſo much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchaſe himſelf ſo great eſtimation, as when he findeth his patient thoroughly ſick and weakened, and doth reſtore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewiſe, if a prince ſhould deſire of God, a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could deſire nothing ſo much, as to come into a ſtate corrupted, as this realm of England at preſent is, not to deſtroy it, as did Cæſar, but to make it, as did Romulus.

If your grace can bring this to paſs, (and I am out of all doubt you may quickly) you ſhall do more than any of your progenitors did before you. All men ſhall confeſs, that you are not only for proximity of blood preferred, but rather of God ſpecially ſent and ordained. And as the queen of Sheba came from far off to ſee the glory of king Solomon, a woman to a man, even ſo ſhall the princes of our time come, men to a woman, and kings marvel at the virtue of queen Elizabeth. Thus ſhall we, your ſubjects, be moſt bound to praiſe God, and to think ourſelves moſt happy, that coming ſo ſuddenly from the worſe, be forthwith preferred to the beſt, rid from extremeſt calamity, and brought to the greateſt felicity; and it ſhall be, beſides, an example for all evil princes, to leave their preſecution of Chriſt and his members, to ceaſe from their tyranny, wherewith they continually oppreſs their poor ſubjects. And ſo all people, not only we of this your realm, but of all other nations, ſhall have juſt cauſe to pray for your grace's health, and increaſe of honour.

This oration of Mr. Hales being premiſed, now let us proſecute the diſputation between the papiſts and proteſtants at Weſtminſter. The copy whereof here followeth.

The Conference *or* Diſputation, *had and begun at* Weſtminſter *the laſt* Day *of* March, *upon certain* Queſtions *or* Articles *of* Religion *propoſed, and alſo of the breaking up of the ſame, by the* Papiſts' Default, *at the* Firſt Beginning *of* Queen ELIZABETH.

SO it pleaſeth the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, having heard of the diverſity of opinions in certain matters of religion amongſt ſundry of her loving ſubjects, and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome godly and chriſtian concord, (by the advice of the lords, and others of the privy council, as well for the ſatisfaction of perſons doubtful, as alſo for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient choſen number of the beſt learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable agreement. And hereupon, by her majeſty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpoſe to the archbiſhop of York (being alſo one of the ſame privy council), and required him that he would impart the ſame to ſome of the biſhops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there ſhould be the like number named of the other part. And further alſo they declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the matter ſhould be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as ſoon as poſſible might be agreed upon. And then, after certain days paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid archbiſhop, that there were appointed, by ſuch of the biſhops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine perſons, that is to ſay, five biſhops and four doctors. The names of whom here follow underwritten:

The Papiſts.

The biſhop of Wincheſter.
The biſhop of Litchfield.
The biſhop of Cheſter.
The biſhop of Carliſle.
The biſhop of Lincoln.
Dr. Cole.
Dr. Harpsfield.
Dr. Langdale.
Dr. Chedſey.

The Proteſtants.

Dr. Scory, biſhop of Chicheſter.
Dr. Coxe.
Mr. Whitehead.
Mr. Grindall.
Mr. Horne.
Mr. Sands.
Mr. Geſt.
Mr. Aelmer.
Mr. Jewell.

Theſe were content, at the queen's command, to ſhew their opinions, and, as the ſaid archbiſhop termed it, render account of their faith in thoſe matters which were mentioned, and that eſpecially in writing, although he ſaid, he thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute upon them. The matter they were to talk upon, was comprehended in theſe three propoſitions hereunder ſpecified:

1. It is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtom of the ancient church, to uſe a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayer, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments.
2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and eccleſiaſtical rites ſo the ſame be to edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the maſs offered up a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead.

It was hereupon fully reſolved by the queen's majeſty, with the advice aforeſaid, that according to their deſire, it ſhould be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the ſaid biſhops would, becauſe they were in authority of degree ſuperior, firſt declare their opinions in the matter, with their reaſons in writing. And the other number, being alſo nine men of good degree in ſchools, and ſome having been in dignity in the church of England, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame day declare their opinions in like manner, and ſo each of them ſhould deliver their writings to the other, to be conſidered what were to be improved therein, and the ſame to declare again in writing at ſome other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the reſt of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbiſhop of York, and ſo alſo ſignified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the nobility and ſtates of the realm underſtanding that ſuch a meeting and conference was intended, concerning ſuch matters as were to be confirmed by parliament according to the deciſion of theſe learned doctors; they petitioned her majeſty that the parties of this conference might be put to read their aſſertions in the Engliſh tongue, and that in the preſence of them, of the nobility, and others of her parliament-houſe, for the better ſatiſfaction, and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of ſuch laws as might depend hereupon.

This, alſo, being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both parties, and fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the firſt meeting to be on Friday in the forenoon, being the laſt day of March, at Weſtminſter church. Where were preſent by the queen's command, the lords and others of the privy council, and a great part of the nobility, both to honour and ſee good order in the conference. And notwithſtanding this former order appointed, and conſented unto by both parties, yet the biſhop of Wincheſter and his colleagues alledged they had miſtaken that their aſſertions and reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the book ſaying, their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in ſpeech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt probation.

This variation from the former order, and eſpecially from that which themſelves had by the ſaid archbiſhop in writing before required, adding thereto the reaſon of the apoſtle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to the ſubverſion of the hearer, ſeemed to the queen's council ſomewhat ſtrange, and yet was it permitted without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, deliver it to the other part; and ſo the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter and his colleagues, appointed doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds; who partly by ſpeech only, and partly by reading of written authorities and at certain times being informed by his colleagues what to ſay, made a declaration of their meanings and their reaſons to their firſt propoſition: which being ended, they were aſked by the privy council if any of them had any more to ſay, and they ſaid, No. So as the other part was licenced to ſhew their minds, which they did according to the firſt order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a book written, which, after a prayer and invocation, made moſt humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the doctrine of the catholic church built upon the ſcriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one Robert Horne, bachelor of divinity, late dean of Durham, and after biſhop of Wincheſter. The copy of which their proteſtation here followeth, according as it was by him penned and exhibited, with their preface alſo before the ſame.

The PROTESTATION.

FORASMUCH as it is thought good unto the queen's moſt excellent majeſty (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we ſhould declare our judgment in writing upon certain propoſitions; we, as becometh us to do herein, moſt gladly obey.

Seeing that Chriſt is our only Maſter, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and ſeeing alſo his word is the truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breath, and againſt which (as the apoſtle ſaith) we can do nothing; we do in all things ſubmit ourſelves unto this truth, and do proteſt that we will affirm nothing againſt the ſame.

And foraſmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Chriſt, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apoſtles and prophets, and is of Chriſt the head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profeſs, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds, that is to ſay, of the apoſtles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanaſius.

And ſeeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy canonical ſcriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Chriſt; but have preached truly the word of God, and have ſincerly miniſtered the ſacraments according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, unto which our doctrine and faith the moſt part alſo of our adverſaries did ſubſcribe not many years paſt (although now as unnatural they are revolted from the ſame), we deſire that they render account of their backſliding, and ſhew ſome cauſe wherefore they do not only reſiſt that doctrine which they have before profeſſed, but alſo perſecute the ſame by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, we ſhall in theſe diſputations be treated more gently than in years late paſt, when we were handled moſt unjuſtly and ſcantly after the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controverſy, we refer unto the moſt holy ſcriptures, and the catholic church of Chriſt (whoſe judgment unto us ought to be moſt ſacred): notwithſtanding by the catholic church we underſtand not the Romiſh church, whereunto our adverſaries attribute ſuch reverence, but that which St. Auguſtine and other fathers affirm, ought to be ſought in the holy ſcriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Chriſt.

It is againſt the word of God, and the cuſtom of the primitive church, to uſe a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

By theſe words (the word of God) we mean only the written word of God, or canonical ſcriptures.

And by the cuſtom of the primitive church, we mean the order moſt generally uſed in the church for the ſpace of 500 years after Chriſt, in which times there lived the moſt notable fathers, as Juſtin, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Baſil, Chryſoſtom, Hierom, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, &c.

This aſſertion above written hath two parts. Firſt, That the uſe of the tongue not underſtood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, is againſt God's word.

The ſecond, That the ſame is againſt the uſe of the primitive church.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the fourteenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, almoſt throughout the whole chapter. In which chapter St. Paul treateth of this matter *Ex profeſſo*, purpoſely. And although ſome do cavil that St. Paul ſpeaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it moſt evident to any indifferent reader of underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the expoſition of the beſt writers, that he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of preaching and propheſying, but alſo of prayer and thankſgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any ſpeech in the church or congregation. For of praying he ſaith, I will pray with my ſpirit, and I will pray with my mind; and of thankſgiving (which is a kind of prayer) thou giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how ſhall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay Amen to thy giving of thanks, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? and in the end deſcending from particulars to a general propoſition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the words of St. Paul, and the ancient doctors, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Hierom, and others, do ſo underſtand this chapter, as it ſhall appear by their teſtimonies which ſhall follow afterward.

Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather theſe reaſons following.

Firſt, All things done in the church or congregation ought ſo to be done as they may edify the ſame.

But the uſe of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

Therefore the uſe of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments, is not to be had in the church.

The firſt part of this reaſoning is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

The ſecond part is alſo proved by St. Paul's plain words. Firſt by this ſimilitude, If the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared for battle? Even ſo likewiſe when you ſpeak with tongues, except you ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? For you ſhall but ſpeak in the air, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward in the ſame chapter he ſaith, how can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, ſay Amen, at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.

Theſe are St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not underſtood, doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reaſon thus proved by St. Paul, the concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

Secondly, Nothing is to be ſpoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be underſtood. For ſaith St. Paul, if there be no interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, let him hold his tongue in the church. And therefore the common prayers and adminiſtration of ſacraments, neither done in a known tongue, nor interpreted, are againſt the commandment of Paul, and not to be uſed.

The miniſter in prayer or adminiſtration of the ſacraments, uſing language not underſtood by the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which by St. Paul is counted a great abſurdity.

It is not to be counted by a chriſtian common prayer, where the people preſent declare not their aſſent unto it by ſaying Amen, wherein is implied all other words of aſſent.

But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their aſſent in ſaying Amen, except they underſtand what is ſaid, as before.

Therefore it is no chriſtian common prayer where the people underſtand not what is ſaid.

Paul would not ſuffer in his time a ſtrange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of ſpeech was then a miracle, and a ſingular gift of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby infidels might be perſuaded and brought to the faith; much leſs is it to be ſuffered now amongſt chriſtian and faithful men, eſpecially being no miracle nor eſpecial gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

Some will peradventure anſwer, that to uſe any kind of tongue, in common prayer or adminiſtration of ſacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. Paul ſays to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification; he commandeth to keep ſilence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: If any man be ſpiritual or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And ſo ſhortly to conclude, the uſe of a ſtrange tongue, in prayer and adminiſtration, is againſt the word and commandment of God.

To theſe reaſons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the moſt firm foundation for this aſſertion, divers other reaſons may be joined, gathered out of the ſcriptures and otherwiſe.

In the Old Teſtament all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thankſgivings, or ſacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the ſecond book of Chronicles, chap. 29, it is written, That Ezechias commanded the Levites to praiſe God with the Pſalms of David, and Aſaph the prophet, which doubtleſs were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did ſo in the ſhadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who (as Chriſt ſaith) muſt pray in ſpirit and in truth.

The final end of our prayer (as David ſaith) is, "That the people aſſembled together, may declare the name of the Lord in Sion, and his praiſe in Jeruſalem."

But the name and praiſes of God cannot be ſet forth to the people, unleſs it be done in ſuch a tongue as they may underſtand, therefore common prayer muſt be had in the vulgar tongue.

The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, is, That common prayer is to lift up our common deſires to God with our minds, and to teſtify the ſame outwardly with our tongues, which definition is approved by St. Auguſtine.

The miniſtration of the Lord's ſupper and baptiſm are, as it were, ſermons of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt.

But ſermons to the people muſt be had in ſuch language as the people may perceive, otherwiſe they would be had in vain.

It is not lawful for a chriſtian man to abuſe the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the church in a ſtrange tongue, abuſeth the gifts of God. For the tongue ſerveth only to expreſs the mind of the ſpeaker to the hearer. And Auguſtine ſaith, in his Chriſtian Doctrine, book 4, chap. x. There is no cauſe why we ſhould ſpeak, if they for whoſe cauſe we ſpeak, underſtand not our ſpeaking.

The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and ſorts of men, were they ever ſo wild, evermore made their prayers and ſacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue; which is a manifeſt declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reaſons out of the ſcriptures, joining therewith the common uſage of all nations, as a teſtimony of the law of nature.

Now for the ſecond part of the aſſertion, which is, that the uſe of a ſtrange tongue in public prayer and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, is againſt the cuſtom of the primitive church; it is a matter ſo clear, that the denial of it muſt needs proceed either from great ignorance, or elſe from wilful malice.

For firſt of all, Juſtin Martyr deſcribing the order of the communion in his time, ſaith thus: Upon the Sunday, aſſemblies are made both of the citizens and country men, whereat the writings of the apoſtles and of the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards, when the reader doth ceaſe, the head miniſter giveth an exhortation, exhorting them to follow ſuch honeſt things. After this we riſe all together and offer prayers, which being ended (as we have ſaid), bread and water are brought forth. Then the head miniſter offereth prayers and thankſgiving, as much as he can, and the people anſwer, Amen.

Theſe words of Juſtin, who lived about 160 years after Chriſt, conſidered with their circumſtances, declare plainly, that not only the ſcriptures were read, but alſo that the prayers and adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper were done in a tongue underſtood.

The liturgies both of Baſil and Chryſoſtom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to anſwer to the prayer of the miniſter, ſometimes Amen, ſometimes, Lord have mercy upon us, ſometimes, And with thy Spirit, and, We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c. Which anſwers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue underſtood.

And for further proof, let us hear what Baſil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæſaria. As touching that is laid to our charge in pſalmodies and ſongs, wherewith our ſlanderers do fray the ſimple, I have thus to ſay, that our cuſtoms and uſages in all churches be uniform and agreeable.

For in the night the people with us riſeth, goeth to the houſe of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confeſs themſelves to God, and at the laſt riſing again, go to their ſongs or pſalmody, where being divided into two parts, they ſing by courſe together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly ſayings, and alſo ſtirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the ſong, the reſt follow, and ſo with divers ſongs and prayers paſſing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they ſing unto the Lord a ſong of confeſſion, every man framing to himſelf meet words of repentance.

If you will fly us from henceforth for theſe things, you muſt fly alſo the Egyptians, and both Libians, you muſt eſchew the Thebans, Paleſtines, Arabians, the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and all thoſe with whom watchings, prayers, and common ſinging of pſalms, are had in honour.

Teſtimonies of St. AMBROSE, *written upon the* 14th Chapter *of the firſt* Epiſtle *to the* Corinthians.

THIS is it that he ſaith; becauſe he who ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, ſpeaketh to God. For he knoweth all things, but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.

The ſame author afterwards upon theſe words, If thou bleſs or give thanks with the ſpirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? That is (ſaith Ambroſe), if thou ſpeak the praiſe of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he underſtandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he anſwereth not Amen. That is as much as to ſay, (true) that the bleſſing or thankſgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do anſwer Amen. That all things ſpoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the teſtimony of the truth.

Afterward, in the ſame place, upon theſe words, If any infidel or unlearned come in.

For when he underſtandeth, and is underſtood, hearing God to be praiſed and Chriſt to be worſhipped, he ſeeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be reverenced, wherein he ſeeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkneſs, as among the heathen, whoſe eyes are covered, that they ſeeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themſelves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falſhood ſeeketh darkneſs, and ſheweth falſe things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is ſimply praiſed, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jeſus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can underſtand, or of whom he can be tried, he may ſay, there is ſome deceit and vanity, which is therefore ſung in tongues (not underſtood, he meaneth) becauſe it is a ſhame to open it.

Upon this place, Let all things be done to edify.

This is the concluſion, that nothing ſhould be done in the church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned alſo might profit, leſt any part of the body ſhould be dark through ignorance.

Again, if there be no interpreter, let him keep ſilence in the church.

That is, let him pray ſecretly, or ſpeak to God within himſelf, who heareth all dumb things: for in the church he ought to ſpeak that which may profit all men.

Teſtimonies *out of* Saint HIEROM, *upon the aforeſaid place of* St. PAUL.

IT is the lay-man, ſaith he, whom Paul here underſtandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man, which hath no eccleſiaſtical office. How ſhall he anſwer Amen to the prayer that he underſtandeth not?

And a little after upon theſe words, For if I pray in an unknown tongue, &c.

This is Paul's meaning, ſaith Hierom, if any man ſpeaketh in ſtrange and unknown tongues, his mind is not to himſelf without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.

And in the end of his commentary upon the epiſtle to the Galatians, he ſaith thus:

That Amen ſignifieth the conſent of the hearer, and is the ſealing of the truth. Paul in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians teacheth, ſaying, But if thou ſhalt bleſs in ſpirit, who ſupplieth the place of the ignorant? How ſhall he at thy prayer ſay Amen, ſeeing he knoweth not what thou ſayeſt? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned man cannot anſwer, that that which is ſpoken is true, unleſs he underſtand what is ſaid.

The ſame Hierom ſaith, in the preface of St. Paul's epiſtle to the Galatians, that the noiſe of Amen ſoundeth in the Roman church like unto an heavenly thunder.

As Hierom compareth this ſound of common prayer to thunder, ſo Baſil compareth it to the ſound of the ſea, in theſe words, If the ſea be fair, how is not the aſſembly of the congregation much fairer? In which the joined ſound of men, women, and children, as it were the waves beating on the ſhore, is ſent forth in our prayers unto our God.

When the people once hear theſe words World without end, they all forthwith anſwer, Amen.

And the ſame writer upon the ſame chapter, upon theſe words, How ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen? Behold again, he applieth the ſtone unto the ſquare (as the proverb is), requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and ſheweth that it is no ſmall diſcommodity, if they cannot ſay, Amen.

And again, the ſame Chryſoſtom ſaith, Yea, in prayers you may ſee the people offer largely, both for the poſſeſſed and the penitents. For the prieſts and the people pray all together commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the prieſts' limits all ſuch as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer muſt be made, and all in one manner lie down upon the earth, and all again after one manner riſe up together. Now when the peace is giving, we all in like manner ſalute on another, and the prieſt in the reverend myſteries wiſheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for [And with thy Spirit] is nothing elſe but this. All things that belong to the ſacrament of thankſgiving, are common to all; but he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.

Hereby it may appear, that not the prieſt alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but ſuch as was common to them all, ſuch as they all underſtood, and all were able to ſay with the prieſt, which could not have been, if he had uſed a ſtrange tongue in the miniſtration of the ſacraments.

Dionyſius, deſcribing the manner of the miniſtration of the Lord's ſupper, ſaith, That hymns were ſaid by the whole multitude of the people.

Cyprian ſaith, The prieſt doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, ſaying, [Lift up your hearts:] that while the people doth anſwer, [We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,] they may be admoniſhed that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.

St. Auguſtine: What this ſhould be we ought to underſtand, that we may ſing with reaſon of man, not with chattering of birds, for ouzles and popinjays, and ravens, and pies, and other ſuch like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to ſing with underſtanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.

The ſame Auguſtine: There needeth no ſpeech when we pray, ſaving perhaps as the prieſts do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them, and ſo, being put in remembrance by conſenting with the prieſts, may hang upon God.

To theſe teſtimonies of the ancient writers, we wll join one conſtitution of Juſtinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Chriſt, which ſaith, We command that all biſhops and prieſts do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers uſed in holy baptiſm, not ſpeaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard by the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be ſtirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praiſes of the Lord God. For ſo the holy apoſtle teacheth in his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, ſaying, Truly, if thou only bleſs or give thanks in ſpirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned ſay, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? For he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt. Thou verily giveſt thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the epiſtle to the Romans he ſaith, With the heart a man believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation.

Therefore for theſe cauſes it is convenient, that amongſt other prayers thoſe things alſo which are ſpoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and ſpoken by the moſt religious biſhops and prieſts unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt our God, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, with a loud voice. And let the moſt religious prieſts know this, that if they neglect any of theſe things, neither will the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, nor will we, when we know it, reſt, and leave it unrevenged.

Out of this conſtitution of Juſtinian, the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

Firſt, That the common prayer and miniſtration done with a loud voice, ſo as they may be heard and underſtood by the people as a means to ſtir up devotion in the people, contrary to the common aſſertion of Eckius and other adverſaries, who affirm, that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

Secondly, That Juſtinian maketh this matter of not ordering common miniſtration and prayers, ſo as it may be underſtood by the people, not a matter of indifferency, but ſuch a thing as muſt be anſwered for at the day of judgment.

Thirdly, That this emperor, being a chriſtian emperor, doth not only make conſtitution of eccleſiaſtical matters, but alſo threateneth revenge and ſharp puniſhment to the violaters of the ſame.

Theſe are ſufficient to prove that it is againſt God's word, and the uſe of the primitive church, to uſe a language not underſtood by the people, in common prayer and miniſtration of the ſacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how ſuch an untruth and abuſe crept at the firſt into the church, but alſo how it is maintained ſo ſtiffly at this day, and upon what ground theſe, that will be thought guides and paſtors of Chriſt's church, are ſo loth to return to the firſt original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Chriſt.

The God of patience and conſolation, give us grace to be like minded one towards another in Chriſt Jeſus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth praiſe God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen.

John Scory,	Richard Coxe,
David Whitehead,	Edmund Grindall,
John Jewell,	Robert Horne,
John Aelmer,	Edmund Geſt.

And the ſame being ended with ſome likelihood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the audience; certain of the biſhops began to ſay contrary to their former anſwer that they had now much more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more miſtaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon by both parties in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the biſhops ſhould bring their minds and reaſons in writing to the ſecond aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they could, and firſt read the ſame: and that done, the other party ſhould bring likewiſe their's to the ſame. And being read, each of them ſhould deliver to the other the ſame writings. And in the mean time the biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which doctor Cole had that day uttered, but all ſuch other matters as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame: and as ſoon as they might poſſibly, to ſend the ſame book touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhould receive of them that writing which Mr. Horne had there read that day and upon Monday it ſhall be agreed what day they ſhould exhibit their anſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both parties aſſented thereto, and the aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed.

The Order *of the Second* Day's *Converſation.*

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the Archbiſhop of York, the Duke of Norfolk, and all the Council being ſet, the Biſhops on the one Side, and the Proteſtants, that is, the late baniſhed Preachers, on the other ſide, thus began the Lord Keeper;

MY lord and maſters, I am ſure ye remember well, what order of debate and writing was appointed to be had this day in this aſſembly, at our laſt meeting, which I will not refuſe now to repeat again for the ſhortneſs of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both ſides ye ſhould bring in Engliſh writing, what ye had to ſay in the ſecond queſtion, and in this place appointed to read the ſame. Therefore begin, my lords.

Winch. I am determined, for my part, that there ſhall be now read, that which we have to ſay for the firſt queſtion.

L. Keeper. Will you not then proceed in the order appointed you?

Winch. I am, as I ſaid, provided for the firſt queſtion or propoſition: and we ſhould ſuffer prejudice, if you permit us not to treat of that firſt, and ſo we would come to the ſecond queſtion, and this is the order we would uſe. I judge that all my brethren are ſo diſpoſed.

Biſhops. We are ſo determined.

L. Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined order: but you ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which you by this means do break and little regard.

Winch. Since our adverſaries part, if it pleaſe your grace and honours, have ſo confirmed their aſſertion and purpoſe, we ſuffer a prejudice or damage, if you permit us not the like. Hereat Dr. Watſon, biſhop of Lincoln, being at this talk very deſirous to have ſpoken, ſaid now to the biſhop of Wincheſter, I pray you let me ſpeak; which was permitted him: we are not uſed indifferently, ſince that you allow us not to open in preſent writing what we have to ſay for the declaration of the firſt queſtion, inſomuch, as that which you take for the information of the ſame, was meant nothing to that purpoſe, for that which Mr. Cole ſpake in this laſt aſſembly, was not prepared to ſtrengthen our cauſe, but he made his oration of himſelf, and *ex tempore*, that is, without being ſtudied.

At theſe words of the biſhop, the nobility and others of the audience frowned, and ſeemed much diſpleaſed, as they all knew well enough that Mr Cole ſpake out of a writing which he had in his hand, and often read out of the ſame, and in the ſame places which the biſhops informed him, and pointed out unto him with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done extempore, for Mr. Cole was appointed by them to be their ſpeaker. Whereupon this of the biſhop of Lincoln was the worſe taken, notwithſtanding he went onward complaining, and ſaid, We are alſo evil ordered touching the time, our adverſaries having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the laſt aſſembly in this place. What with this buſineſs, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole laſt night. For we may in no wiſe betray the cauſe of God, nor will do, but ſuſtain it to the utmoſt of our power, as we ought ſo to endeavour by all manner of means. But now we have no impartial hearing.

L. Keeper. Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourſelves when it ſhall come to juſt trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved againſt you, that ye complain without cauſe, when the order and your manner towards it ſhall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reaſon therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Litch. Cov. Let us ſuffer no miſorder or injury herein, but be heard impartially, that is convenient and meet we ſhould have here.

L. Keeper. I pray you, ſirs, hear me, and mark it well. It was concluded on by my lords of the council, who you well know of, that their writing, which you are now ſo willing to have heard, ſhould have been read the firſt day, and then we underſtood that Mr. Cole had ſaid what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to ſay. I judge ye were aſked in the end of Mr. Cole's rehearſal, whether that which he ſpake, was what you would have him ſay, and you granted it. Then, whether you would that he ſhould ſay any more in the matter, you anſwered no, whereupon the other ſide was heard, which you hearing, then indeed without all good indifferency or plain dealing, you pretended that you had more to ſay. So mark you with what little equity you uſed yourſelves.

The Biſhop. We had indeed more to ſay, if we might have been indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me leave to ſay, and look what gains you ſhould have if your preſent requeſt ſhould be granted you, that call ſo much of indifferent uſing, how ſhould you wiſh to uſe thoſe other men? For many who are here preſent, were then away, ſo would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark you whether it had not been more fit that you had provided it againſt the firſt day, when they orderly read their's, ſince to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both ſides (I am ſure) warned at one time. However, to ſatiſfy your importunity and earneſtneſs of this crying out to have your firſt writing heard, I might well allow, if it ſo pleaſed the reſt of the queen's moſt honourable council, that you diſpatch the work of the ſecond queſtion, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the firſt, ſo that when the day cometh that each of you ſhall anſwer the other in confirmation of the firſt queſtion, then the ſame day you ſhall have time to read this your firſt writing, which you now ſo fain would read. To this order all the council willingly agreed.

Litch. Cov. Nay, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we ſhould not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

L. Keeper. For my part I might well ſtay at the hearing of them both, and ſo I judge would the reſt of the council, and likewiſe the whole audience. At which words there was a general ſhout, ſaying, Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

Lincoln. We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am ſure) would require an hour and an half, if ſo be it be ſo long as their laſt was, and then our anſwer would require no leſs time.

L. Keeper. I have ſhewed you we would be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto. Therefore you need not be ſo curious therein, and we granting you thus much, and yet you will obey no orders; I cannot tell what I ſhall ſay unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this diſputation. For firſt it was appointed us by my lord the archbiſhop, that we ſhould diſpute in Latin, and then we were commanded to bring a Latin writing, and now at laſt we are ordered to bring our writing in Engliſh.

At theſe words the lord keeper of the great ſeal, the archbiſhop, with all the council, muſed much, and many murmured at ſuch a baſe and falſe report of the order well taken. Whereupon with much admiration the lord keeper anſwered, I marvel much of the uſing of yourſelf in this point, ſince I am aſſured the order was never otherwiſe taken, than that you ſhould bring forth in Engliſh writing what you had to ſay for your purpoſe.

Hereupon the biſhops of Litchfield and Chicheſter, to excuſe my lord of Lincoln, ſaid, We ſo underſtood the order, my lords.

L. Keeper. How likely is that, ſince it was ſo plainly told you? But to end theſe delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to treat of the ſecond queſtion.

Litch. Cov. We were appointed this day by your honours to bring in what we had to ſay to the firſt queſtion.

At which words the audience murmured much, eſpecially thoſe who heard the former diſcourſe, contrary to ſuch his report.

L. Keeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the laſt time, that you ſhould yield the ſame to theſe men (meaning the proteſtants), as ſoon as you might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you ſhould have their's, and this day you ſhould treat of the ſecond queſtion, and likewiſe of the third, if that you had leiſure time enough. This was the ſubſtance of the order, my lords, except my memory fail me much. The ſame all the council can affirm.

Lincoln. We are willed then to bring in this day our writing for the firſt queſtion alſo.

L. Keeper. Ah, ſirs, if you be ſo hard to be ſatisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here ſay what was then determined.

B. York. You are to blame to ſtand in this iſſue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you o treat of the ſecond queſtion. Wherefore, leave you your contention herein, and ſhew what you have to ſay in the ſecond queſtion.

L. Keeper. Go to now, begin, my lords.

Litch. Cov. It is contrary to the order in diſputations, that we ſhould begin.

Cheſter. We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they muſt begin.

Litch. Cov. They muſt firſt ſpeak what they can bring in againſt us, ſince we are the defending party.

Cheſter. So is the ſchool manner, and likewiſe the manner in Weſtminſter-hall, that the plaintiff's part ſhould ſpeak firſt, and then the accuſed party to anſwer.

Litch. Cov. I pray you let the propoſition be read, and then let us ſee who hath the negative part, and ſo let the other begin.

L. Keeper. The order was taken that you ſhould begin.

Litch. Cov. But then we ſhould do againſt the ſchool order.

L. Keeper. My maſters, you much inforce the ſchool orders. I wonder much at it, ſince divers of thoſe orders are oftentimes taken for the exerciſe of youth, and ought to maintain a faſhion, and many preſcriptions, which we need not here to recite, much leſs obſerve. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to ſet forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we could, which lieth not in my power to change.

Carliſle. We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and ſtand in the poſſeſſions of the truth; and therefore they muſt ſay what they have to alledge againſt us, and ſo we maintain and defend our cauſe.

Litch. Cov. Yea, even ſo muſt the matter be ordered.

Cheſter. When they bring any thing againſt us, it is ſufficient for us to deny it. Therefore they muſt begin.

Litch. Cov. And when they affirm any thing, and we ſay nay, the proof belongeth to them, and ſo it behoveth them to ſhew firſt what they affirm, and for what cauſe or purpoſe.

L. Keeper. Here reſteth our purpoſe and whole matter, whether you will begin, if they do not, ſince it was determined you ſhould begin.

Litch. Cov. We heard of no ſuch order.

L. Keeper. No? Yes, and in the firſt queſtion ye began willingly. How cometh it to paſs that ye will not do ſo now?

Cheſter. Then had we the affirmation, which ſince that our adverſaries have now, they ſhould now begin.

This the proteſtants denied, ſaying, that they in the firſt day had the negative, wherein, they did not yet refuſe to begin.

L. Keeper. If you have any thing to ſay, my lords, to the purpoſe, ſay on.

Litch. A particular ſort of men can never break an univerſal church, which we now maintain: and as for theſe men, our adverſary part, I never thought that they would have done ſo much as named themſelves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we.

Proteſtants. We do ſo, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof.

Lincoln. Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order.

Horne. I wonder that you ſtand ſo much who ſhould begin.

Lincoln. You count it requiſite that we ſhould follow your orders, as we have taken the queſtions at your hands in that manner as you have aſſigned them.

Litch. Cov. Yea, even ſo we be driven to do now.

L. Keeper. Nay, I judge, if ye mark the matter well, the queſtions are neither of their propounding to you, nor of your device to them, but equally offered to you both.

Horne. Indeed, my lords of the queen's moſt honourable privy council, theſe queſtions or propoſitions were propoſed unto us by your honours, and they then having the pre-eminency, choſe to themſelves the negative, and yet freely began firſt; now, again, why do they not the like?

Litchfield being very angry that he ſhould ſo ſpeak againſt them, went from the matter, ſaying, My lord keeper of the great ſeal, and you the reſt of the queen's moſt honorable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's majeſty herſelf, are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we muſt and will do to the utmoſt of our power, and to this purpoſe let us now well weigh who is of the true catholic church, they, or we.

L. Keeper. Tarry, now you go from the matter, and make queſtions of your own.

Litchfield, going on with his digreſſion, ſaid thus: We muſt needs go to work, and try firſt, what church they be of; for there are many churches in Germany. Maſter Horne, Maſter Horne, I pray you, which of theſe churches are you of?

Horne. I am of Chriſt's catholic church.

L. Keeper. You ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to deviſe now queſtions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; ye ought not ſo to do. But ſay on, if you have any thing to ſay in this matter.

Litch. Cov. Nay, we muſt firſt thus go to work with them, as I have ſaid, if we will ſearch the truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for we aſſuredly ſtand in it. Theſe men come in, and they pretend to be doubtful. Therefore, they ſhould begin what they have to impugn or withſtand us withal.

Winch. Let them begin; ſo will we go onward with our matter.

Cheſter. Otherwiſe, my lords, if they ſhould not begin, but end the talk, then would the verity on our ſides be not ſo well marked; for they would depart ſpeaking laſt, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.

Winch. Therefore, I am reſolved that they ſhall begin ere that we ſay any thing.

Cheſter. I am ſorry, my lords, that we ſhould ſo long ſtand in the matter with your honours, and make ſo many words, and ſo much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency, if they begin not; and ſurely, we think it meet that they ſhould, for their parts, give us place.

Litchfield. Yea, that they ſhould, and ought to do, where any indifferency is uſed.

Aelmer. We give you the place, do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, becauſe you are biſhops; therefore, I pray you begin.

The Biſhop. A goodly giving of place, I aſſure you: yea, marry, ye gave place: ſuch words they uſed, with more ſcoffs.

L. Keeper. If ye make this aſſembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us riſe and depart.

Winch. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

I pray you, my lords, require not at our hands that we ſhould be any cauſe of hinderance to our religion, or give any ſuch evil example to our poſterity, which we ſhould do if we gave over to them, which in no wiſe we may, or will do.

L. Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With theſe words the biſhops were riſing. But then, ſaid the lord keeper, let us ſee whether every one of you be thus minded. How ſay you, my lord of Wincheſter; will you not begin to read your writing?

Winch. No, ſurely; I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein, howſoever my brethren do.

Then the lord keeper aſked the biſhop of Exeter his mind herein: who anſwered, that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper aſked the others in order; and firſt Lincoln, who ſaid he was of the ſame mind that Wincheſter was of: as likewiſe anſwered Litchfield and Coventry, Dr. Cole and Dr. Chedſey. Then Cheſter, being aſked his mind, ſaid, My lords, I ſay not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it; yet, I deſire your honours not ſo to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not ſo.

L. Keeper. How ſay you to it, my lord Carliſle?

Carliſle. If they ſhould not read their's this day, ſo that our writing may be laſt read, ſo am I contented that our's ſhall be firſt read.

L. Keeper. So would ye make orders yourſelves, and appoint that we ſhould ſpend one day in hearing you.

Abbot. Then the abbot of Weſtminſter was aſked his mind, who ſaid, If it pleaſe your honours, I judge that my lords here ſtay moſt on this point, that they fear when they ſhall begin firſt, and the other anſwer thereupon, there ſhall be no time given to them to ſpeak, which my lord diſliketh.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwiſe be, in talk appointed in ſuch aſſembly and audience? think you that there can be continual anſwering one another? When ſhould it, after that ſort, have an end?

Litch. Cov. It muſt be ſo in diſputation to ſeek out the truth.

L. Keeper. But how ſay you, my lord Abbot; are you of the mind it ſhall be read?

Abbot. Yea, forſooth, my lord, I am very well pleaſed withal. Harpſfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My lords, ſince that ye are not willing, but refuſe to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we ſhould hear you, you may perhaps ſhortly hear of us.

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this conference at Weſtminſter, between theſe two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge (good reader) where the fault was; and conſider withal what theſe papiſts be, from whom, if ye take away their ſword and authority, you ſee all their cunning, how ſoon it lieth in the duſt, or elſe why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they, or durſt they not ſtand to the order agreed upon? Whether ſhould we ſay ignorance or ſtubbornneſs to be in them more, or both together? Who firſt being gently (as is ſaid) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being, ſecondly, (as appeared by the lord keeper's words) preſſed more earneſtly, they neither regarding the authority, &c. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cauſe, utterly refuſed that to do. And, finally, being again particularly every of them apart diſtinctly by name required to underſtand their opinions therein, they all, except one, (which was the abbot of Weſtminſter, having ſome more conſideration of order and his duty of obedience than the reſt) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, ſome of them more earneſtly than others, as alſo ſome of them more undiſcreetly and more unreverendly than others. Whereupon giving ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubborneſs, and ſelf-will, as hath not been ſeen and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable aſſembly, being of the two eſtates of this realm, the nobility and commons, beſides the preſence of the queen's majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, the ſame aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the godly and moſt chriſtian purpoſe of the queen's majeſty made fruſtrate. And afterward, for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln having obſtinately both diſobeyed common authority, and varied manifeſtly from their own order, and eſpecially Lincoln, who ſhewed more folly than the others, were condignly committed to the Tower of London, and the reſt (ſaving the abbot of Weſtminſter) ſtood bound to make their perſonal appearance daily before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Weſtminſter, until further orders were taken with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

Beſides the former proteſtation or libel written and exhibited by the proteſtants concerning the firſt queſtion, there was alſo another writing of the proteſtants made of the ſecond queſtion, but not publiſhed.

As theſe biſhops above-named were committed to the Tower, ſo Bonner, biſhop of London, about the ſame time was committed to the Marſhalſea, where he, both in his blind bloody hereſy, and alſo in his deſerved captivity, long remained, even till his death.

About this time, at the beginning of the flouriſhing reign of queen Elizabeth, was a parliament ſummoned and held at Weſtminſter, wherein was much debating about matters of religion, and great ſtudy on both parts employed, the one to retain ſtill, the other to refute, the doctrine and faction which in queen Mary's time had been eſtabliſhed. Yet, notwithſtanding the great induſtry of the papiſts, by the providence of God their deſigns were fruſtrated, and the true catholic religion reſtored. Many of the pope's champions having been cut off by death, their power was much diminiſhed; Dr. Story was one of the chief that was left to ſtand up for his maſter's cauſe, as may be ſeen by his impudent expreſſions (I can term them no better) in the parliament-houſe.

The ſum of which ſhameleſs talk was to this effect: Firſt, beginning with himſelf, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a ſetter forth of ſuch religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late ſovereign that is dead, queen Mary, were ſet forth in this realm, he denied nothing of the ſame, proteſting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conſcience did lead him to, and alſo his commiſſion did as well then command him, as now alſo doth diſcharge him for the ſame, being no leſs ready now alſo to do the like, and more, in caſe he by this queen were authoriſed likewiſe, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore, as I ſee (ſaith he) nothing to be aſhamed of, ſo leſs I ſee to be ſorry for; but rather ſaid that he was ſorry for this, becauſe he had done no more than he did, and that in executing thoſe laws they had not been more vehement and ſevere. Wherein, he ſaid, there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both often and earneſtly had exhorted to the ſame, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little ſprigs and twigs, while they ſhould have ſtricken at the root, and have rooted it clean out, &c. And concerning his perſecuting and burning them, he denied not, but ſaid he was once at the burning of an earwig (for ſo he termed a proteſtant) at Uxbridge, where he toſt a faggot at his face as he was ſinging pſalms, and ſet a whinbuſh of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him, with many other words of like effect. In which words he named moreover ſir Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with ſuch other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counſel was to pluck at, and to bring them under coram, wherein (ſaid he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wiſely. This, or much like, was the effect of the ſhameleſs and tyrannical excuſe of himſelf, more meet to ſpeak with the voice of a beaſt than a man.

Although in this parliament there was ſome diverſity of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithſtanding, through the merciful goodneſs of God, the true cauſe of the goſpel had the upper hand, the papiſts, hope was fruſtrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion was revived again, the ſupremacy of the pope aboliſhed, the articles and bloody ſtatutes of queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel perſecution, which had conſumed ſo many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old biſhops were depoſed, for that they refuſed the oath in renouncing the pope, and not ſubſcribing to the queen's juſt and lawful title. In whoſe rooms and places, firſt, for cardinal Poole, ſucceeded Dr Matthew Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath, ſucceeded Dr. Young; inſtead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was biſhop of London; for

Hopton, Thurlby, Tonſtall, Pates, Chriſtopherſon, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feaſie, White, Oglethorpe, &c. were placed, Dr. John Parkhurſt in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewel in Saliſbury, Pilkenton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worceſter, Mr. Downam in Weſtcheſter, Bentam in Coventry and Litchfield, David in St. David's, Ally in Exeter, Horne in Wincheſter, Scory in Hereford, Beſt in Carliſle, Bullingham in Lincoln, Scamler in Peterborough, Bartlet in Bath, Geſt in Rocheſter, Barlo in Chicheſter, &c.

A Treatiſe *of Mr.* Nicholas Ridley, *in the* Name *of the whole* Clergy, *to* King Edward *the* Sixth, *concerning* Images *not to be ſet up, nor worſhipped in* Churches.

Certain Reaſons which move us that we cannot with ſafe Conſciences give our Aſſent, that the Images of Chriſt, &c. ſhould be placed and erected in Churches.

FIRST, the words of the commandment, Exod. xx. Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, &c. And the ſame is repeated more plainly, Deut. xxvii. Curſed is the man which maketh a molten image, &c. and ſetteth it in a ſecret place; and all the people ſhall ſay, Amen.

In the firſt place, theſe words are to be noted, Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf; that is, to any uſe of religion.

In the ſecond place, theſe words, And ſetteth it in a ſecret place; for no man durſt then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, that images both for uſe of religion, and in place of peril for idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, ſheweth the reaſon why he made this general prohibition, leſt peradventure thou being deceived, ſhouldſt bow down to them and worſhip them.

This general law is generally to be obſerved, notwithſtanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the example following.

God forbade the people to join their children in marriage with ſtrangers, adding the reaſon; For ſhe will ſeduce thy ſon, that he ſhall not follow me, Deut. vii.

Moſes was not deceived or ſeduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet, for all that, the general law was to be obſerved, Thou ſhalt join no marriage with them. And ſo, likewiſe, Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, &c.

Deut. iv. God giveth a ſpecial charge to avoid images. Beware, ſaith he, that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and ſo make to thyſelf any graven image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee, for the Lord thy God is a conſuming fire, and a jealous God.

If thou haſt children and nephews, and do well in the land, and being deceived, do make to yourſelves any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witneſs, that you ſhall quickly periſh out of the land which ye ſhall poſſeſs, ye ſhall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will deſtroy you, and ſcatter you amongſt all nations.

Note what ſolemn obteſtation God uſeth, and what grievous puniſhments he threateneth to the breakers of the ſecond commandment.

In the tabernacle and temple of God, no image was by God appointed openly to be ſet, nor by practice afterwards uſed or permitted, ſo long as religion was purely obſerved; ſo that the uſe and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the ſame.

If, by virtue of the ſecond commandment, images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then by the ſame commandment they are not lawful in the churches of chriſtians. For, being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial, (for by conſent of writers, only a part of the precept of obſerving the ſabbath is ceremonial) it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would conſent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that images ſhould be placed in the temple at Jeruſalem, but rather offered themſelves to death, than to aſſent unto it. Who, beſides that they are commended by Joſephus for obſerving the meaning of the law, would not have endangered themſelves ſo far, if they had thought images had been indifferent in the temple of God. For, as St. Paul ſaith, 2 Cor. vi. What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 8. lib. xviii. cap. 5 and 15.

God's ſcripture doth in no place commend the uſe of images, but in a great number of places doth diſallow and condemn them. They are called in the book of Wiſdom, The trap and ſnare of the feet of the ignorant.

It is ſaid that the invention of them was the beginning of ſpiritual fornication; and that they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue to the end. In the 15th chapter of the aforeſaid book, it is ſaid to be a labour without fruit. And again, They are worthy of death both that put their truſt in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worſhip them.

The Pſalms and prophets are full of like ſentences, and how can we then praiſe the thing which God's Spirit doth always forbid?

Furthermore, an image made by a father (as appeareth in the ſame book) for the memorial of his ſon departed, was the firſt invention of images, and occaſion of idolatry, Wiſdom xiv.

How much more then ſhall an image made in the memory of Chriſt, and ſet up in the place of religion, occaſion the ſame offence? Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 18. Images have their beginning from the heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to chriſtians. Whereunto Athanaſius agreeth: writing of images againſt the Gentiles, The invention of images, ſaith he, came of no good, but of evil; and whatſoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, ſeeing it is wholly naught.

St. John ſaith, My little children, beware of images: but to ſet them in the churches, which are places dedicated to the ſervice and invocation of God, and that over the Lord's table, being the higheſt and moſt honourable place, where moſt danger of abuſe both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to fly from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertullian, expounding the ſame words, writeth thus: Little children, keep yourſelves from the ſhape itſelf, or form of them.

Images in the church either ſerve to edify or deſtroy. If they edify, then there is one kind of edification which the ſcriptures neither teach nor command, but always diſallow; if they deſtroy, they are not to be uſed; for in the church of God all things ought to be done to edify, 1 Cor. xiv.

The commandment of God is, Thou ſhalt not lay a ſtumbling-block or a ſtone before the blind: and curſed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way.

The ſimple and unlearned people, who have been ſo long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore, to ſet images before them to ſtumble at, (they be ſnares and traps for the feet of the ignorant) or to lead them out of the true way, is not only againſt the commandment of God, but deſerveth alſo the malediction and curſe of God, Wiſd. xiv.

The uſe of images to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, is neither neceſſary nor profitable. To the ſuperſtitious, a confirmation in error; to the ſimple and weak, an occaſion of fall, and very offenſive and wounding to their conſciences; and therefore very dangerous. For St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. ix. Offending the brethren, and wounding their weak conſciences, they ſin againſt Chriſt. And Matt. xviii. Woe be to him by whom offence or occaſion of falling cometh; it were better that a mill-ſtone were tied about his neck, and he caſt into the ſea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Chriſt. And where objection may be made, that ſuch offence may be taken away by ſincere doctrine and preaching; it is to be anſwered, that that is not ſufficient, as hereafter more at large ſhall appear.

And though it ſhould be admitted as true, yet would it follow, that ſincere doctrine and preaching ſhould always, and in all places, continue as well as images; and ſo whereſoever an image to offend were erected, there ſhould alſo of reaſon a godly and ſincere preacher be continually maintained: for it is reaſon that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poiſon; but it is not poſſible in the realm of England that images ſhould be generally allowed, as reaſon and experience may teach.

As good magiſtrates, who intend to baniſh all whoredom, do drive away all licentious perſons, eſpecially out of ſuch places as are ſuſpected; even ſo images, being whores, (for the worſhipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery) ought to be baniſhed, and eſpecially out of churches, which is the moſt ſuſpected place, and where the ſpiritual fornication hath been moſt committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greateſt number; but in all churches and commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greateſt number, to whom images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, that images in churches do ſtir up the mind to devotion, it may be anſwered, that contrariwiſe they do rather diſtract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditations, as we read, that in the council-chamber of the Lacedemonians, no picture or image was ſuffered, leſt in conſultation of weighty matters of the commonweal, their minds by the ſight of the outward image might be occaſioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this preſent time doth declare, that thoſe parts of the realm which think, and are perſuaded, that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, do moſt deſire the reſtitution of images, and have been moſt diligent to ſet them up again: reſtitution, therefore, of them, by common authority, ſhall confirm them more in their error, to the danger of their ſouls, than ever they were before. For, as one man writeth, nothing is more certain or ſure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.

The profit of images is uncertain; the peril, by experience of all ages and ſtates of the church (as before) is moſt certain.

The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very ſmall; the danger in ſeeing of them, which is the danger of idolatry, is the greateſt of all other. Now, to allow a moſt certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greateſt danger for the ſmalleſt benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting of God, and grievous offence.

PROBATIONS *out of the* FATHERS, COUNCILS, *and* HISTORIES.

FIRST, it is manifeſt, that in the primitive church, images were not commonly uſed in churches, oratories, or places of aſſembly for religion; but they were generally deteſted and abhorred, inſomuch, that the want of imagery was objected to the chriſtians for a crime.

Origen reporteth, that Celſus objected the lack of images, lib. iv. *contra Celſum*.

Arnobius ſaith alſo, that the heathens accuſed the chriſtians that they had neither altars nor images.

Zephirus, in his commentary upon the apology of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullian's words, which place of perſuaſion were very cold, and to no purpoſe at all, except we hold this always, that chriſtians in thoſe days did hate moſt of all images with their trim decking and ornaments.

Ireneus, lib. i. cap. 4. reproveth the heretics called Gnoſtici, for that they carried about the image of Chriſt made in Pilate's time after his own proportion, (which were much more to be eſteemed than any that can be made now,) uſing alſo for declaration of their affection towards it, to ſet garlands upon the head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly, Inſt. ii. cap. 19. That it is not to be doubted, that there is no religion, whereſoever is any image. If chriſtians then had uſed images, he would not have made his propoſition ſo large.

St. Auguſtine De Civitate Dei, lib. iv. cap. 31. commendeth Varro the Roman in theſe words: When Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who doth not ſee how near he came to the truth? So that not only by M. Varro's judgment, but alſo by St. Auguſtine's approbation, the moſt pure and chaſte obſervation of religion, and neareſt the truth, is to be without images.

The ſame St. Auguſtine, in Pſal. cxiii. hath theſe words: Images have more force to bow down and crook the ſilly ſoul, than to teach it.

And upon the ſame pſalm he moveth this queſtion; Every Child, yea, every beaſt, knoweth that it is not God which they ſee; why then doth the Holy Ghoſt ſo often give warning to beware of that thing which all do know?

St. AUGUSTINE's ANSWER.

FOR when they are ſet in churches, and begin once to be worſhipped of the multitude or common people, ſtraightway ſpringeth up a moſt filthy affection of error.

This place of St. Auguſtine doth well open how weak a reaſon it is to ſay, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumſtances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and ſell in the market, but not ſo in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not ſo in churches. And therefore ſaith St. Paul, Have you not houſes to eat and drink in? Do you contemn the church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawful and honeſt in private places, which are neither comely nor honeſt, not only in churches, but alſo in other aſſemblies of honeſt people.

Tertullian ſaith, he uſed ſometimes to burn frankincenſe in his chamber, which was then uſed by idolaters, and is yet in the Romiſh churches; but he joineth withal, but not after ſuch a rite or ceremony, nor after ſuch a faſhion, nor with ſuch preparation or ſumptuouſneſs, as it is done before the idols.

So that images placed in churches, and ſet in an honourable place of eſtimation, as St. Auguſtine ſaith, and eſpecially over the Lord's table, which is done (uſing the words of Tertullian) after the ſame manner and faſhion which the papiſts uſed, eſpecially after ſo long continuance of abuſe of images, and ſo many being blinded with ſuperſtitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a moſt certain ruin of many ſouls.

Epiphanius, in his epiſtle to John, biſhop of Jeruſalem, (which epiſtle was tranſlated from the Greek by St. Jerom, being a likelihood that Jerom diſliked not the doctrine of the ſame) doth write a fact of his own, which doth moſt clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned biſhop concerning the uſe of images; his words are theſe: When I came to a village called Anablatha, and ſaw there, as I paſſed by, a candle burning, and inquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the ſame to pray, I found there a vail, or cloth, hanging at the door of the ſame church, dyed and painted, having on it the image of Chriſt, as it were, or of ſome ſaint, (for

I remember not well whoſe it was): then, when I ſaw this, that in the church of Chriſt, againſt the authority of the ſcriptures, the image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c. and commanded that ſuch manner of vails, or clothes, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the church of Chriſt.

Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be obſerved.

Firſt, That by the judgment of this ancient father, to permit images in churches is againſt the authority of the ſcriptures, meaning againſt the ſecond commandment, Thou ſhalt not take to thyſelf any graven image, &c.

Secondly, That Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but alſo painted images: forſomuch as he cut in pieces the image painted in a vail hanging at the church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's table?

Thirdly, That he ſpareth not the image of Chriſt: for no doubt that image is moſt perillous in the church of all other.

Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good king Ezechias, who broke the brazen ſerpent, and burnt it to aſhes.

Laſt of all, That Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant biſhops to be careful, that no kind of images be permitted in the church.

Serenus, biſhop of Maſſilia, broke down images, and deſtroyed them when he ſaw them begin to be worſhipped, Greg. in regiſt. epiſt. 109.

Experience of the times ſince hath declared, whether of theſe two ſentences were better. For ſince Gregorius's time, the images ſtanding in the weſt church, it hath been overflowed with idolatry, notwithſtanding his or other men's doctrine: whereas, if Serenus's judgment had univerſally taken place, no ſuch thing had happened. For if no images had been ſuffered, none could have been worſhipped: and conſequently no idolatry committed by them.

It is manifeſt to them that read hiſtories, that not only emperors, but alſo divers and ſundry councils in the eaſt church, have condemned and aboliſhed images, both by decrees and examples.

Petrus Crinitus, in his book of honeſt diſcipline, book ix. chap 9. wrote out of the emperors' books theſe words: Valens and Theodoſius, the emperors, wrote to the high Marſhal, or lieutenant, in this ſort: Whereas we are very careful that the religion of Almighty God ſhould be in all things kept, we permit no man to caſt, grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Chriſt, either in colours, ſtone, or other matter; but whereſoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, puniſhing them moſt grievouſly that ſhall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and empire.

Leo the Third, a man commended in hiſtories for his excellent virtues and godlineſs, who (as is judged by ſome men) was the author of the book *De re militari*, that is, of the feat of war, being tranſlated from the Greek by John Cheeke, and dedicated to king Henry the Eighth, your highneſs's father, by public authority commanded aboliſhing of images; and in Conſtantinople cauſed all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them to aſhes.

Conſtantine the Firſt's ſon aſſembled a council of the biſhops of the eaſt church: in which council it was decreed as followeth: It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jeſus Chriſt, to have any images, either of the Creator, or of any creatures ſet up in temples to be worſhipped, but rather that all images, by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches. Which decree was executed in all places where any images were, both in Greece and Aſia. But in all theſe times, the biſhops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighing, like chriſtian biſhops, the peril of the church, always in their aſſemblies allowed images.

Not long after, the biſhop of Rome, practiſing with Tharaſius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, obtained of Irene the empreſs, her ſon Conſtantine being then young, that a council ſhould be called at Nice, in which the people's legates were preſidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that council it was decreed, that images ſhould not only be permitted in churches, but alſo worſhipped: which council was confuted by a book written by Carolus Magnus, the emperor, calling it a fooliſh and an arrogant council.

Soon after this council, aroſe a ſharp contention between Irene the empreſs, and her ſon Conſtantine the Sixth, the emperor who deſtroyed images. And in the end, as ſhe had before wickedly burned the bones of her father-in-law, Conſtantine the Fifth, ſo afterward unnaturally ſhe put out the eyes of her ſon Conſtantine the Sixth.

About which time, as Eutropius writeth, the ſun was darkened moſt terribly for the ſpace of ſeventeen days, God ſhewing, by that dreadful ſign, how much he miſliked that kind of proceeding.

To be ſhort, there was never a thing that made more diviſion, or brought more miſchief into the church, than the controverſy of images: by reaſon whereof, not only the eaſt church was divided from the weſt, and never ſince properly reconciled, but alſo the empire was cut aſunder and divided, and the gates opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great part of Chriſtendom. The fault whereof moſt juſtly is to be aſcribed to the patrons of images, who could not be contented with the example of the primitive church, being moſt ſimple and ſincere, and moſt agreeable to the ſcripture: (for as Tertullian ſaith, That that is firſt, is true, and that that is latter, is counterfeit.) But with all extremity maintained the uſe of images in churches, whereof no profit nor conveniency did ever grow to the church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of ſouls have been caſt into eternal damnation by the occaſion of images uſed in places of religion, and no hiſtory can record, that ever any one ſoul was won unto Chriſt by having of images. But leſt it might appear that the weſt church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted, that in a council holden in Spain, called *Conſilium Eliberinum*, the uſe of images in churches was clearly prohibited in this form of words: We decree, that pictures ought not to be in churches, leſt that be painted upon the walls which is worſhipped or adored.

But this notwithſtanding experience hath declared, that neither aſſembling in councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of laws, preſcribing of puniſhments, hath holpen againſt images, to which idolatry hath been committed, nor againſt idolatry whilſt images ſtood. For theſe blind books and dumb ſchoolmaſters (which they call laymen's books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of idolatry, than all other written books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your highneſs a few cauſes of many which do move our conſciences in this matter; we beſeech your highneſs moſt humbly not to ſtrain us any further, but to conſider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being paſtors and miniſters in his church, ſhould aſſent unto the thing which in our learning and conſcience we are perſuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, ſuperſtition, and idolatry: and finally, to the ruin of the ſouls committed to our charge, for which we muſt give an account to the Prince of paſtors at the laſt day, Hebrews xii. 1 Pet. v. We pray your majeſty alſo not to be offended with this our plainneſs and liberty, which all good and chriſtian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly biſhops.

Saint Ambroſe, writing to Theodoſius the emperor, uſeth theſe words: But neither is it the part of an emperor to deny free liberty of ſpeaking, nor the duty of a prieſt not to ſpeak what he thinketh. And again; In God's cauſe whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the prieſt, to whoſe great peril the fault ſhould be committed? Who dare ſay the truth unto thee, if the prieſt dare not? Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches of St. Ambroſe, Theodoſius, and Valentinianus, the emperors, did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your grace will do the like, not only of whoſe clemency, but alſo beneficence, we have largely taſted.

We beſeech your majeſty alſo, in theſe and ſuch like controverſies of religion, to refer the diſcuſſion and deciding of them to a ſynod of our biſhops, and other godly learned men, according to the example of Conſtantinus Maximus, and other chriſtian emperors, that the reaſons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly, as in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this preſent matter, we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty to conſider, that beſides weighty cauſes in policy, which we leave to the wiſdom of your honourable counſellors, the eſtabliſhment of images by your authority ſhall not only utterly diſcredit our miniſters, as builders up of the things which we have deſtroyed, but alſo blemiſh the fame of your moſt god-like father, and ſuch notable fathers as have given their life for the teſtimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

The almighty and everlaſting God plentifully indue your majeſty with his Spirit and heavenly wiſdom, and long preſerve your moſt gracious reign and proſperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, to the overthrow of ſuperſtition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your highneſs's loving ſubjects.

Note, Dr. Ridley, ſome time biſhop of London, was a man ſo reverenced for his learning and knowledge in the ſcripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent ſcholar, whoſe life, if it might have been redeemed with the ſum of 10,000 marks, yea, 10,000l. the lord Dacres of the North, being his kinſman, would have given it to queen Mary, rather than he ſhould have been burned. And yet was ſhe ſo unmerciful, for all his gentleneſs in king Edward's days, that it would not be granted for any intereſt that could be made. Oh, that ſhe had remembered his labour for her to king Edward the Sixth, with archbiſhop Cranmer, in ſuch ſort that even ſhe had yielded but the reward of a publican, Matt. v. then had the earth not ſo been bereft of him as it was; but the Lord forgive us our ſins, which were the cauſe thereof, and grant that we never ſo provoke his anger again, if it be his bleſſed will, Amen.

The ORATION *of* SIR NICHOLAS BACON, Knight, LORD KEEPER *of the* GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, *ſpoken in the* STAR-CHAMBER, *the 29th of* DECEMBER, 1567, *in the 10th* YEAR *of the* REIGN *of* QUEEN ELIZABETH, *and in the* PRESENCE *of*

Matthew, archbiſhop of Canterbury.
William, marquis of Northampton.
Francis, earl of Bedford.
Lord Clinton, admiral of England.
William Howard, lord chamberlain.
Biſhop of London.
Lord Gray, of Wilton.
Sir Edward Rogers, knight.
Sir Ambroſe Cave, knight, chancellor of the duchy.
Sir William Cecil, knight, principal ſecretary.
Sir Francis Knolls, knight, vice-chamberlain.
Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the exchequer.
Lord Cattelene, chief juſtice of the king's-bench.
Lord Dyer, chief juſtice of the common pleas.
Sir William Cordale, knight, maſter of the rolls.
Juſtice Weſton, Juſtice Welch, Juſtice Southcotes, Juſtice Carowes.

IT is given to the queen's majeſty to underſtand, that certain of her ſubjects by their evil diſpoſitions do ſow and ſpread abroad divers ſeditions, to the derogation and diſhonour of Almighty God, in the ſtate of religion eſtabliſhed by the laws of this realm, and alſo to the diſhonour of her highneſs, in diſproving her lawful right of ſupremacy amongſt her ſubjects. And this that they do, is not done as in ſecrecy or by ſtealth, but openly avouched, and in all companies diſputed on. And thus by their bold attempts they ſeem not to obey or regard the authority of laws, nor the quiet of her ſubjects. As for example, by bringing in and ſpreading abroad divers lewd libels, and ſeditious books from beyond the ſeas, and in ſuch boldneſs, that they do commend thoſe writers in their ſeditious books, containing manifeſt matter againſt the ſtate eſtabliſhed. Which boldneſs of men, ſo univerſally and every where ſeen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the leaſt winked at by them whom the queen's highneſs hath placed in authority to repreſs thoſe inſolencies. And the queen's highneſs cannot more juſtly charge any for this diſorder, than ſuch who be in commiſſions choſen to repreſs thoſe diſorders. If it be anſwered me, that they cannot ſee ſuch open boldneſs and factious diſorders, I muſt ſay that they have no eyes to ſee: and if they hear not of ſuch contemptuous talk, I may ſay that they have no ears. I would have thoſe men judge what will come of thoſe unbridled ſpeeches in the end, if reformation be not had thereof. What cometh of factions and ſeditions, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beſeech God long to defend us from. If ſuch diſorders be not redreſſed by law, then muſt force and violence reform. Which when they take place, may happen to fall as ſoon on them that ſeem to have leaſt conſideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then you know that law is put to ſilence, and cannot be executed, which ſhould only maintain good order. If it be replied againſt me, that to the ſuppreſſing of theſe open talks there is no law, which by ſpecial letter can charge any man as an offender; I muſt ſay, that whatſoever the letter of the law may be, the meaning of the law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of theſe doings. If it be ſaid, that no man can be charged by the law, except it can be proved againſt him, that his ſpeech and deeds be done maliciouſly; what you call malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of theſe ſeditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, diſtraction of minds maketh ſedition, ſedition bringeth in tumults, tumults work inſurrections and rebellion, inſurrections make depopulation and deſolation, and bring in utter ruin and deſtruction of men's bodies, goods, and lands; and if any ſow the root whereof theſe men come, and it be ſaid that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciouſly labour to deſtroy both public and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciouſly: and further, if it be ſaid to me, that the man who ſhould be charged with offence, muſt be proved to have done his act adviſedly; to that I anſwer, If any bring in thoſe books, diſtribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done adviſedly, I have no ſkill of their adviſedneſs. If it be ſaid, that the law treateth of ſuch acts as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct overthwarting the law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the truth by arguments condemned? It may be ſaid again, that the world doth not now like extremity in laws penal, and calleth them bloody laws. As for extreme and bloody laws, I approve not of them: but where the execution of ſuch laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the non-execution may bring in danger half an hundred, I think this law nor the execution thereof may juſtly be called extreme and bloody: in ſuch like compariſon I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may eſcape hanging, in this reſpect, not whipping bringeth in this bloodineſs and extremity, and not the execution of the law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped than once hanged: the pains do differ, but wiſe men will ſoon conſider the diverſity. The truth is, to ſuffer diſobedient ſubjects to take boldneſs againſt the laws of God and their prince, to wink at the obſtinate minds of ſuch as be unbridled in their affections, to maintain a foreign power of the biſhop of Rome, directly againſt the prince's prerogative eſtabliſhed by laws, is not this to hatch diſſention, and to cheriſh ſedition? To extol the writings of ſuch, who by their wits deviſe to ſupplant the prince's lawful authority. If theſe doing be not meant to the diſturbance and utter ruin of this realm, I know not what is good government. If theſe be not the ſparks of rebellion, what be they? Thus much having ſpoken to your wiſdoms, I doubt not of your aſſenting with me; the rather alſo becauſe I utter them unto you as from the queen's majeſty by commandment, who doth require of us all more diligence in the execution of the laws, than commonly hath been obſerved: whereby we ſhall do our duty to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our ſovereign, regard the majeſty of the laws, love the quiet of our country, and procure the ſafety of ourſelves.

God ſave the QUEEN.

An ACCOUNT *of the* MARTYRDOM *of one* RICHARD ATKINS, *an* ENGLISMAN, *at* ROME.

ABOUT the month of July, Anno 1581, one Richard Atkins, an Engliſhman, born in Hertfordſhire, came to Rome, and having found the Engliſh college, knocked at the door, to whom divers of the ſtudents there came out, to welcome him, underſtanding that he was an Engliſhman. They willed him to go to the hoſpital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he anſwered, I come not (my countrymen) to any ſuch intent, as you judge, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great miſorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold: I come likewiſe to let your proud Antichriſt underſtand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majeſty, rob God of his honour, and poiſoneth the whole world with his abominable blaſphemies, making them do homage to ſtocks and ſtones, and that filthy ſacrament, which is nothing elſe but a fooliſh idol. When they heard theſe words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welſhman, and ſtudent in the college, cauſed him to be put in the inquiſition; where, how they examined him, and how he anſwered them, I know not, but after certain days he was ſet at liberty again; and one day going in the ſtreet, he met a prieſt carrying the ſacrament; which offending his conſcience, to ſee the people crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down; but miſſing of his purpoſe, and it being judged by the people, that he did catch at the holineſs that (they ſay) cometh from the ſacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let paſs, and nothing ſaid to him: a few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing maſs, and the prieſt at the elevation; he uſing no reverence, ſtepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, ſtriving likewiſe to have pulled the cake out of the prieſt's hands; for which divers roſe up and beat him with their fiſts, and one drew his rapier, and would have ſlain him: ſo that in brief he was carried to priſon, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed ſuch a heinous offence; whereunto he anſwered, That he came purpoſely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedneſs and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which ſentence (he ſaid) he was right willing to ſuffer, and the rather, becauſe the ſum of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in priſon, ſundry Engliſhmen came unto him, willing him to be ſorry for what he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the means they uſed were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of ſcripture, and willed them to be ſorry for their wickedneſs; while God did permit them time, elſe they were in danger of everlaſting damnation; theſe words made the Engliſhmen depart: for they could not abide to hear them. Within a while after, he was ſet upon an aſs without any ſaddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having ſome Engliſh prieſts with him to talk with him, but he regarded them not, but ſpake to the people in as good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and willed them for Chriſt's ſake to have regard to the ſaving of their ſouls. All the way as he went, there were four who did nothing elſe but thruſt at his body with burning torches, whereat he never moved, nor ſhrunk one jot, but with a chearful countenance laboured to perſuade the people, often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thruſt at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning ſtill upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almoſt the ſpace of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs firſt, which they did, he not diſmayed any whit, but ſuffered all marvellous chearfully; which moved the people to ſuch a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a croſs, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a chriſtian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them, that they were evil men to trouble him with ſuch matters, when he was preparing himſelf for God, whom he beheld in majeſty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal reſt. They ſeeing him in this mind, departed, ſaying, Let us go and leave him to the devil, whom he ſerves. Thus ended this faithful ſoldier and martyr of Chriſt, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Maſter: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time, and a good while after in Rome, in the ſervice of his maſter, doctor Morton; who ſeeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his houſe, in preſence of Mr. Smith, his ſon, Mr. Creed, and the ſaid John Young, ſpake as followeth: Surely this fellow was marvellouſly obſtinate, he nothing regarded the good counſel which was given to him, nor ſhrunk all the time when the torches were thruſt at his naked body. Beſide, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, although they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his legs firſt, to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but ſmile at. Doubtleſs, but that the word of God cannot be but true, elſe we might judge this fellow to be of God; for who could have ſuffered ſo much pain as he did? But truly I believe the devil was in him.

The LIFE *and* DEATH *of* DR. STORY, *a cruel* PERSECUTOR *of* CHRIST *in his* MEMBERS.

THIS Dr. Story, being an Engliſhman by birth, and from his infancy being not only nurſed in papiſtry, but alſo even as it were by nature earneſtly affected to the ſame, and growing ſomewhat in riper years, in the days of queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel perſecutor of Chriſt in his members (as all the hiſtories in this book almoſt do declare). Thus he raging all the reign of the aforeſaid queen Mary againſt the infallible truth of Chriſt's goſpel, and the true profeſſors thereof, never ceaſing till he had conſumed to aſhes two or three hundred bleſſed martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the teſtimony of his truth; and thinking their puniſhment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Chriſt, ſuch was his hatred to the truth of Chriſt's goſpel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel blood-ſhedding of his ſervants, took away queen Mary, the great pillar of papiſtry. After whom ſucceeded lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who ſtaying the bloody ſword of perſecution from raging any further, cauſed the ſame Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many others his accomplices, ſworn enemies to Chriſt's glorious goſpel. The ſaid Story having been a while detained in priſon, at laſt, by what means I know not, got out and conveyed himſelf over the ſeas, where he continued a moſt bloody perſecutor, ſtill raging againſt God's ſaints with fire and ſword. Inſomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to the duke of Alva, in Antwerp, received ſpecial commiſſion from him to ſearch the ſhips for goods forfeited, and for Engliſh books, and ſuch like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a time, by which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman into trouble and extreme peril of life through his blood-thirſty cruelty: but at laſt the Lord (when the meaſure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment againſt him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to paſs in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the report thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the ſubverſion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hoſtility, if by any means he might encompaſs it; but alſo daily and hourly murdered God's people; there was this platform laid (by God's providence no doubt) that one Mr. Parker, a merchant ſhould ſail unto Antwerp, and by ſome means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, ſuborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to ſignify unto him, that there was an Engliſh ſhip come, loaded with merchandize, and that if he would make ſearch thereof himſelf, he ſhould find ſtore of Engliſh books, and other things for his purpoſe. Story hearing this, and ſuſpecting nothing, made haſte towards the ſhip, thinking to make the ſame his prey; and coming on board, ſearched for Engliſh heretical books (as he called them); and going down under the hatches, becauſe he would be ſure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoiſted up their ſail, having (as God would) a good gale, and ſailed away unto England. Where they arriving, preſented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel, Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an Engliſh heart. He being now committed to priſon, continued there a good ſpace: during all which time he was importuned and ſolicited daily by wiſe and learned fathers to recant his deviliſh and erroneous opinions, to conform himſelf to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's ſupremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, ſaying, that he was a ſworn ſubject to the king of Spain, and was no ſubject to the queen of England, nor ſhe his ſovereign queen; and therefore (as he well deſerved) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the queen's majeſty, and the realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon an hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the ſtreets to Tyburn, where he being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and ſtripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy members, he ruſhing up upon a ſudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that ſtood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod's wretched life, whoſe judgment I leave to the Lord.

C H A P. III.

Containing an HISTORICAL ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS, SUFFERINGS, *and cruel* DEATHS *of* PROTESTANT MARTYRS *in* FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

A brief RELATION *of the horrible* MASSACRE *in* FRANCE, Anno 1752.

AND firſt for brevity's ſake to overpaſs the bloody butchery of the Roman catholics in Orange againſt the proteſtants, more fiercely and unawares breaking into their houſes, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom ſome being ſpoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the ſtreets; ſome they ſmothered in their houſes with ſmoke, with ſword and weapon ſparing none, the carcaſes of ſome they threw to dogs, which was in the year 1570, in the reign of Charles IX. Likewiſe to paſs over the cruel ſlaughter at Rhone, where the proteſtants being at a ſermon without the city walls, upon the king's edict, the papiſts in fury ran upon them coming home, and ſlew of them above 40 at leaſt, many more they wounded. This example at Rhone, ſtirred up the papiſts at Dieppe, to practiſe the like rage alſo againſt the chriſtians there, returning from a ſermon likewiſe; whoſe ſlaughter had been the greater, had they not more wiſely before been provided with weapons for their own defence if needed. All which happened about the ſame year aforeſaid, viz. 1570. But theſe with ſuch like I briefly overſlip, to enter now into the matter above promiſed, that is, briefly to treat of the horrible and moſt barbarous maſſacre committed in Paris, ſuch as I ſuppoſe never was heard of before in any civil diſſention amongſt the very heathens. In a few words, to touch the ſubſtance of the matter:

After long troubles in France, the papiſts forſeeing no good to be done againſt the proteſtants by open force, began to deviſe how by crafty means to entrap them, and that by two manner of ways: the one by pretending a power to be ſent into the lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain; not that the king ſo meant indeed, but only to underſtand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The ſecond was by a certain marriage ſuborned between the prince of Navarre, and the king's ſiſter. To this pretended marriage, it was adviſed, that all the chief proteſtants of France ſhould be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom firſt they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince that was to marry the king's ſiſter, attempting by all means poſſible to gain her conſent thereunto. She being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, conſented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where ſhe, after much ado, was at length won over to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, ſhortly upon the ſame fell ſick, and within five days departed, not without ſuſpicion, as ſome ſaid, of poiſon. But her body being opened, no ſign of poiſon could there be found, ſave only but that a certain apothecary made his boaſt, that he had killed the queen by certain venemous odours and ſmells by him confected.

After this, notwithſtanding the marriage ſtill going forward, the admiral prince of Navarre and Conde, with divers other chief ſtates of the proteſtants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promiſes, at laſt were brought to Paris, where with great ſolemnity they were received, but eſpecially the admiral. To make the matter ſhort, the day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of Auguſt, 1572. Which marriage being ſolemnized by the cardinal of Borbonne, upon an high ſtage ſet up on purpoſe without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's ſiſter, ſhe being then at maſs. This done, they reſorted all together to the biſhop's palace to dinner. In the evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to ſupper. Not long after this, being the 22d of Auguſt, the admiral coming from the council table, by the way was ſhot at with a piſtol, charged with three bullets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet ſtill remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counſel to flee away, it ſo fell out that certain ſoldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watch-word at the command of the prince, upon which watch-word given, they burſt out to the ſlaughter of the proteſtants, firſt beginning with the admiral himſelf, who being wounded with many ſore wounds, was caſt out of the window into the ſtreet, where his head being firſt ſtruck off, and embalmed with ſpices to be ſent to the pope, the ſavage people raging againſt him, cut off his arms and privy members, and ſo drawing him three days through the ſtreets of Paris, they dragged him to the place of execution, out of the city, and there hanged him up by the heels, to the greater ſhew and ſcorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed ſoldiers with rage and violence ran upon all the others of the ſame profeſſion, ſlaying and killing all the proteſtants they knew, or could find within the city gates incloſed. This bloody ſlaughter continued the ſpace of many days, but eſpecially the greateſt ſlaughter was in the three firſt days, in which were numbered to be ſlain, as the ſtory writeth, above 10,000 men and women, old and young, of all ſorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river: ſo that not only the river was all ſtained therewith, but alſo whole ſtreams in certain places of the city did run with the blood of the ſlain bodies. So great was the outrage of that helliſh perſecution, that not only the proteſtants, but alſo certain whom they thought indifferent papiſts, they put to the ſword inſtead of proteſtants. In the number of them that were ſlain of the more learned ſort, was Petrus Ramus, alſo Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapeſius, with others.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, eſpecially Lyons, Orleans, Thoulouſe, and Rouen. In theſe cities it is almoſt incredible, and ſcarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was ſhewed, what numbers of good men were deſtroyed; inſomuch, that within the ſpace of one month, thirty thouſand at leaſt of religious proteſtants are numbered to be ſlain, as is credibly reported in the commentaries of them who teſtify purpoſely of the matter.

Furthermore there is to be noted, that when the pope firſt heard of this bloody ſtir, he, with his cardinals, made ſuch joy at Rome, with the proceſſion, with their gun-ſhot, and ſinging of *Te Deum*, that in honour of that feſtival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope, with great indulgence, and much ſolemnity. Whereby thou haſt here to diſcern and judge, with what ſpirit and charity theſe papiſts are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwiſe would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewiſe in France no leſs rejoicing there was upon the 28th day of the month, the king commanding public proceſſions through the whole city to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and ſinging; where the king himſelf, with the queen his mother, and his whole court reſorting together to the church, gave thanks and praiſe to God, for that ſo worthy victory atchieved upon St. Bartholomew's day againſt the proteſtants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquiſhed in all the realm for ever.

And, indeed, to man's thinking, it might appear no leſs, after ſuch a great deſtruction of the proteſtants, having loſt ſo many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, returned to the pope; divers fled out of the realm, ſuch as would not turn, keeping themſelves ſecret, durſt not be known nor ſeen, ſo that it was paſt all hope of man, that the goſpel ſhould ever have any more place in France: but ſuch is the admirable working of God, where man's help and hope moſt faileth, there he moſt ſheweth his ſtrength, and helpeth, as here is to be ſeen. For whereas the little remnant of the goſpel ſide, being now brought to utter deſperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already againſt conſcience, yielding to time; yet, the Lord of his goodneſs ſo wrought, that many were ſtayed and reclaimed again through the occaſion firſt of them in Rochelle: who, hearing of the cruel maſſacre in Paris, and ſlaughter at Thouloufe, moſt conſtantly, with valiant hearts, (the Lord ſo working) thought to ſtand to their defence againſt the king's power, by whoſe example certain other cities, hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like; namely, Montalbane, the city called Nemanſium, Sanſer in Occitamia, Millialdum, Mirebellum, Fuduzia, with other towns and cities more: who, being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumſpect, and take good heed of the falſe diſſembling practices not to be truſted of the mercileſs papiſts, intending nothing but blood and deſtruction.

Theſe things thus paſſing at Rochelle, the king hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to captains Strozzius and Guardius to ſee to Rochelle. After this, he ſendeth a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochelle men to receive him for their governor, under the king. A great conſultation being held, at length the Rochelle men began to condeſcend, upon certain conditions; which being not eaſily conſented to, and eſpecially they hearing in the mean time what was done to others of their fellows, who had ſubmitted themſelves, thought it better to ſtand to the defence of their lives and conſciences, and to hazard the worſt. Whereupon began great ſiege and battery to be laid againſt Rochelle, both by land and ſea, which was in the year 1572, about the fourth day of December. It would require another volume to deſcribe all things during the time of this ſiege, that paſſed on either ſide, between the king's part and the town of Rochelle. Briefly to run over ſome parts of the matter: In the beginning of the year following, which was 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king, to all and ſundry nobles and peers of France, upon great puniſhment, to addreſs themſelves in a moſt forcible manner to the aſſaulting of Rochelle. Whereupon, a great concourſe of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there aſſembled; amongſt whom was alſo the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, (who, there, not long after, was proclaimed king of Poland) accompanied by his other brother, duke Alanſon, Navarre, Conde, and a great number of ſtates beſides. Thus the whole power of France being gathered againſt one poor town, had not the mighty hand of God been on their ſide, it had been impoſſible for them to eſcape. During the time of this ſiege, which laſted ſeven months, what ſkirmiſhes and conflicts were on both ſides, it were endleſs to recite. To make ſhort, ſeven principal aſſaults were given to the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make. In all which aſſaults the pope's catholic ſide had the worſt. Concerning the firſt aſſault, thus I find written—that within the ſpace of 26 days were charged againſt the walls and houſes of Rochelle, to the number of thirty thouſand ſhot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adverſary to invade the city: but ſuch was the courage of them within, (not men only, but women, matrons, and maidens, with ſpits, fire, and ſuch other weapons as come to hand) that the adverſary was driven back, with no ſmall ſlaughter of their ſoldiers: only of the inhabitants were ſlain and wounded to the number of ſixty perſons. Likewiſe, in the ſecond aſſault, 2000 great field-pieces were laid againſt the town; whereupon the adverſary attempted the next day to invade the town, but through the induſtry of the ſoldiers and citizens, and alſo of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly faſter than they came. No better ſucceſs had all the aſſaults that followed: whereby, conſider (gentle reader) with thyſelf, in what great diſtreſs theſe good people were, not of Rochelle only, but of other cities alſo, during theſe ſeven months above-mentioned, had not the powerful hand of the Lord Almighty ſuſtained them. Concerning whoſe wonderous operation for his ſervants in theſe diſtreſſes, three memorable things I find in hiſtory to be noted.

The one concerning the ſiege of Sanſer; which city being terribly battered and razed with the ſhot of great cannons and field-pieces, having at one ſiege no leſs than three thouſand bullets and gun ſtones flying upon them, wherewith the creſts of their helmets were pierced; their ſleeves, their hoſe, their hats pierced; their weapons in their hands broken, their walls ſhaken, their houſes rent down; yet not one perſon ſlain nor wounded with all this, ſave only at the firſt a certain maiden, with the blaſt of the ſhot flying by her, was ſtruck down, and died.

The ſecond thing to be noted is, that in the ſame city, during all the time of the ſiege, which laſted ſeven months and a half, notwithſtanding all the ordnance and battering-pieces diſcharged againſt them, which are numbered to ſix thouſand, not ſo much as 25 perſons in all were ſlain.

The third example, no leſs memorable, was at Rochelle: whereas the poorer ſort began to lack corn and victuals, there was ſent to them every day in the river, (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fiſh, called ſurdones, which the poorer people uſed inſtead of bread. Which fiſh, the ſame day the ſiege broke up, departed and came no more. Teſtified by them who were preſent in Rochelle all the time.

What number was loſt on both ſides during all this ſeven months war, is not certainly known. The number of captains ſlain of the king's camp, however, leaves room for conjecture; which was no leſs than 132, of whom the chief was duke Damoule.

To cloſe up this tragical ſtory, reſpecting the breaking up of this ſeven months ſiege: Thus it fell out, that ſhortly after the ſeventh aſſault given againſt Rochelle, which was in the year 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that duke Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland; at which great joy was in the camp. By occaſion whereof, the new king more willing to have peace, entered talk with them of Rochelle: who, as he ſhewed himſelf to them not ungentle, ſo found he them again to him not unconformable. Whereupon, a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them, upon conditions. Which agreement, the new king of Poland ſoon preferred to the French king his brother, not without ſome ſuit and interceſſion to have it ratified. The king alſo himſelf, partly being weary of theſe chargeable wars, was the more willing to aſſent thereunto. And thus, at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal conſent, under form of an edict, was ſet down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing 25 articles. In which alſo were included certain other cities of the proteſtants, granting to them the benefit of peace, and liberty of religion. This edict, or mandate ſent down from the king by his herald at arms, Bironius, in the king's name, cauſed to be ſolemnly proclaimed at Rochelle, in the year 1573, the tenth day of June.

The year following, which was 1574, for two things ſeemeth fatal and famous; firſt, for the death of Charles the Ninth, the French king; alſo, moſt of all, for the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to Guiſe. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in ſtories. Touching the king's death, although Ric. Dinothus ſaith nothing, likely from fear, becauſe he being a Frenchman, his name is expreſſed and known: but another ſtory, (whom the ſaid Dinothus doth follow) bearing no name, ſaith thus: that he died the 25th day of May, upon Whitſun-eve, being aged 25 years: and addeth more, Certain it is, that his ſickneſs came of bleeding. And ſaith further: The conſtant report ſo goeth, that his blood guſhing out of divers parts of his body, he toſſing in his bed, and uttering many horrible blaſphemies, laid upon pillows, with his heels upward and head downward, voided ſo much blood at his mouth, that in a few hours he expired. Which ſtory, if it be true, as is recorded and teſtified, may be a ſpectacle and example to all perſecuting kings and princes, polluted with the blood of chriſtian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the terrible perſecution in France.

To the CHRISTIAN READER.

“WHereas that excellent man, both for learning “ and godlineſs, Mr. John Fox, of bleſſed “ memory, ended this worthy work with his ſhort declaration of that horrible maſſacre and murder of “ God's ſaints and ſervants in France; we have thought “ good to ſet down the ſame more particularly and “ largely, and afterwards to add thereunto a declara- “ tion of other outrageous cruelties, committed in “ France by the favourers and followers of the church “ of Rome upon faithful chriſtians, both before and “ after the ſaid maſſacre: all faithfully collected and “ taken out of the hiſtory of that honourable man, “ James Auguſt Thuanus, preſident of the parliament “ of Paris, and counſellor of ſtate to the late French “ king, Henry the Fourth. And thus we have done, “ that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and “ abhor that bloody Babylon of Rome, and to take “ better heed, that by our ſins and contempt of God's “ holy word, by his great mercy committed unto us, “ we do not again fall into the cruel claws thereof, and “ into the bloody hands of her followers; as moſt cer- “ tainly we had done, if God in great mercy had not “ prevented that ſavage, barbarous, and moſt monſtrous “ Powder-Treaſon; of which great and merciful de- “ liverance, God make us mindful and truly thankful “ in glorifying his name, and ſerving him in true “ holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life, “ Amen.”

WHEN the admiral was wounded in both his arms, he immediately thereupon ſaid to Maure, preacher to the queen of Navarre, O my brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, ſeeing that for his moſt holy name's ſake I do ſuffer theſe wounds. Then he whiſpered in the ear of one of them that bore up his arm, that he ſhould deliver an hundred crowns to Marlin his preacher, to be given to the poor of the church of Paris.

The admiral was ſlain by Bemjus, of whom Alineus (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never ſaw man in ſo preſent peril, ſo conſtantly and confidently ſuffer death.

Many honourable men, and great perſonages, were then murdered, as count Rochfulcaud; Telinius, the admiral's ſon-in-law; Antonius Claromontus, marquis of Ravely; Lewis Buſſius, Bandineus, Pluvialius, Bernius, &c.

Francis Nompar Caumontius, being in bed with his two ſons, was ſlain, with one of them: the other was ſtrangely preſerved, who after came to great honour and dignity.

Stephen Cevalerie Prime, chief treaſurer to the king in Poictiers, a very good man, and careful of the commonwealth, after he had paid for his life a good ſum of money, was cruelly murdered by ſome cut-throats, whom Stephen Fargon Patandery (who gaped for his office) had ſent for that purpoſe.

Magdalen Briſſonet, an excellent woman, and learned, the widow of Ivermus, maſter of requeſts to the king, flying out of the city in poor apparel, was taken, cruelly murdered, and caſt into the river.

Two thouſand were murdered in one day; and the ſame liberty of killing and ſpoiling continued certain days after.

Peter Placie was repeatedly ſtabbed with daggers, and killed.

At Meldis two hundred were caſt into priſon, and being brought out as ſheep to the ſlaughter, were cruelly murdered. There alſo were twenty-five women ſlain.

At Orleans, a thouſand men, women, and children, were murdered.

The citizens of Auguſtobona, when they heard of the maſſacre at Paris, ſhut the gates of their town that no proteſtants might eſcape, and caſt all that they ſuſpected into priſon, which afterward were brought forth and murdered.

At Avaricum, in like manner, the ſuſpected for religion were caſt into priſon, and afterwards murdered.

At the town of Charite, a troop of Lewes Gonzaga's horſemen killed 18 perſons.

At Lyons there were 800 moſt miſerably and cruelly murdered; the children hanging at their fathers' necks, and the fathers embracing their children, &c. Three hundred were ſlain in the archbiſhop's houſe. The monks would not ſuffer their bodies to be buried.

At Romanium ſeven were killed.

At Tholoſſa 200 were murdered.

At Roan 500 were put to death. At laſt Thuanus writeth thus; this example paſſed unto other cities, and from cities to towns and villages, ſo that it is by many publiſhed, that in all the kingdom above 30,000 were in theſe tumults divers ways deſtroyed; although I think the number was ſomewhat leſs.

A little before this maſſacre, a man, nurſe, and infant, carried to be baptized, were all three murdered.

There was wonderful great joy in Rome for this maſſacre, and the pope with his cardinals went in ſolemn proceſſion to the church of St. Mark, to give thanks to God for this great benefit beſtowed upon the ſee of Rome and the Chriſtian world. And the Monday following there was ſolemn ſervice in the church of Minerva, at which the pope and the cardinals were preſent. A jubilee alſo was publiſhed, and in the evening the great ordnance was ſhot off in the caſtle of St. Angelo. The cardinal of Lorrain gave a thouſand crowns to him that brought news of it.

Bricamotius, an old man of ſeventy years, and Cavagnius, were laid upon hurdles and drawn to execution: and being in the way reviled and defiled with dirt caſt upon them, they were hanged. Bricamotius might have been pardoned, if he would publicly confeſs, that the admiral had conſpired againſt the king; which he refuſed to do.

Caſter, a city in the county of the Albingens, held by the proteſtants, being upon the king's great promiſes of their ſafety, delivered up into the hands of Crucete a nobleman, was notwithſtanding with murders and ſpoil cruelly waſted.

At Bourdeaux, by the inſtigation of a monk, called Enimund Angerius, were 264 cruelly murdered, of whom ſome were ſenators. This monk continually provoked them in his ſermons to this ſlaughter.

At Agendicum in Main, a cruel ſlaughter of the proteſtants was committed by the inſtigation of Æmarus, inquiſitor of criminal cauſes. A rumour being ſpread abroad, that the proteſtants had taken ſecret counſel to invade and ſpoil the churches, above an hundred of every eſtate and ſex were by the enraged people killed or drowned in the river Igonna, which runneth by the city; the houſes of many were ſpoiled; the church without the city, where the proteſtants aſſembled, was pulled down and made level with the ground, and their vines pulled up by the roots.

The duke of Guiſe entered into Blois; which although he got without any fight, yet all furious liberty was permitted to the ſoldiers, houſes were ſpoiled, many proteſtants which had remained were ſlain, or drowned in the river; neither were women ſpared, of whom ſome were defiled, and more murdered. Amongſt whom one matron of good birth, having eſcaped drowning in water, could not eſcape from the hand of the murderers. From thence he went to Mere, a town two leagues from Blois, where proteſtants had frequent aſſembly at ſermons; which for many days together was ſpoiled, and many killed, and Caſſebonius, the paſtor, was drowned in the next river.

At Anjou, Albiacus, the paſtor, was murdered, certain women ſlain, and ſome defiled: amongſt whom, two ſiſters were abuſed in the ſight of their father, who was bound to a well to behold that ſight.

John Burgeolus, preſident of Turin, an old man, being ſuſpected to be a proteſtant, having bought with a great ſum of money his life and ſafety, was notwithſtanding taken and beaten cruelly with clubs and ſtaves, and being ſtripped of his clothes, was brought to the bank of the river Liger, and was hanged by his feet upward, and head downward in the water up to his breaſt; then (he yet alive) they opened his belly, plucked out his guts, and threw them into the river, and taking his heart, put it upon a ſpear, carrying it with contumelious words about the city.

The town of Barre, being taken by the papiſts, all kind of cruelty was there uſed, children were cut up, and the guts of ſome of them and hearts pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their teeth. They that were in the caſtle, when they had yielded themſelves to the will of the conqueror, were almoſt all hanged. One Ralet ſpared not his own ſon, but ſuffered him in that tumult to be hanged.

When the city Matiſcon was taken, by corrupting the keeper of the keys, whom yet they killed, great cruelty was ſhewed, ſo that they counted it a ſport to cut off men's legs and arms.

Sapontius inviting gentlewomen to ſupper, would walk with them, and having his ſoldiers about him, uſed to caſt ſome of his priſoners (of which he had many) from the bridge into the river, and with that ſpectacle did ſatisfy the eyes of his gueſts; of whom he would often aſk, whether they did ever ſee men leap better.

At Albia of Cahors, upon the Lord's day, the 16th of December, the papiſts at the ringing of a bell broke open the doors, where the proteſtants were aſſembled, and killed without difference, ſome in the place, ſome as they were getting away, were here and there ſlain, among whom was one Guacerius, a rich merchant; who being drawn into his houſe, was with his wife and children murdered, and his houſe ſpoiled. About forty-five were in that tumult murdered, and their bodies contumeliouſly uſed.

In a town called Penna, 300 (notwithſtanding the ſafety of their lives was promiſed them) were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, which were newly come to ſerve the French king; who alſo killed certain women there: ſcoffingly ſaying, that they were Lutheran men, diſſembling their ſex by their apparel.

The town of Nonne being yielded to the papiſts, upon condition that the foreign ſoldiers ſhould depart ſafe with horſe and armour, leaving their enſigns, and that the enemy's ſoldiers that were footmen ſhould not enter into the town, and that no harm ſhould be done to the townſmen; but that they might (if they would) go into the caſtle; after the yielding of it, the gates were ſet open, and ſtrait they came to murdering and ſpoiling, without any regard of the foreſaid conditions. Men and women without difference were killed; the ſtreets ſounded with miſerable mourning, blood flowing in the ways, and the laſcivious ſoldiers' ſwords ſhining in the flames of fire, which they had caſt upon the houſes. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from on high. Among others, this example of inordinate filthineſs and cruelty is reported: a certain woman being drawn out of a private place, into which to avoid the rage of the ſoldiers ſhe had fled with her huſband, was in his ſight ſhamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a ſword, not knowing to what end, was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her huſband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the ſoldiers not being content to defile her body, but alſo to make her to defile her hand with the ſlaughter of her huſband.

At Samarobridge, in Picardy, in the time of peace, above 100 proteſtants were murdered: and at Antiſſiodore, which the proteſtants having held in the laſt war, had now yielded up, 150 were cruelly killed, and their dead bodies were drawn, and caſt partly into jakes, and partly into the river.

Bordis, a captain under the prince of Conde, at Mirabellum, was contrary to promiſe cruelly killed, and his naked body caſt into the ſtreet, that, being unburied, the dogs might eat it.

The prince of Conde being taking priſoner, and his life promiſed him, was ſhot in the neck by Montiſquius, captain of the duke of Anjou's guard, of whom Thuanus writeth thus: This was the end of Lewis Bourbon, prince of Conde, of the King's blood, a man above the honour of his birth, moſt honourable in courage and virtue; who in valour, conſtancy, wit, wiſdom, experience, courteſy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confeſſion of his enemies, ſuperior to him.

Robert Stuart (a valiant Scottiſh gentleman) being taken priſoner, was notwithſtanding ſtabbed with daggers, and killed.

At Orleans 100 men and women being committed to priſon, were, by the furious people that ruſhed in, moſt cruelly murdered.

Hitherto, out of the hiſtory of Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus (who is reported to be a catholic), which endeth in the year 1578, wherein I have for ſhortneſs ſake omitted ſundry particular outrages and murders committed by that bloody Babylonical generation; from whoſe bloody hands, God in mercy defend and preſerve us.

The HISTORY *of* ROBERT OGUIER *and his* WIFE, BAUDICON *and* MARTIN *their two* SONS, *who were burned at* LISLE, *in* FLANDERS.

UPON Saturday, March 6, 1556, between nine and ten o'clock in the night, the provoſt of the city with his ſerjeants, armed themſelves to make ſearch, if they could find any met together in houſes; but then there was no aſſembly. Therefore they came to the houſe of Robert Oguier, which was a little church, for all both great and ſmall, men-ſervants and maids, were familiarly inſtructed there in the knowledge of God.

Being entered into the ſaid houſe, and ſeeking here and there for their prey, they found certain books which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not then in the houſe; namely, Baudicon, the ſon of the ſaid Robert Oguier, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the word of God with ſome of the brethren, as he often uſed to do. Returning home, he knocked at the door; Martin, his younger brother, watching his coming, bade him be gone: but Baudicon, thinking his brother miſtook him for ſome other, ſaid, It is I, open the door: with that the ſerjeants opened the ſame, and let him in, ſaying, Ah, ſir, you are well met; to whom he anſwered, I thank you, my friends, you are alſo welcome hither. Then ſaid the provoſt, I arreſt you all in the emperor's name; and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the huſband and his wife with their two ſons, leaving their two daughters to look to the houſe, and confined them in ſeveral priſons. Within a few days after, the priſoners were preſented before the magiſtrates of the city, and examined concerning their courſe of life, who directed their ſpeech firſt to Robert Oguier, in theſe words: It is told us that you never come to maſs, yea, and alſo diſſuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain conventicles in your houſe, cauſing erroneous doctrines to be preached there, contrary to the ordinance of our holy mother the church, whereby you have tranſgreſſed the laws of his Imperial majeſty.

Robert Oguier anſwered, Whereas firſt of all you lay to my charge that I go not to maſs; I refuſe ſo to do indeed, becauſe the death and precious blood of the Son of God, and his ſacrifice, is utterly aboliſhed there, and trodden under foot; "For Chriſt by one ſacrifice hath perfected for ever them that are ſanctified." The apoſtle ſaith by one offering. For do we read in all the ſcriptures, that either the prophets, Chriſt, or any of his apoſtles, ever ſaid maſs? For they knew not what it meant. Chriſt indeed inſtituted the holy ſupper, in which all chriſtian people do communicate together, but they ſacrificed not. If you pleaſe to read the Bible over, you ſhall never find the maſs once mentioned therein. And therefore it is the mere invention of men. You know then what Chriſt ſaith, "In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." If either myſelf, or any of mine had been at maſs, which is ordained by the commandment of men, Chriſt would have told us, "We had worſhipped him in vain."

As for the ſecond accuſation, I cannot nor will deny, but there have met together in my houſe honeſt people fearing God; I aſſure you not with intention to wrong or harm any, but rather for the advancement of God's glory, and the good of many. I knew indeed that the emperor had forbidden it, but what then? I knew alſo that Chriſt in his goſpel had commanded it. "Where two or three, ſaith he, are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them." Thus you ſee I could not well obey the emperor, but I muſt diſobey Chriſt. In this caſe then, I chuſe rather to obey my God, than man.

One of the magiſtrates demanded what they did when they met together. To which Baudicon, the eldeſt ſon, anſwered, If it pleaſe you, my maſters, to give me leave, I will open the buſineſs at large unto you.

The ſheriffs ſeeing his promptneſs, looking one upon another, ſaid, Well, let us hear it then. Baudicon lifting up his eyes to heaven, began thus: When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to hear the word of God, we firſt of all proſtrate upon our knees before God, and in the humility of our ſpirits do make a confeſſion of our ſins before his Divine Majeſty. Then we pray that the word of God may be rightly divided, and purely preached: we alſo pray for our ſovereign lord the emperor, and for all his honourable counſellors, that the common-wealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea, we forgot not you whom we acknowledge our ſuperiors; intreating our good God for you, and for this whole city, that you may maintain it in all tranquillity. Thus I have exactly related unto you what we do: think you now, whether we have offended ſo highly in this matter of our aſſembling.

Whilſt they were thus examined, each of them made an open confeſſion of the faith which they held. After this, being returned again to priſon, they not long after were put to the torture, to make them confeſs who they were that frequented their houſe, but they would diſcover none, unleſs ſuch as were well known to the judges, or elſe were at that time abſent. About four or five days after, they were convened again before their judges, namely, the father and his two ſons; and after many words paſſed, they aſked them whether they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the magiſtrates. Robert Oguier, and Baudicon his ſon, with ſome deliberation ſaid, Yea, we will.

Then demanding the ſame of Martin, the younger brother, he anſwered, That he would not ſubmit himſelf thereto, but would accompany his mother; ſo he was ſent back again to priſon, whilſt the father and the ſon were ſentenced to be burnt alive to aſhes. Now as they went to receive the ſentence, one of the judges ſitting in his place, after ſentence pronounced, ſaid, To-day you ſhall go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire (which he ſpake as one tranſported with fury in beholding the great patience of theſe two ſervants of Chriſt); having received the ſentence of death, they were returned to the priſon from whence they came, being joyful that the Lord did them that honour to be enrolled in the number of his martyrs. They no ſooner entered the priſon, than a band of friars came thither: one amongſt the reſt told them, the hour was come in which they muſt finiſh their days. Robert Oguier and his ſon anſwered, We know it well; but bleſſed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile priſon, will receive our ſouls into his glorious and heavenly kingdom.

One of the friars, whoſe name was Lazard, endeavoured to turn them from their faith, ſaying, Father Robert, thou art an old man, let me intreat thee in this thy laſt hour to think of ſaving thine own ſoul; and if thou wilt give ear unto me, I warrant thee thou ſhalt do well.

The old man anſwered, Poor man, how dareſt thou attribute that to thyſelf which belongs to the eternal God, and ſo rob him of his honour? For it ſeems by thy ſpeech, that if I will hearken to thee, thou wilt become my ſaviour. No, no, I have one only Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, who by and by will deliver me from this miſerable world. I have one doctor, whom the heavenly Father hath commanded me to hear, and I purpoſe to hearken to none other.

A friar, called the father of St. Clare, exhorted him to take pity of his ſoul which Chriſt hath redeemed: Thou willeſt me, ſaid Robert, to pity mine own ſoul, doſt thou not ſee what pity I have on it, when for the name of Chriſt I willingly abandon this body of mine to the fire, hoping to-day to be with him in paradiſe? I have put all my confidence in God, and my hope wholly is fixed upon the merits of Chriſt, his death and paſſion, he will direct me the right way to his kingdom. I believe whatſoever the holy prophets and apoſtles have written, and in that faith will I live and die.

The friar hearing this, ſaid, Out, dog, thou art not worthy the name of a chriſtian; thou and thy ſon with thee are both reſolved to damn your bodies and ſouls with all the devils in the bottom of hell.

As they were about to ſeparate Baudicon from his father, he ſaid, Let my father alone, and trouble him not thus; he is an old man, and hath an infirm body, hinder him not, I pray you, from receiving the crown of martyrdom.

Baudicon was then conveyed into a chamber apart, and there being ſtripped of his clothes, was fitted to be ſacrificed; now as one brought him gunpowder to put to his breaſt, an odd fellow ſtanding by, ſaid, Wert thou my brother, I would ſell all that I am worth to buy faggots to burn thee, thou findeſt but too much favour. The young man anſwered, Well, ſir, the Lord ſhew you more mercy. Some that were preſent, ſaying, Good God, is it not a pitiful ſight to behold theſe poor men? a doctor ſtanding by, anſwered, And what pity would you have ſhewed toward them? I would, inſtead of allowing them this powder, have them fried on gridirons, as St. Laurence was.

Whilſt they ſpake thus to Baudicon, ſome of the friars cloſed in with the old man, perſuading him at leaſt to take a crucifix into his hands, leſt the people (ſaid they) ſhould murmur againſt you; adding further, that he might for all that lift up his heart to God, becauſe you know, ſaid they, it is but a piece of wood.

Thus they faſtened it between his hands, but as ſoon as Baudicon was come down, and eſpied what they had done to his father, he ſaid, Alas, father, what do you now, will you play the idolator even at our laſt hour? And then pulling the idol out of his hands which they had faſtened therein, he threw it away, ſaying, What cauſe hath the people to be offended at us, for not receiving a Jeſus Chriſt of wood? We bear upon our hearts the croſs of Chriſt the Son of the ever-living God, feeling his holy word written therein in letters of gold.

As they were led to execution, a band of ſoldiers were attendant upon them, no leſs than if a prince had been conducted into his kingdom. Being come to the place where they were to ſuffer, they aſcended up the ſcaffold which was there prepared for them. Then Baudicon aſked leave of the ſheriffs to make a confeſſion of his faith before the people. Anſwer was made, that he was to look unto his ſpiritual father and confeſſor: Confeſs yourſelf (ſaid they) to him. He was then hauled rudely to the ſtake, where he began to ſing the 16th Pſalm. The friar cried out, Do you not hear, my maſters, what wicked errors theſe heretics ſing, to beguile the people with. Baudicon hearing what he ſaid, replied thus; Now, ſimple ideot, calleſt thou the pſalms of the prophet David errors? But no wonder, for thus you are wont to blaſpheme againſt the Spirit of God.

Then turning his eyes towards his father, who was about to be chained to the ſtake, he ſaid, Be of good courage, father, the worſt will be paſt by and by. As the executioner was faſtening him to the poſt, he happened to hit him with his hammer on the foot, to make him ſtand nearer to the ſame. The old man being ſenſible of the blow, ſaid, Friend, thou hurteſt my foot, why doſt thou abuſe me thus? The friar hearing this, ſaid, Ah, theſe heretics; they would be counted martyrs forſooth; but if they be but touched a little, they cry out as though they were killed. To which Baudicon thus replied: Think you then that we fear the tormentors? No ſuch matter; for had we feared the ſame, we had never expoſed our bodies to this ſo ſhameful and painful a kind of death.

Then he often reiterated theſe ſhort breathings, O God, Father everlaſting, accept the ſacrifice of our bodies, for thy well beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. One of the friars cried out, Heretic, thou lieſt, he is none of thy Father, the devil is thy father. And thus, during theſe conflicts, he bent his eyes to heaven, and ſpeaking to his father, ſaid, Behold, I ſee the heavens open, and millions of angels ready preſt to receive us, rejoicing to ſee us thus witneſſing the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us be glad and rejoice, for the joys of heaven are ſet open to us.

Then ſaid one of the friars, I ſee hell open, and millions of devils preſent to carry you thither. But the Lord, who never forſakes any that put their truſt in him, ſtirred up the heart and opened the mouth of a poor man who ſtood among the multitude, beholding this ſpectacle, who being moved with compaſſion, cried aloud, Be of good comfort, Baudicon, ſtand thou to it, thou fighteſt in a good quarrel, I am on thy ſide; after which words he departed thence; and a way being made for him, ſaved himſelf from danger.

Fire was forthwith put to the ſtraw and wood, which burnt beneath, whilſt they (not ſhrinking from the pains) ſpake one to another; Baudicon often repeating this in his father's ears, "Faint not, father, nor be afraid; yet a very little while, and we ſhall enter into the heavenly manſions."

In the end, the fire growing hot upon them, the laſt words they were heard to pronounce, were, Jeſus Chriſt, thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our ſpirits. And thus theſe two ſlept ſweetly in the Lord.

In eight days after, Jane the mother, and Martin her ſon, were executed in the ſame city.

But before we come to deſcribe their happy ends, we will, as briefly as we can, take notice by the way, of the very great conflicts of ſpirit which both of them ſuſtained.

There were ſent unto them many of the popiſh rabble, to turn them from their faith. Now that this their deviliſh enterprize might the better be effected, they ſeparated the one from the other, by the politic advice of a monk; the poor woman began to waver, and let go her firſt faith. At this their enemies rejoiced not a little, whilſt the poor little flock of Chriſt, hearing ſuch ſad news, were in continual perplexity, but the Lord left them not in their mournful condition.

On a day one of the monks waited on her in the priſon, counſelling her to win her ſon Martin, and to draw him from his errors; which ſhe promiſed to do. But when he was come to his mother, and perceived that ſhe was not only fallen, but alſo quite turned out of the right way, he began with tears to bewail her miſerable ſtate.

O mother, ſaid he, what have you done? Have you denied him who hath redeemed you? Alas, what evil hath he done you, that you ſhould requite him with this ſo great an injury and diſhonour? Now I am plunged into that woe, which I have moſt feared. Ah, good God, that I ſhould live to ſee this, which pierceth me to the very heart.

His mother hearing theſe his pitiful complaints, and ſeeing the tears which her ſon ſhed for her, began again to renew her ſtrength in the Lord, and with tears cried out, O Father of mercies, be merciful unto me a miſerable ſinner, and cover my tranſgreſſion under the righteouſneſs of thy bleſſed Son; Lord, enable me with ſtrength from above, to ſtand to my firſt confeſſion, and make me to abide ſtedfaſt therein even unto my laſt breath.

It was not long before this change, that the ſame inſtruments of Satan, who had ſeduced her, came in, ſuppoſing to find her in the ſame mind wherein they left her: whom ſhe no ſooner eſpied, but with deteſtation ſaid, Away, Satan, get thee behind me: for henceforth thou haſt neither part nor portion in me. I will, by the help of God, ſtand to my firſt confeſſion; and, if I may not ſign it with ink, I will ſeal it with my blood. And ſo, from that time, this frail veſſel, who for a while relented, after her recovery, grew ſtronger and ſtronger.

The judges, ſeeing their conſtancy, delayed not to diſpatch them out of the way, condemning them to be burned alive, and their bodies being reduced to aſhes, the ſame to be ſcattered and diſperſed in the air. The mother and the ſon having heard their ſentence read, in the way as they were going back again to priſon, ſaid, Now bleſſed be our God, who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our enemies: this is the wiſhed-for hour, our gladſome day is come; let us not then, ſaid Martin, forget to be thankful for the honour he doth us, in thus conforming us unto the image of his Son. Let us remember thoſe who have traced this path before us: for this is the high-way to the kingdom of heaven. Let us then, good mother, go on boldly out of the camp with the Son of God, bearing his reproach, with all his holy martyrs; for ſo we ſhall find paſſage into the glorious kingdom of the everlaſting God.

Some of the company hearing, but not being able to brook theſe words, ſaid, We ſee now, thou heretic, that thou art wholly poſſeſſed, body and ſoul, with a devil; as was thy father, and thy brother, who are both in hell. Martin ſaid, Sirs, as for your railings and curſings, our God will this day turn them into bleſſings, in the ſight of himſelf and of his angels.

A certain temporizer ſaid to Martin, Thou ſilly youth, thou ſayeſt thou knoweſt not what; thou art too much conceited of thyſelf, and of thy cauſe. Seeſt thou not all theſe people here about thee? what thinkeſt thou of them? They believe not as thou doſt, and yet I doubt not but they ſhall be ſaved. But you imagine to do that which will never come to paſs, though you pretend ever ſo much that you are in the faith, and have the ſcriptures for you.

The good woman hearing this, anſwered, Sir, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord ſaith, that it is the wide gate and broad way which leads to deſtruction, and therefore many go in thereat: but the gate, ſaith ſhe, is narrow that leads to life, and few there be that find it. Do ye then doubt whether we are in the ſtraight way or no, when ye behold our ſufferings? Would you have a better ſign than this, to know whether we are in the right way or no? Compare our doctrine with that of your prieſts and monks: we, for our parts, are determined to have but one Chriſt, and him crucified; we only embrace the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament. Are we deceived in believing that which the holy prophets and apoſtles have taught?

Soon after, Martin and his mother were bound and brought to the place of their martyrdom: his mother having aſcended the ſcaffold, cried to Martin, Come up; come up, my ſon. And as he was ſpeaking to the people, ſhe ſaid, Speak out, Martin, that it may appear to all that we do not die heretics. Martin would have made a confeſſion of his faith, but could not be ſuffered. His mother being bound to the ſtake, ſpake in the hearing of the ſpectators, We are chriſtians; and that which we now ſuffer, is not for murder nor theft, but becauſe we will believe no more than that which the word of God teacheth us: both rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer for the ſame.

The fire being kindled, the vehemency thereof did nothing cool or abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued conſtant in the faith, and with lifting up their hands to heaven, in an holy accord ſaid, Lord Jeſus, into thy hand we commend our ſpirits. And thus they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord.

A brief RELATION *of the* MASSACRE *at* VASSY, *in the* COUNTRY *of* CHAMPAIGNE, *in* FRANCE.

THE duke of Guiſe being arrived at Joinville, aſked ſome that he was familiar with, whether thoſe of Vaſſy uſed to have ſermons preached conſtantly by their miniſter. It was anſwered, they had, and that they increaſed daily more and more. At the hearing of which report, he fell into a grievous paſſion; and upon Saturday, the laſt day of February, 1562, that he might the more covertly execute his conceived wrath againſt the religious ſort at Vaſſy, he departed from Joinville, accompanied with the cardinal of Guiſe, his brother, and thoſe of their train, and lodged in the village of Dammartin the Free, which is diſtant from Joinville about two French miles and an half.

The next day, being Sunday, after he had heard maſs very early in the morning, being attended with about two hundred men, armed with harquebuſſes, piſtols, and cutlaſſes, he left Dammartin, paſſing along to Vaſſy. As he went by the village of Bronzeval, which is diſtant from Vaſſy a ſhort quarter of a mile, the bell (after the uſual manner) rang for ſermon. The duke hearing it, aſked thoſe he met, why the bell rang ſo loud at Vaſſy; they told him it was to give the people warning of the ſermon which was to be preached there. Then one, called La Montague, ſaid, It is for the aſſembling of the Hugonots; adding moreover, that there were many in the ſaid Bronzeval who frequented the ſermons preached at Vaſſy; and, therefore, that the duke would do well to begin there, and offer them violence. But the duke anſwered, March on, march on, we ſhall take them amongſt the reſt of the aſſembly. Many who followed the duke, namely, pages and footmen, rejoiced not a little concerning this bloody enterpriſe, not ſticking to ſay, that the booty and pillage would fall to their ſhares; ſwearing by blood and wounds, that there would be good ſtore of Hugonots there.

Now, there were certain ſoldiers and archers accompanying the duke, who compaſſed about Vaſſy; for having been muſtered at Monthierender, inſtead of returning home, as they were wont to do after the muſter was ended, they took their way thence to Vaſſy, moſt of them being lodged in the houſes of papiſts. The Saturday before the ſlaughter, they were ſeen to make ready their weapons, harquebuſſes, and piſtols; but the faithful not dreaming of ſuch a conſpiracy, thought the duke would offer them no hard meaſure, being the king's ſubjects; alſo, that not above two months before, the duke and his brethren paſſing by near unto the ſaid Vaſſy, gave no ſign of their diſpleaſure.

The duke of Guiſe being arrived at Vaſſy, with all his troops, a young man, a ſhoemaker, ſtepped out of his houſe, not far from the door where the aſſembly was, Montague, pointing to him with his finger, ſaid he was one of the miniſters. Whereupon the duke called this ſhoemaker to him, and aſked him, whether he was a miniſter, and of what univerſity he was. He anſwered, that he was not of that calling, neither was he a ſcholar. Notwithſtanding, he hardly eſcaped from this troop, which had environed him round about: only one of the company told him, that if he had been a miniſter, he had taken upon him a very baſe calling.

From thence, the duke La Broſſe, and La Montague, paſſed on in the ſaid city with their ſoldiers, as if they intended to take their way towards the village of Eſclairon, where it was given out they meant to dine. But paſſing by the market-houſe of Vaſſy, which is near the monaſtery, in the way leading to Eſclairon, he turned and went directly towards the common-hall, or market-houſe, and then entered into the monaſtery; where, having called to him one Deſſales, the prior of Vaſſy, and another whoſe name was Claud le Sain, being provoſt of the ſaid Vaſſy, he talked a while with them, and iſſuing haſtily out of the monaſtery, was attended by many of his followers. Then command was given to ſuch as were papiſts, to retire into the monaſtery, and not to be ſeen in the ſtreets, unleſs they would venture the loſs of their lives. The duke perceiving others of his retinue to be walking to and fro under the town-hall, and about the church-yard, commanded them to march on towards the place where the ſermon was, being in a barn, about an hundred paces diſtant from the monaſtery, quite oppoſite to that way which the duke ſhould have taken to Eſclairon. This command was by and by put in execution by ſuch of the company as went on foot going directly thither. He that marched foremoſt of this rabble, was La Broſſe, and on the ſide of theſe marched the horſemen, after whom followed the duke with another company of his own followers, likewiſe thoſe of the cardinal of Guiſe, his brother.

By this time, Mr. Leonard Morel, the miniſter, after the firſt prayer ended, and having begun his ſermon before his auditors, which might amount to about 1200 perſons, conſiſting of men, women, and children; the horſemen firſt approaching to the barn within about twenty-five paces, ſhot off two harquebuſſes right upon thoſe who were placed in the galleries joining to the windows. The people within perceiving that, endeavoured to ſhut the door, but were prevented by the ruffians ruſhing in upon them, who drawing their ſwords, furiouſly cried out, Death of God, kill, kill theſe Hugonots.

The firſt they ſeized on was a poor crier of wine, that ſtood next the door, aſking him if he were not a Hugonot; and in whom he believed. Having anſwered, that he believed in Jeſus Chriſt, they ſmote him twice with a ſword, which felled him to the ground. Having got up again, thinking to recover himſelf, they ſtruck him the third time; whereby, being overcharged with wounds, he fell down, and died inſtantly. Two other men, at the ſame time, were ſlain at the entry of the ſaid door, as they were preſſing out to eſcape.

Then did the duke of Guiſe, with his company, violently enter in among them, ſtriking the poor people down with their ſwords, daggers, and cutlaſſes, not ſparing any age or ſex: beſides, they within were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they knew not which way to turn them, but running hither and thither, fell one upon another, flying as poor ſheep before a company of ravening wolves entering in among the flock.

Some of the murderers ſhot off their pieces againſt them that were in the galleries; others cut in pieces ſuch as they lighted upon; ſome had their heads cleft in twain, their arms and hands cut off; ſo that many of them gave up the ghoſt even in the place. The walls and galleries of the ſaid place were dyed with the blood of thoſe who were every where murdered: yea, ſo great was the fury of the murderers, that part of the people within were forced to break open the roof of the houſe, in hopes they might ſave themſelves upon the top thereof.

Being got thither, and then fearing to fall again into the hands of theſe cruel tygers, ſome of them leaped over the walls of the city, which were very high, flying into the woods and amongſt the vines, which with moſt expedition they could ſooneſt attain unto; ſome hurt in their arms, others in their heads, and other parts of their bodies. The duke preſented himſelf in the houſe with his ſword drawn in his hand, charging his men to kill eſpecially the young men. Only, in the end, women with child were ſpared. And purſuing thoſe who went upon the houſe tops, they cried, Come down, ye dogs, come down, uſing many cruel threatening ſpeeches to them.

The cauſe why women with child eſcaped, was, as the report went, for the ducheſs's ſake, his wife, who, paſſing along by the walls of the city, and hearing ſo hideous outcries amongſt theſe poor creatures with the noiſe of the pieces and piſtols continually diſcharging, ſent in all haſte to the duke her huſband with much intreaties to ceaſe his perſecution, for frighting women with child.

During this ſlaughter, the cardinal of Guiſe remained before the church of the ſaid city of Vaſſy, leaning upon the walls of the church-yard, looking towards the place where his followers were buſied in killing and ſlaying whom they could. Many of this aſſembly being thus hotly purſued, did in the firſt brunt ſave themſelves upon the roof of the houſe, not being diſcerned by thoſe who ſtood without: but at length, ſome of this bloody crew eſpying where they lay hid, ſhot at them with long pieces, wherewith many of them were hurt and ſlain. The houſhold ſervants of Deſſalles, prior of Vaſſy, ſhooting at the people on the roof, cauſed them to fall down like pigeons: one of that wretched company was not aſhamed to boaſt, after the maſſacre was ended, that he for his part had cauſed ſix at leaſt to tumble down in that pitiful plight, ſaying, that if others had done the like, not many of them could poſſibly have eſcaped.

The miniſter, in the beginning of the maſſacre, ceaſed not to preach, till one diſcharged his piece againſt the pulpit where he ſtood, after which, falling down upon his knees, he intreated the Lord not only to have mercy upon himſelf, but alſo upon his poor perſecuted flock. Having ended his prayer, he left his gown behind him, thinking thereby to keep himſelf unknown: but whilſt he approached towards the door, in his fear he ſtumbled upon a dead body, where he received a blow with a ſword upon his right ſhoulder. Getting up again, and then thinking to get forth, he was immediately laid hold of, and grievouſly hurt on the head with a ſword, whereupon being felled to the ground, and feeling himſelf mortally wounded, he cried, Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, thou God of truth.

While he thus prayed, one of this bloody crew ran upon him, with an intent to have ham-ſtringed him; but it pleaſed God his ſword broke in the hilt. Now, to let you underſtand by what means he was delivered from ſo terrible a death: two gentlemen taking knowledge of him, ſaid, He is the miniſter, let him be conveyed to my lord duke. Theſe leading him away by both the arms, brought him before the gate of the monaſtery, from whence the duke, and the cardinal his brother, coming forth, ſaid, Come hither; and aſked him, ſaying, Art thou the miniſter of this place? Who made thee ſo bold to ſeduce this people thus? Sir, ſaid the miniſter, I am no ſeducer, for I have preached to them the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. The duke perceiving that this anſwer condemned his cruel outrages, began to curſe and ſwear, ſaying, Death of God, doth the goſpel preach ſedition? Provoſt, go and let a gibbet be ſet up, and hang this fellow.

At which words the miniſter was delivered into the hands of two pages, who miſuſed him vilely. The women of the city, being ignorant papiſts, caught up dirt to throw in his face, and with extended outcries, ſaid, Kill him, kill this varlet, who hath been the cauſe of the death of ſo many. Much ado there was to hold off the women from being revenged upon the poor miniſter.

Whilſt the pages had him thus in their handling, the duke went into the barn, to whom they preſented a great Bible, which they uſed for the ſervice of God. The duke taking it into his hands, calling his brother the cardinal, ſaid, Lo, here the title of the Hugonot books. The cardinal viewing it, ſaid, There is nothing but good in this book, for it is the Bible, to wit, the holy ſcriptures. The duke being offended, that his brother ſuited not to his humour, grew into a greater rage than before, ſaying, Blood of God, how now? What! the holy ſcripture. It is one thouſand five hundred years ago ſince Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered his death and paſſion, and it is but a year ſince theſe books were imprinted, how then ſay you that this is the goſpel? By the death of God, you ſay you know not what. This unbridled fury of the duke diſpleaſed the cardinal, ſo that he was heard ſecretly to mutter, An unworthy brother.

This maſſacre continued a full hour, the duke's trumpeters ſounding the while two ſeveral times. When any of theſe deſired to have mercy ſhewed them for the love of Jeſus Chriſt, the murderers in ſcorn would ſay unto them, You uſe the name of Chriſt, but where is your Chriſt now? And when they ſaid, Lord God, they blaſphemouſly would ſay, Lord devil.

There died in this maſſacre, within a few days, fifty or threeſcore perſons; beſides theſe, there were about two hundred and fifty, as well men as women, that were wounded and ſpoiled, whereof ſome died, one loſing a leg, another an arm, another his fingers. The poor's box, which was faſtened to the door of the church with two iron hooks, was wreſted thence, with twelve pounds therein, and never reſtored again. Nothing was to be ſeen in the ſtreets but women with their hair hanging about their ears, faces beſmeared with blood, being wounded in many places with ſwords and daggers, with weeping and lamentations. Barbers and ſurgeons were ſet on work, that he that had leaſt had threeſcore under his hand to be dreſſed, and many periſhed for want thereof.

The miniſter was kept cloſe priſoner, ſo that for four and twenty hours none were permitted to ſupply him with any neceſſaries at all, nor any ſuffered to ſee him or ſpeak with him, and was often threatened by his keepers to be ſewed up in a ſack and drowned. Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his Eaſter after the popiſh manner, under fair promiſes of his enlargement; but he would by no means conſent thereto. Thus he continued a priſoner until the 8th day of May, 1563, at which time he was ſet free at the ſuit of the moſt illuſtrious prince of Portien.

Whilſt the duke was at Eſclairon, the lackeys and others of his ſervants put to ſale, unto ſuch as would give moſt, cloaks, hats, girdles, coifs, handkerchiefs, with other things which they had robbed the maſſacred of; crying them with a loud voice, as if a common crier had cried houſhold goods to be ſold.

Of the Coming of JANE, QUEEN *of* NAVARRE, *to the* CITY *of* PARIS, *in* FRANCE, *with the* MANNER *of her* SICKNESS *and* DEATH *there.*

THIS good queen, before ſhe could be drawn to come to Paris to ſolemnize the marriage of her ſon the prince of Navarre, with the ſiſter of Charles the Ninth, then king of France, received letters upon letters from the ſaid king, to accompany the prince her ſon in that ſolemnity: now, whereas ſhe had ſome doubts concerning her ſon's marriage with one of another religion, the king aſſured her that all things ſhould be ſo wrought, as ſhould give her good ſatisfaction and content; promiſing that he would get a diſpenſation from the pope to that end. But when the queen underſtood that the king was minded to have this marriage ſolemnized at Paris, ſhe would by no means hear of it; For I will not, ſaid ſhe, put any confidence in ſo mutinous a people, being the ſworn enemies both of myſelf and mine.

Still the king perſiſted in his ſuit for the obtaining of the ſame at her hands. Alſo having intelligence by ſome of his agents, that the queen of Navarre began a little to waver, he ſolicited her yet once again to come, aſſuring her that all things ſhould be carried in ſuch a peaceable manner, that ſhe ſhould have no cauſe to complain. At length the queen came from Rochelle to Blois, in the month of March, 1572, with great attendance, where it is incredible to think what a welcome ſhe received on all ſides, eſpecially from the king and his brothers, &c. who yet, when all was done, could ſay to his mother, Now, madam, have I not acquitted myſelf well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net.

In April following the articles were concluded concerning the marriage of the prince of Navarre with the king's ſiſter. In the beginning of May, the king ſolicits the queen of Navarre again to come to Paris, for preparing of things fitting for this marriage; which ſhe accordingly yielded unto, and parting from Blois on the ſixth of the ſaid month, came to Paris on the fifteenth of the ſame.

The queen-mother could by no means abide this good queen; and therefore not finding with what colour ſhe could diſpatch her with the reſt, and yet fearing the heighth of her ſpirit if ſhe ſhould ſurvive, as alſo that ſhe could not then ſo work upon the flexibility of the prince her ſon as ſhe intended, ſhe conſulted with one Rene, an apothecary, whoſe practice it was to impoiſon things; who by ſuch means ventured to poiſon the prince of Conde by the ſcent of a poiſoned apple, which upon ſome ſuſpicion was firſt tried upon a dog; and it had almoſt coſt the prince's ſurgeon his life, by ſmelling too nigh thereunto. This Rene, ſelling to the queen of Navarre his perfumed drugs, found the way how to poiſon her therewith, although others thought the contrary. But the ſaid Rene was heard afterwards to make his brags, that he had the like in ſtore for two or three more, who ſuſpected no ſuch matter.

On Wedneſday, June the 4th, the queen fell ſick of a continual fever, and kept her bed; which proceeded, as it was given out, from her inceſſant grief, which by long continuance brought on an impoſthume, ſhe being alſo diſtempered with the heat of the ſeaſon and her extraordinary long journies. This burning fever grew ſo ſtrong upon her, that within five days after ſhe died, to the great grief of the better ſort, but the joy of the ſecret council.

The malady indeed was in her brain, which was not ſearched: in which the queen-mother had an hand, though ſhe ſeemed much to mourn for the affliction of her good friend. Now foraſmuch as in the time of her ſickneſs, ſhe manifeſted with what ſpirit ſhe was guided, we will here ſet down the true narration of her behaviour, both in ſickneſs, and at her death.

Perceiving that ſhe could not long continue, ſhe made herſelf ready to receive from the hand of God that which he had appointed concerning her: and to that end requeſted ſhe might have ſuch about her, as might comfort her in this caſe out of the word of God, as alſo to pray with her and for her, according to that which St. James ſaith, Is any ſick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over ſuch a one, knowing that the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much with God.

Thus, according to her deſire, a miniſter reſorting unto her, ſhewed out of the ſcriptures, That chriſtians ought in all things to ſubmit themſelves to the will of God as to the Father of ſpirits, that they might live. And although the rigour of his chaſtiſements doth ſometimes ſeem to our fleſh, as if they were ſent for no other end but our ruin and deſtruction; yet ought we to conſider, that becauſe he is juſt, he can do nothing but juſtly; and being a Father, he cannot but therein ſeek the welfare of his afflicted children.

To which ſhe replied, I take all this as ſent from the hand of God, my moſt merciful Father; nor have I, during this extremity, feared to die, much leſs murmured againſt him for inflicting the ſame upon me; knowing, that whatſoever he doth, he doth the ſame ſo as all in the end ſhall turn to my everlaſting good.

The miniſter continuing in his ſpeech, added, That the cauſe of ſickneſs and diſeaſes muſt be ſought beyond the courſe of phyſic, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or to the more noble parts of the body any way diſtempered: for howſoever it was not amiſs to have reſpect to theſe things, as to ſecond cauſes, yet ought we to aſcend higher, namely, to the firſt, even to God himſelf, who diſpoſeth of all his creatures as it pleaſeth him. He it is that makes the wound and heals, that kills and makes alive. And therefore to him we ought to direct our prayers for comfort in all our griefs and ſufferings, and in the end for full deliverance; ſeeing it is no hard matter with him to reſtore health unto us, if his good pleaſure be ſuch.

To this ſhe anſwered, That ſhe depended wholly upon God's providence, knowing that all things are wiſely diſpoſed by him, and therefore beſought him to furniſh her with all ſuch graces as he ſaw to be neceſſary for her ſalvation. As for this life, ſaid ſhe, I am in a manner weaned from the love of it, in regard to the afflictions which have followed me from my youth hitherto, but eſpecially becauſe I cannot live without daily offending my good God, with whom I deſire to be with all my heart.

The miniſter told her, that long life, how full of trouble ſoever it were, was notwithſtanding to be eſteemed among the bleſſings of God, ſeeing his promiſe implies ſo much; and not only ſo, but becauſe our life may many ways ſerve to his glory, and is both an honour and a pledge of his favour, even as it is to him whom his prince employs long in his ſervice, having had experience of his fidelity for many years together. In which reſpect ſhe was earneſtly requeſted to pray, That if it were the will of God to employ her yet longer in his ſervice, for the further enlargement of his goſpel, that he would grant unto her ſuch recovery of health, and good diſpoſition of body, that with renewed ſtrength ſhe might be encouraged to finiſh her courſe much more nobly than heretofore.

Whereupon ſhe proteſted, that in regard of her own particular, her life was not dear unto her, ſeeing ſo long as ſhe lived in this frail fleſh, ſhe was ſtill prone and apt to ſin againſt God: only her care was ſomewhat for her children (which God had given her), in reſpect they ſhould ſo ſoon be deprived of her now in their young years; yet not doubting (though it ſhould pleaſe God to take me from them) but that God himſelf will be a father and protector over them, as he hath been to me in my greateſt afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and fatherly care. Theſe were her very words.

The miniſter bleſſed God to find her majeſty in this aſſurance of faith; adviſing her to make choice of ſuch, who, for their ſincerity both in life and doctrine, might continue to water in theſe young princely plants the ſeeds of piety, which had been ſown in them by her indefatigable care and induſtry; telling her, that it was to be hoped, that the example of her faith and conſtancy in the ſervice of God, which ſhe had ſet before them, would ſerve as a perpetual inducement to imitate her ſo noble virtues.

She again declared, That death was not terrible unto her, becauſe it was the way by which we paſs hence to our eternal reſt. Upon this expreſſion the miniſter told her, That chriſtians had little cauſe to fear death, in regard they ſhould not die at all, according to Chriſt's words in the goſpel of St. John, "He that liveth and believeth in me, ſhall never die." For death (to ſpeak properly) is no death to them, but a ſleep, being often ſo called in the ſcriptures; and therefore Chriſt for their ſakes hath overcome and triumphed over it in his own perſon: ſo as now we may cry out with St. Paul, "O death, where is thy ſting? O grave where is thy victory?"

She was often admoniſhed by him to make confeſſion of her ſins before God, ſhewing, That bodily diſeaſes tended to the diſſolution of nature, and that death was the wages of ſin; declaring moreover, that by this her chaſtiſement ſhe might diſcern what ſhe had deſerved, if God ſhould now enter into judgment with her, not only in regard of the fall of our firſt parents, in which guilt ſhe was enwrapped, as well as others, but alſo by her own perſonal ſins, ſeeing the beſt of men or women in the world are in themſelves but poor, miſerable, and wretched offenders; yea, if the Lord ſhould puniſh us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing at his hands but eternal death and condemnation.

At theſe words ſhe began, with her hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, to acknowledge that her ſins which ſhe had committed againſt the Lord were innumerable; but yet ſhe hoped that God for Chriſt's ſake, in whom ſhe put her whole truſt, would be merciful unto her.

The miniſter, fearing his long diſcourſe might be too tedious for her (and eſpecially becauſe the phyſicians thought it might be hurtful), held his peace; but her majeſty earneſtly requeſted him not to forbear ſpeaking to her about theſe matters of life and eternal ſalvation; adding, that ſhe now felt the want of it, in regard that ſince her coming to Paris, ſhe had been ſomewhat remiſs in hearing ſuch exhortations out of the word of God: and therefore I am now the more glad (ſaid ſhe) to receive comfort out of it in this my ſo great extremity.

The miniſter then endeavoured to ſet before her the happineſs of heaven, and what thoſe joys are which the faithful there poſſeſs in the preſence of God: which when the ſcriptures intend to diſcover unto us, they only tell us, that "The eye hath not ſeen, nor hath the ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what thoſe things are, which God hath prepared for them that love him." To which purpoſe he uſed this ſimilitude, That if a king, intending greatly to honour ſome noble perſonage, ſhould bring him to his court, and there ſhew him his ſtate and attendance, his treaſures, with all his moſt precious jewels: even ſo, ſaid he, will the Lord one day reveal to all his elect and faithful people, his magnificence and glory, with all the treaſures of his kingdom, after he hath gathered them home to himſelf, decking and adorning them with light, incorruption, and immortality.

This happineſs therefore being ſo great, her highneſs, he ſaid, ought to be the leſs careful about the leaving of this tranſitory life, ſeeing that for an earthly kingdom, which ſhe was now to forego, ſhe ſhould inherit an heavenly; and for temporal good things, which vaniſh and come to nothing in the uſing, ſhe ſhould for ever enjoy thoſe that were eternal and everlaſting: for her faith being now firmly ſettled upon our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe might be ſuffered to obtain everlaſting ſalvation by him. On which words he took occaſion to direct his ſpeech more particularly unto her, ſaying:

Madam, do you verily believe that Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave you? And do you expect the full forgiveneſs of all your ſins, by the ſhedding of his blood for you?

To which ſhe readily anſwered, ſhe did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for ſalvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly ſatisfied for the ſins of the whole world, and therefore was aſſured that God for his ſake, according to his gracious promiſes in him, would have mercy upon her.

Thus you have in part the godly ſpeeches which paſſed from this religious lady in the beginning of her ſickneſs; all which was within the ſpace of three or four days.

In the end, feeling her ſtrength to decay more and more, ſhe gave order to have her laſt will and teſtament made, wherein ſhe above all wiſhed, that her children might have but the grace to honour and fear the Lord, exhorting them conſtantly to continue in the profeſſion of the goſpel, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordaining eſpecially that her daughter, the princeſs, ſhould be educated and inſtructed therein, by the four ladies which ſhe had appointed, and brought with her out of Berne for that end and purpoſe. And being come to age, her deſire was that ſhe might be joined in marriage to ſome prince of the ſame religion, by the counſel and advice of the cardinal of Bourbon and Gaſper, count of Colligny, admiral of France, whom ſhe made executors and overſeers of her ſaid teſtament.

This good queen departed this life, to take poſſeſſion of a far better, June 9, 1572, ſweetly yielding up her ſpirit into the hands of God, the ſixth day after ſhe fell ſick, and in the 44th year of her age.

After the death of the queen, certain princes were ſolicited by the king to give their attendance at Paris for the ſolemnizing the marriage of the prince of Navarre (now made king by the death of his mother), according to the ceremonies which were thereunto appertaining. Amongſt the reſt, letters were directed to the admiral by the king himſelf, to come to this marriage; wherein the king aſſured him he would not tarry long after him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Pariſians, nor of their threats, which they had formerly uttered againſt him: for he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bore him, and therefore wrote unto the mayor of the city, to look unto it at his peril, that the admiral had no wrong offered him by the citizens, either at his entrance, or continuance in the city.

The queen-mother and the duke of Anjou wrote unto the mayor alſo, and likewiſe to the reſt of the magiſtrates, to the ſame effect, but eſpecially to their ſervants, ſome whereof had a little light given them touching that device. To be ſhort, they endeavoured to take all impediments out of his way, that he might with the leſs miſtruſt fall into the ſame.

The admiral, not fearing any perils, reſolved to take his journey to Paris. Although he lacked not ſundry advertiſements from his own followers, and others his well-wiſhers in the kingdom, who honoured him much, deſiring him, that howſoever he had no ſiniſter opinion of the king, of his mother, or any of their's, yet at the leaſt he was to take into his conſideration the place whither he went, and amongſt what enemies he was now to venture himſelf. But he always leaning upon the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and being confident in God's providence, not moved by theſe advertiſements, took his journey to Paris with very few attendants. Being come thither, he was honourably received by the king and his brethren, and by the queen-mother, with others alſo.

The marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's ſiſter, being ſolemnized on the 17th and 18th of Auguſt, 1572, and all the triumphs and feaſtings accompanying the ſame being finiſhed, the admiral determining to take his leave at court, and ſo to return homewards, the deputies of the reformed churches brought him their requeſts on a ſudden, to preſent the ſame to the king, in regard of many wrongs the ſaid churches had ſuſtained; and therefore they inſtantly beſought him, that he would not leave the court till ſome order might be taken for redreſs thereof.

This, with other impediments, were the occaſion of detaining him ſtill there.

Mauravell, coming to Paris whilſt theſe feaſts laſted, having preſented his ſervice firſt to the king and his mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guiſe; after ſome ſpeech had with the king and queen-mother, one named Chaill, had a command to direct him to the houſe whence the blow ſhould be given; who left him with a woman in the houſe, which woman was forbidden not only to aſk his name, but alſo ſo much as to inquire for what cauſe he was lodged there.

On Friday, the 22d of Auguſt, in the morning he trimmed up his harquebuſſe, watching ſecretly the admiral's coming.

The admiral at his going forth out of the Louvre, meeting the king coming out of a chapel which is before the ſame, paſſing thence to play at tennis, he ſcarcely had gone a hundred paces from the place, but as he returned to his lodging on foot to dine there, attended by twelve or fifteen gentlemen, reading a petition; out of the window of a lodging (where Villemur, tutor to the duke of Guiſe, uſually lay) he was ſhot with an harquebuſſe, charged with three braſs bullets, one of which took off the fore-finger of his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himſelf thus wounded, he aſked ſome of his followers to enter that houſe, and to inquire who it was that had done that, or who ſet him on work to do it; and then to inform the king thereof, giving him to underſtand how well his commandment was obſerved.

Now whilſt they were buſy to force open the door, the murderer fled out by a back way, eſcaping thence out of the gate of St. Anthony; where one attended him, holding a Spaniſh gennet, brought out of the duke of Guiſe's ſtable; whereon he galloped away, yet not without ſome difficulty: for flying thus in ſome fear, he fell off his horſe twice or thrice.

A gentleman ſeeing the admiral hurt, came to ſupport his left arm, binding up the hurt thereon with his handkerchief. And thus was he conducted to his lodging, which was diſtant from thence about twenty paces. In his paſſing, a gentleman ſaid, It was to be feared the bullets were poiſoned: to which the admiral replied, All muſt be as it pleaſeth God.

The king hearing of the admiral's hurt, left his game, where he was playing till then with the duke of Guiſe, and throwing away his racket as it ſeemed in an anger, with a ſad and heavy countenance withdrew himſelf into his chamber: the duke of Guiſe followed him within a little while after.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, with many other of their religion, having notice of the admiral's hurt, complained to the king of this untimely accident; intreating they might have leave to depart out of the city, ſeeing they could expect little ſafety there. The king made great lamentations to them of the miſchance that had happened, ſwearing and proteſting that he would execute ſuch impartial juſtice upon the offender, and on all the complotters, as ſhould give the admiral and all his friends content; only he willed them to ſtay, promiſing them ere long to provide for their ſecurity.

The ſurgeons and phyſicians were preſently ſent for, amongſt whom was Ambroſe Pare, the king's ſurgeon, a man very expert. He began firſt with the admiral's finger, which put him to much pain, becauſe the ſciſſors were not ſharp enough to cut it off at once; beſides he was obliged to ſtop and open the wound thrice; then he began on the left arm, making inciſions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience; whilſt thoſe which ſtood by and ſaw him ſo mangled, could not refrain from tears. Captain Monins held him with both his arms about the middle, and Cornaton held his hands. He ſeeing them aſtoniſhed, My friends, ſaid he, why weep you? I think myſelf happy to be thus handled in the cauſe of God. And now caſting his eyes upon a miniſter, called Merlin, he ſaid, Here you ſee, my friend, God's bleſſings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it is come to paſs by the will of my heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majeſty in that he is pleaſed to honour me ſo far, as to ſuffer any thing for his holy name. Let us pray unto him, that he would grant unto me the gift of perſeverance.

Then looking upon the ſaid miniſter, who wept over him; Oh, maſter Merlin, ſaid he, what, will you not comfort me? Yes, ſir, ſaid he, for wherein may you take greater comfort, than in calling to mind how greatly God hath always honoured you, in eſteeming you worthy to ſuffer reproach for his name's ſake, and true religion? The admiral replied, Alas! if God ſhould deal with me according to my deſerts, he might have put me to worſe torments than theſe. But bleſſed be his holy name, in that he is pleaſed to take pity on me his poor and unworthy ſervant. Be of good cheer then, ſir, ſaid another unto him; for ſeeing God hath ſpared your more noble parts, you have cauſe therein to magnify his goodneſs. In theſe wounds you have received from God a teſtimony of his love, rather than of his diſpleaſure, ſeeing he hath preſerved your head and underſtanding ſafe.

Then ſaid Merlin, Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from him who hath committed this outrage upon you, in looking only unto God; for no doubt it is his hand that hath ſmitten you: therefore for the preſent, ceaſe to think of the malefactor. I aſſure you, ſaid the admiral, I do freely forgive him, from the bottom of my heart, and thoſe alſo that are his abettors; being fully perſuaded that none of them all could have done me the leaſt hurt, no, though with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death itſelf to God's children, but an aſſured paſſage to an eternal reſt and life.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the admiral (as you heard before), about two o'clock in the afternoon, the king, accompanied with the queen-mother, his brother, and other of the lords, went to viſit the admiral.

The king with tears ſeemed to be exceeding ſorry for that which was come to paſs, promiſing him, with one blaſphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no leſs than if it had been committed upon his own perſon: praying him to come and take up his lodging with him, in the Louvre, for his greater ſecurity and ſafety. Whereupon, the admiral, after ſome diſcourſe made to the king in ſecret, gave him moſt humble thanks for ſo great a favour, as to viſit him in his own perſon.

Upon the motion made by the king, Mazilles, his chief phyſician, was called, demanding of him, whether the admiral might ſafely be removed thence into the Louvre, or no? His anſwer to the king was, That it could not be done without danger. Some of the admiral's friends thought it fitting to requeſt a guard of ſoldiers to be aſſigned by the king unto him for his better ſecurity. The king anſwered, he liked well that advice, being fully determined to provide for the admiral's ſafety as his own, and would preſerve him no leſs than the apple of his eye. After the king called for the bullet of braſs, wherewith the admiral was hurt, that he might ſee it, aſking whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, as likewiſe touching the dreſſing of his arm; now as Cornaton ſhewed the bullet, having his ſleeve all bloody (becauſe he was appointed to hold the admiral's arm, while it was in dreſſing), the king aſked if that were of the admiral's blood? And whether ſo much blood iſſued out of his wounds? Adding (after Cornaton's anſwer), he never ſaw man in his life ſhew greater conſtancy and magnanimity of ſpirit than the admiral did.

Then was the queen-mother deſirous to ſee the bullet, ſaying, I am glad the bullet is taken out. For I remember when the duke of Guiſe was killed before Orleans, the phyſician told me, that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death, though it were poiſoned.

Then Cornaton anſwered, We have foreſeen that, madam; for being careful to prevent that danger, the admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poiſon, if peradventure any ſuch thing ſhould be.

The Saturday before the admiral was ſlain, he began to be ſomewhat cheered, ſo that the ſurgeons and phyſicians gave out, they would warrant the admiral's life: becauſe his arm, having loſt but little of it's ſtrength, would ſoon be healed. This news was brought to the king, who ſeemed to entertain the ſame joyfully. The new-married wife came alſo to viſit the admiral. But all this was but a lightening before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of armour in the city, and many torches lighted every where, borne by many of the people. Some gentlemen, whoſe lodgings were nigh to the admiral's, roſe, and went out, aſking ſome of their acquaintance the reaſon why there were ſo many up in arms at that hour of the night: they anſwered, that the king much deſired to ſee a caſtle aſſailed and defended, deviſed only in ſport to give him content. They paſſing yet further, came to the Louvre, where they likewiſe ſaw many torches lighted, and troops of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themſelves, but began to pick a quarrel with them; and as one of the ſaid gentlemen was about to ſpeak, a Gaſcoine ſoldier ſtruck him with a partizan, and then they fell upon the reſt. The noiſe hereof ſpreading, the queen-mother ſaid, Seeing it is not poſſible to retain the fury of the ſoldiers any longer from breaking out, let the bell of the church of St. Germain be tolled; which was the ſignal to begin the maſſacre.

The admiral coming to the knowledge of this uproar (though he had but few of his followers about him) was not much moved thereat; truſting (as he often uſed to ſay) upon the king's favour, whereof he had large experience. Alſo he knew that when the Pariſians ſhould underſtand how much the king diſliked their folly, though they had an intention of doing him ſome miſchief, yet would they be quieted as ſoon as they ſaw Coſſeins and his guard.

This Coſſeins was appointed by the duke of Anjou to defend the admiral's lodgings, wherein the old proverb was verified, That the wolf was ſet to keep the ſheep.

About break of day, Auguſt the 24th, 1572, being St. Bartholemew's-day, they began to knock at the door where the admiral lay. La Bonne, who lay not far from him, having the keys, perceiving there were ſome who came on a meſſage from the king to the admiral, came down quickly and opened the door; preſently Coſſeins fell upon him and ſtabbed him with his dagger, ſo that he died. Then with his harquebuſſers ruſhing into the houſe, killing ſuch as they met, others fled. Cornaton awaking with the noiſe that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next chamber), ran thither, cauſing the Switzers and other officers to fortify it. Coſſeins hearing that, cried to him to open it in the king's name, and he ſo handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and after gained the ſtairs. The admiral and thoſe that were with him, taking notice how they ſhot off piſtols and guns, finding themſelves incloſed in their enemy's hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their ſins.

The admiral riſing out of his bed, and putting on his night-gown, commanded Merlin, the miniſter, to make the prayer. He alſo, earneſtly calling upon Jeſus Chriſt his God and Saviour, commended his ſpirit into his hands. He that teſtified theſe things, and made report thereof, coming into the chamber, and being aſked by the admiral what that tumult meant; Sir, ſaith he, God is now ſummoning us to look to our end. The admiral ſeeing what would be the iſſue, anſwered, I have long ſince expected death: ſave yourſelves if it be poſſible, for you cannot ſecure me; I commend my ſoul into the hands of the merciful God. Thoſe who were preſent and eſcaped, have affirmed, that the admiral was no more affrighted at death, which he ſaw preſent before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood thereof at all.

Forthwith every one in the chamber getting up to the top of the houſe, and having found a window near the roof, ſaved themſelves there; but the greater part, who were beneath in the next room to the admiral, were ſlain, others miraculouſly eſcaped. In the meanwhile Coſſeins having made his way, cauſed certain Switzers of the duke of Anjou's guard to enter into the houſe.

Beſine, Coſſeins, and Sarlabour, with their targets in one hand, and their naked ſwords in the other, broke open the admiral's chamber-door, and Beſine (who was afterwards ſlain himſelf by one Bertoville upon the way, after he had eſcaped out of priſon) coming towards the admiral, holding the point of his ſword to his breaſt, ſaid thus, Art not thou the admiral? I am the man, ſaid he, with an undaunted courage, as the murderers afterwards confeſſed. Then beholding the naked ſword, Young man, ſaid the admiral, thou oughteſt ſomewhat to reſpect my years, and my infirmity of body, but it is not thou that canſt ſhorten my days. Beſine deſperately thruſt the admiral into the body with his ſword, and then ſmote him therewith on the head; the reſt had every one a blow at him; ſo that he preſently fell down wounded to death.

Whilſt this miſchief was acting, the duke of Guiſe being below in the baſe court, with other Romiſh catholic lords, cried to the murderer above, Beſine, haſt thou done? It is done, ſaith he. Then the duke replied, Monſieur, our knight, (meaning king Henry's baſtard) will not believe unleſs he ſee it with his eyes; throw him down out of the window.

Then Beſine and Sarlabour, lifting up the body of the admiral, caſt him down unto them, where he lay naked on the ground, expoſed to all ſort of ſcorn and mocks of the multitude, ſome trampling on him with their feet. Now becauſe the blow which Beſine had given the admiral on his head, had ſo covered his face with blood iſſuing thence, that his viſage could not be diſcerned, the duke of Guiſe ſtooping down took his handkerchief, and wiping his face therewith, ſaid, It is he, I know him well enough; and giving this poor dead body a ſpurn on the head with his foot (whom all the murderers in France feared whilſt he lived), he paſſed thence, encouraging his ſoldiers, ſaying, We have made a good beginning; now let us go on to the reſt, for the king hath ſo commanded, the king hath ſo commanded, repeating it twice over.

An Italian of the duke of Nevers' guard cut off the admiral's head, and brought it to the king and queen-mother: which being embalmed, was ſent to Rome to the pope, and to the cardinal of Lorrain, being there at that time. The common people on the next day cut off his hands and privy members, and then in this woful plight being dragged up and down three days in the channels throughout the ſtreets, he was at laſt carried out of the city to a gibbet in mount Faucon, where they hanged him by the feet; from whence ſome that were well diſpoſed, going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the body of the admiral; which they interred in ſo ſecret a manner, that the papiſts could never find it out, and it remains buried ſtill, ſo that they were obliged to make a body of ſtraw, and hung that up inſtead of the body itſelf, rather than none at all.

The following is the ſentence which the court of parliament in Paris denounced againſt Gaſper Coligni, admiral of France, after he was maſſacred.

1. Firſt, That for his conſpiracy againſt the king and ſtate, in the year 1572, the ſaid court hath condemned him for high treaſon.

2. That his memory ſhall be utterly raſed out.

3. If his body, or any figure thereof, ſhall be taken, that the ſame ſhall be firſt drawn upon a hurdle to the place called Le Grene, and there hanged on a gibbet.

4. After which a gibbet ſhall be ſet upon Mount-Faucon, and he there to be hanged in the moſt eminent place.

5. His arms and armour to be drawn at a horſe's tail through the ſtreets of the ſaid city, and other cities where they ſhall be found, and there to be broken in pieces, as a ſign of his perpetual ignominy.

6. All his goods and poſſeſſions to be forfeited to the king's uſe.

7. All his children to be pronounced ignoble; as alſo held unworthy of any honour or dignity whatſoever.

8. His houſe and caſtle of Chaſtillon, upon the Loin, the Baſe Court, and all appurtenances thereunto appertaining, to be defaced and demoliſhed to the ground.

9. Then in the ſaid place this ſentence ſhall be ſet up engraven in braſs.

10. Laſtly, That on the 24th of Auguſt, 1572, general proceſſions be made through the city of Paris, by way of thankſgiving to God for this puniſhment inflicted upon the conſpirator.

Pronounced and executed at Paris, the
27th and 29th of October, 1572.
Signed, Malon.

At Rome ſolemn maſſes were ſung, and thanks rendered unto God for the good ſucceſs which the Roman catholics had obtained in maſſacring the Hugonots. At night, in token of joy and gladneſs, were made many great bonfires in ſundry places: and, as the report went, the cardinal of Lorrain gave a thouſand crowns to the perſon that brought him this welcome news.

The ſame day the admiral was hurt, the king adviſed the king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, to lodge in his chamber, with ten or twelve of his truſtieſt ſervants, to protect him from the deſigns of the duke of Guiſe, whom he called an unhappy boy.

The admiral before his death made his will, in which he gave the king counſel, that he ſhould not give his brethren over-great portions. The queen-mother hearing this, and reading the ſame to the duke of Alenſon the king's brother; Now you ſee, ſaith ſhe, the heart of your friend the admiral, whom you ſo much loved and reſpected.

The duke anſwered, I know not how much he loved me, but I well perceive by this how much he loved the king.

The Engliſh ambaſſador made almoſt the like anſwer when the ſaid queen told him, how the admiral had adviſed the king not to truſt the Engliſh too far.

Indeed, madam, ſaith he, hereby it appeared that though he bare but little good-will to the Engliſh, yet he manifeſted himſelf a loyal ſervant to the crown of France.

The Sieur de Brion, governor of the young marquis Conde, ſon to the late prince of Conde, hearing theſe ſtirs, taking his little maſter even in his ſhirt, thinking to convey him ſomewhere out of the way, met theſe murderers, who plucking from him the young prince, maſſacred the old man in his preſence, whilſt the prince with tears intreated them to ſpare his governor. But they dyed his white hairs in his own blood, and then barbarouſly dragged him through the mire.

It was credibly reported, that the number of the ſlain that Sunday morning, and two other days following, in the city of Paris, and in the ſuburbs, did amount to above ten thouſand, counting lords, gentlemen, preſidents, counſellors, advocates, lawyers, ſcholars, phyſicians, merchants, tradeſmen, women, maids, and children. The ſtreets were covered with dead bodies, the river was dyed with blood, the gates and entrance into the king's palace painted with the ſame colour: but the blood-thirſty were not yet ſatisfied; for they ſtill continued to go from houſe to houſe with their aſſociates, where they thought to find any Hugonots, they broke open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomſoever they met, ſparing neither ſex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of young maidens, women, men, and children, which were diſcharged into the river, it being covered in a manner all over with the ſlain, and dyed with their blood, which alſo ſtreamed down the ſtreets from ſundry parts thereof, whereat the courtezans laughed their fill, ſaying, that the wars were now ended, and that hereafter they ſhould live in peace, &c.

An Account *of* Monsieur PIERRE DE LA PLACE.

Monſieur Pierre de la Place was preſident of the court of requeſts, whoſe ſtory we will relate ſomewhat at large, becauſe his ſingular piety requires it. On Sunday morning, about ſix o'clock, one captain Michael, harquebuſſer to the king, came into his lodging, into which he had eaſy acceſs, for divers private reaſons.

The captain, being armed, preſented himſelf before the ſaid De la Place: the firſt words he ſaid were, that the duke of Guiſe had ſlain the admiral by the king's appointment, with many Hugonots beſides: and becauſe the reſt of them, of what quality ſoever, were deſtined to death, he was come to his lodging to exempt him from the common deſtruction: only he deſired to have a ſight of what gold and ſilver was in the houſe. The lord De la Place, ſomewhat amazed at his audacity, who, in the midſt of ten or twelve perſons who were preſent in the room, durſt preſume to utter ſuch language, aſked him if he knew where he was, or whether he thought there was a king or no?

To this the captain, blaſpheming, anſwered, that he willed him to go with him to know the king's pleaſure. The lord De la Place hearing this, fearing alſo ſome danger towards himſelf by ſedition in the city, ſlipped forth at a back door behind his lodging, propoſing to get into a neighbour's houſe. In the mean while, moſt of his ſervants vaniſhed out of ſight; and this captain, having ſtored himſelf with a thouſand crowns, was intreated by the lady Marets, daughter to the ſaid lord, to convey her father, with the lord Marets, her huſband, into the houſe of ſome Roman catholic; which he conſented to do, and alſo performed it.

After this, De la Place, being refuſed at three ſeveral houſes, was conſtrained to retire back again into his own, where he found his wife very penſive, and grieved beyond meaſure, fearing leſt this captain in the end ſhould caſt her ſon-in-law and daughter into the river, and alſo for the imminent danger wherein her dear huſband and all his family were.

But the lord De la Place, being ſtrengthened by the Spirit of God, with incredible conſtancy ſharply rebuked her; and afterwards mildly demonſtrated unto her, that we muſt receive theſe and the like afflictions from the hand of God; and ſo having diſcourſed a while on the promiſes of God, comforted her.

Then he commanded all his ſervants that were in the houſe to be called together; who being come into his chamber, according to his cuſtom on the Lord's day, he made a form of exhortation to his family; then went to prayer, and began to read a chapter out of the book of Job, with the expoſition, or ſermon, of Mr. John Calvin upon it. So having ſpoken ſomewhat of God's mercy and juſtice, (which he, as a good and wiſe father, uſeth to exerciſe his elect with ſundry chaſtiſements, leſt they ſhould be intangled here below with the things of this world) he ſhewed how needful afflictions were for chriſtians, and that it was beyond the power of Satan, or men, to hurt or wrong them, unleſs the Lord of his good pleaſure gave them leave. What need have we then, ſaid he, to dread their authority, which at the moſt can but prevail over our bodies? Then he went to prayer again, preparing himſelf and his whole family rather to endure all ſorts of torments, yea, death itſelf, than to ſpeak or do any thing that might tend to the diſhonour of God.

Having finiſhed his prayer, word was brought him, that Seneca, the provoſt marſhal, with many archers, were at the door of his lodgings, commanding the ſame to be opened in the king's name, ſaying, that he came to ſecure the perſon of the lord De la Place, and to preſerve his houſe from being pillaged by the common rabble. The lord De la Place having intelligence of this ſpeech, commanded the door to be opened to him, who entering in, declared the great ſlaughter that was made upon the Hugonots every where in the city by the king's command; adding this withal in Latin, that he would not ſuffer one to live, *Qui mingat ad Parietem.* Yet have I expreſs charge from his majeſty, ſaith he, to ſee that you ſhall ſuſtain no wrong, but only conduct you to the Louvre, becauſe the king is deſirous to be informed touching many things about the affairs of thoſe of the religion, which he hath now in hand, and therefore willed him to make himſelf ready to go to his majeſty. The lord De la Place anſwered, that it had always been his greateſt wiſh, and nothing could render him more perfectly happy, than to gain any opportunity by which he might give an account to his majeſty of his behaviour and actions.

But in regard that ſuch horrible maſſacres were every where committed, it was impoſſible for him to paſs to the Louvre, without the certain danger of his perſon; but prayed him to aſſure his majeſty of his willingneſs to come, meanwhile leaving in his lodgings as many archers as he thought fitting, until the fury of the people was ſomewhat pacified. The provoſt agreed to this requeſt, and left with him one of his lieutenants, called Toute Voye, with four of his archers.

Not long after, came into his lodging, preſident Charron, then provoſt of the merchants, with whom conferring a little in ſecret, going his way, he left with the four archers who were there before, four more of the city archers. The whole night following was ſpent in the ſtopping up, and fortifying of all paſſages from entering the houſe; with logs and flint ſtones ſtopping up the windows; ſo that it ſeemed by this ſo exact and diligent a defence, that the archers were left in the houſe to free the ſaid De la Place, and all his family, from the common calamity; till Seneca returning the next day, after two o'clock in the afternoon, declared that he had expreſs charge from the king to bring him to his majeſty without delay. He replied as before, that it was dangerous as yet to paſs through the city, in regard that even the ſame morning there was an houſe pillaged next to his.

Seneca on the contrary inſiſted, ſaying, It was the common ſpeech of theſe Hugonots, to proteſt that they were the king's moſt loyal and obedient ſubjects and ſervants: but when they were to manifeſt their obedience to his commands, then they came off but ſlowly, ſeeming rather to abhor and deteſt it. And whereas he pretended danger, Seneca anſwered, that he ſhould have a captain of Paris, who was well known to the people, to accompany him. As Seneca continued his ſpeech, the captain of Paris, ſirnamed Pazon, a principal actor in this ſedition, entered the chamber of the ſaid lord of Place, offering his ſervice to conduct him through the city to the king; which De la Place would by no means yield to, telling Seneca, that he was one of the moſt cruel and bloody-minded men in all the city; and therefore, ſeeing that he muſt needs go to the king, he intreated that the ſaid Seneca would be his guard. To which Seneca anſwered, that having now other affairs to look unto, he could not conduct him above fifty paces.

Then his wife, (though otherwiſe a very gracious and good lady) out of that intire love which ſhe bore to her huſband, proſtrated herſelf at the feet of the ſaid Seneca, beſeeching and intreating him to accompany her huſband to the king; but the ſaid De la Place, who never ſhewed any ſign of a dejected ſpirit, came to his wife, took her up from the ground, rebuked her, and told her, that it was not an arm of fleſh that we muſt ſtoop to, but unto God only. Then turning himſelf about, he perceived in his ſon's hat a white croſs, which through infirmity he had placed there, thinking thereby to ſave himſelf, for which his father ſharply chid him, commanding him to pluck that mark of ſedition thence; telling him, that they muſt now ſubmit themſelves to bear the true croſs of Chriſt, namely, thoſe afflictions and tribulations which it ſhall pleaſe our good God to lay upon us, as ſure pledges of that eternal happineſs, which he hath treaſured up for all his elect ſervants. Thus ſeeing himſelf preſſed by the ſaid Seneca, to go with him to the king, reſolving upon death, which he ſaw he could not avoid, he took his cloak, embracing his wife, earneſtly wiſhing her above all things to have the fear of God, and his honour, in precious eſteem; and then boldly went on his way. Coming into the ſtreet where the glaſs-houſe ſtood, certain murderers, who attended for his coming, with their daggers in readineſs, killed him, about three o'clock in the afternoon, as an innocent lamb, in the midſt of ten or twelve of Seneca's archers, who led him into that butchery; and then pillaged and imbezzled away what they found in his lodging, for the ſpace of five or ſix days together. The body (his ſoul was now received into heaven) being carried into a ſtable, they covered his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

Peter Ramus, the king's profeſſor in logic, a man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies, particularly one James Carpenter, who ſent the murderers to the college of prieſts, where the ſaid Ramus was hidden. But being diſcovered, he offered a good ſum of money to ſave his life; yet he was maſſacred, and caſt down from an high chamber window upon the ground, ſo that his bowels iſſued out on the ſtones, and were afterwards trailed through the ſtreets; the carcaſs was whipped by certain ſcholars, being ſet on by their tutors, to the great diſgrace of good literature, of which Ramus was an eminent profeſſor.

A young man, who preferred his mother's ſafety in theſe broils to his own, about the age of thirty-two years, a ſincere chriſtian of excellent learning, going abroad early on this dreadful Sunday morning, upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, and hearing the rumour about the death of the admiral throughout the city of Paris, he, out of his ſingular affection to his mother, haſtened home with all poſſible ſpeed, informing her what had happened, and without delay, not regarding his own ſafety, ſecured her in a place fit for the purpoſe. After which he went to prayers in his ſtudy, as his cuſtom was, where being found, the furious maſſacrers aſked him, if he would obey the king; he anſwered, Yes, but I muſt alſo obey God. Then immediately they began with battle-axes and ſtaves to load him with blows on the head, that he received his own blood into his hands; and then making an end of him, they threw him into the river.

Note, It could not be found that above two miniſters were ſlain in this bloody maſſacre.

Philip le Doux, a great jeweller, at his return home from Guybray fair, being gone to bed, his wife at that time had the midwife attending upon her, being ready to be delivered: ſhe hearing theſe furies below bouncing at the door, commanding it to be opened to them in the king's name; ill as ſhe was, ſhe ventured down, and opened the door to theſe tigers, who preſently ſtabbed her huſband in his bed. The midwife ſeeing them bent to murder the woman alſo, now ready to be delivered, intreated them to ſtay, at leaſt till the infant (which would be the twentieth child that God had given her) was born. Having conteſted ſome time with them, they took this poor woman, half dead with fear, and thruſt into her fundament a dagger to the very hilt. She finding herſelf mortally wounded, and yet deſirous to bring forth her fruit, ran into a corn-loft, whither they purſued her, ſtabbing her likewiſe in the belly, and then threw her out of a window into the ſtreet: upon which fall, the child came from her, head foremoſt, gaping and yawning, to the great aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the papiſts, who were conſtrained often with deteſtation to acknowledge and confeſs the cruelties of their butchers.

One of the maſſacrers having ſnatched up a little child in his arms, the poor innocent babe began to play with his beard, and to ſmile upon him; but inſtead of being moved to compaſſion therewith, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and threw it all in gore into the river.

At the maſſacre at Meaux in Brie, one Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, ſeeing many of his companions maſſacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying unto God to pardon theſe murderers; at which prayer they fell a laughing, and not being able with their daggers to pierce a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to ſpoil, (for it was a good booty) they cut aſunder the points, and then gave him five or ſix ſtabs with a dagger into his body; and ſo this good man, wounded to death, calling upon God, rendered up his ſpirit into the hands of him that gave it.

Faron Haren, at the ſame time, a man zealouſly affected to religion, who had been ſheriff of the city in the firſt troubles, having by his endeavours chaced the maſs out of Meaux, for a time was mortally hated of theſe ſeditious papiſts; and, therefore, they were not contented ſimply to kill him, but firſt cutting off his noſe, ears, and ſecret parts, then giving him many ſmall thruſts in divers parts of his body, they conſtrained him to and fro among them, as if he had gone through the pikes. But being weakened, and not able any longer to hold out, in conſequence of the blood that iſſued from all parts of his body, calling upon the name of the Lord, he fell with his face to the ground, receiving infinite gaſhes and wounds after he was dead.

PERSECUTION *of the* FAITHFUL *at* TROIS, *in* CHAMPAIGNE.

NEWS coming to Trois of the maſſacre executed at Paris, the greater part of the judges and officers of the king were ſent to the bailiff of Trois, with commandment diligently to make ſearch for all thoſe of the religion, from houſe to houſe, and to impriſon as many as they could meet with.

In this city, there was a merchant, called Peter Belin, a man of a turbulent nature. This Belin was at the maſſacre in Paris, on St. Bartholomew's-day; from whence he was ſent with letters from the king, dated the eight-and-twentieth day of Auguſt, to the mayor and ſheriffs of Trois, to cauſe all theſe perſecutions to ceaſe, and the priſoners to be ſet at liberty. On the third of September, he came to Trois with theſe two letters, (which had been firſt publiſhed in Paris) with commandment to deliver them to the foreſaid magiſtrates to be proclaimed there alſo.

But at the firſt entrance into the city, he began to inquire, that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the Hugonots there as they had done in Paris; which was his language through the ſtreets till he came home. But even ſome of the papiſts, who were not ſo cruelly minded, demanded of Belin the contents of the king's letters, whereof they had ſome inkling before. But he, like a bedlam, ſwelling with choler, ſwore, that whoſoever ſaid they contained any thing tending to pacification, lied. Haſtening, therefore, to the bailiff's houſe at Trois, after he had delivered him the packet, and buzzed ſomewhat in his ear, he put him on to ſee this execution done. Now, that the ſame might paſs the better for current, the help of the executioner of Trois was requeſted, whoſe name was Charles.

Yet, he ſhewing himſelf more juſt and humane than the reſt, peremptorily refuſed to have his hand in an act of ſo great cruelty; anſwering, that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before ſentence of death had firſt been pronounced by the magiſtrates. If they had ſuch ſentence to ſhew againſt any of the priſoners, he would do his office; otherwiſe, he would not preſume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life: and ſo with theſe words he returned home to his houſe.

Now albeit this anſwer, proceeding from ſuch a kind of perſon, whoſe office and cuſtom it was to ſhed blood, might ſomewhat have aſſuaged and taken off the edge of the moſt barbarous tiger in the world; yet the bailiff, ſlighting it, was the further enraged. Upon this, he ſent for one of the jailors of the priſon, who kept thoſe of the religion; but he being ſick of a tertian ague, Martin de Bures was ſent to know his pleaſure.

The bailiff telling him at large, what Belin had ſignified to him in private; as alſo, that on a ſudden all the priſoners of the religion muſt be put to death, that the place might be purged of them: this, he ſaid, you muſt not fail to do.

But this De Bures made no haſte to perform his charge, acquainting no man with aught that paſſed between the bailiff and him; no, not Perennet the keeper, who then lay ſick in his bed.

The next day the bailiff came into the priſon, about ſeven o'clock, and calling for Perennet, aſked of him, with a ſmile, Perennet, is it done? Perennet, knowing nothing more or leſs, aſked of him, what? Then ſaid the bailiff, Why, are not the priſoners diſpatched? and thereupon was ready with his dagger to have ſtabbed him. But coming a little better to himſelf, he told Perennet what his purpoſe was, and how he was to behave himſelf concerning the execution thereof. At which words, Perennet ſtanding amazed, (though otherwiſe he was a fellow forward enough of himſelf to commit any outrages againſt the proteſtants) certified to the bailiff, that ſuch an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing leſt in time to come, juſtice might be followed againſt him by the parents or allies of the priſoners. No, no, ſaid the bailiff, fear not, I will ſtand between you and all harms. Others of the juſtices have conſented thereunto beſides myſelf, and would you have better ſecurity than that?

Within a ſhort time after, the jailor coming into the court of the priſon, where the priſoners were abroad recreating themſelves, cauſed every one to reſort to his cabbin, becauſe, ſaid he, the bailiff will come by and by, to ſee whether the keepers have done as he commanded them; which they did. Then began theſe poor ſheep to fear they were deſtined to the ſlaughter, and therefore went preſently to prayers. Perennet inſtantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath to execute the ſame; but approaching near to the priſoners, they were ſo ſurpriſed with fear, and their hearts ſo failed them, that they ſtood gazing one upon another, having no courage to act ſuch a barbarous cruelty, and ſo returned to the jailor's lodge, whence they came, without doing any thing.

But inſtead of laying this to heart, as a warning ſent them from above; as if purpoſely they meant to reſiſt againſt the checks of their own conſciences, they ſent to the tavern for ſixteen pints of the beſt wine, and intoxicating their brains, they drew a liſt of all the priſoners; which they delivered to one who was to call them forth in order; and as they came they maſſacred them.

One Meurs was no ſooner in their ſight, but one of them let drive at him with the point of his halbert, redoubling the ſame often with intent to kill him, yet could not. The poor man took hold of the point of the halbert, and pointing, himſelf, to the ſeat of the heart, cried to the murderer, with a ſtedfaſt voice, Here, ſoldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart; and ſo finiſhed this life.

The maſſacre, ſaith my author, being ended, the murderers made a great pit on the back ſide of the chapel of the priſon, whereinto they caſt the bodies, one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing. One called Mauſere, lying in the midſt of them, being obſerved to raiſe up himſelf above his fellow-martyrs in this pit, they forthwith poured earth upon him, until they had ſtifled him. The blood ran in ſuch abundance out at the priſon door, and thence through a channel into a river, that it was turned into the colour of blood.

The day after, this worſhipful bailiff of Trois, that he might apply the plaiſter when the parties were dead, cauſed the king's letters, which he had received before, to be publiſhed in all corners of the city with ſound of trumpet. The bailiff was preſent in perſon at the publication; and as the notary read the contents thereof to him, he pronounced the ſame jeeringly, and not with a full and audible voice, as matters of ſuch conſequence ought to be read.

One Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli, a worthy counſellor in the city of Orleans, was murdered in the following manner: One called Texier came with a ſmall troop to his houſe, bidding himſelf and his company to ſupper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of that which had happened at Paris. But ſupper being ended, Texier bade him deliver his purſe. Dechampeaux laughing thereat, thinking he had been but in jeſt, this cruel and unthankful gueſt, with blaſphemous oaths, told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman catholics of Orleans, to cut off and root out the proteſtants there. Dechampeaux, ſeeing there was no time now to conteſt with him, gave money to this thief; who, to requite the courteſy and good entertainment he had received, embrued his hands in the blood of his honeſt neighbour, a man of as good and upright a carriage as was in all the city; and afterwards himſelf, with his troop, pillaged the whole houſe.

The twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt following, the maſſacrers began the execution about the ramparts, in a violent manner; in theſe quarters there inhabited many of the religion. All the night long was heard nothing but ſhooting off of guns and piſtols, forcing open of doors, and windows, fearful outcries of the maſſacred, both of men, women, and little children, trampling of horſes, and rumbling of carts, hurrying off dead bodies to and fro; the ſtreet reſounding with unwonted exclamations of thoſe of the common ſort, with horrible blaſphemies of the murderers, laughing their fill at their barbarous exploits; ſome crying, Kill them all, and then take the ſpoil; others, Spoil not, but kill all.

On Wedneſday the maſſacre began more fiercely, and ſo continued to the end of the week, not ſparing to break theſe and the like jeſts upon the poor maſſacred: Where is now your God? What is become of all your prayers and pſalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, ſave you if he can. Yea, ſome of them, who in times paſt had been profeſſors of the ſame religion, whilſt they were maſſacring the poor innocents, durſt ſing unto them, in ſcorn, the beginning of the three-and-fortieth pſalm: which runs, Judge me, O God, and plead my cauſe. Others, ſtriking them, ſaid, Sing now, Have mercy on me, O God: ſuch treatment received theſe poor people in Paris, and elſewhere. But theſe execrable outrages by no means daunted the courage of the faithful, who died ſtedfaſt in the faith.

Touching the multitude of the ſlain, the murderers did not ſtick to vaunt, that in this city they cauſed eighteen thouſand men to periſh; alſo an hundred and fifty women, with a great number of children of nine years old and upwards. The manner of their death was, firſt to ſhoot them with piſtols, then to ſtrip them of their clothes, and either ſink their bodies in the river, or bury them in pits.

On Tueſday, at night, certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of one that was a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous; who opening a caſement, and underſtanding that they had ſomewhat to ſay to him, came down immediately, and opened the door to them. At the firſt greeting they told him he muſt die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and that with ſuch conſtancy and affection, that the maſſacrers being aſtoniſhed, and by a ſecret celeſtial power reſtrained, contented themſelves only with taking his purſe, in which were fifteen crowns, and ſo left him, offering him no more violence.

The day following, certain ſcholars reſorting to his lodging, requeſted of him that they might ſee his library, into which having brought them, one aſked this book of him, and another that, which he gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet ſatisfied, their purpoſe being to kill him. He, proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, and having ended his prayer, willed them to kill him there, but they forced him out of his own houſe, from one place to another, and at length knocked him down.

A rich burgeſs of the city, called Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Nove, a man of ſingular worth, and highly eſteemed of all, was at that time deadly ſick. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpoſe to kill him: but ſeeing him in that caſe, ſpared him: yet finding there Noel Chaperon, apothecary, who brought him phyſic, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the open market-place, where they made an end of him.

The next day, there came one to the lodging of him that was ſick, who was wont heretofore to viſit him: as he was entering in, he met the mother of the ſick party at the door going unto maſs, and coming up into the chamber, he ſtabbed the ſick man with a dagger in many places, and ſo killed a dying man. Then with all ſilence, as if he had done no ſuch act, wiping his dagger, he went down ſtairs again, and meeting one at the door who came to viſit him that was ſick, this fellow, ſaluting him, paſſed along by him, without any change either in his behaviour or countenance.

Francis Stample, a rich merchant, was threatened to have his throat cut preſently, if he gave not the murderers money: but having got none about him, he wrote a letter to his wife, to ſend him his ranſom: he had no ſooner ſealed the letter, but the murderers deprived him thereof, and his life alſo, laughing at what they had done. And though they got from his widow a conſiderable ſum of money, yet could ſhe not obtain from them the body of her dead huſband. And theſe are the fruits of popery.

Among thoſe that confeſſed the name of Jeſus Chriſt, Francis le Boſſu, a merchant, with his two ſons, well deſerve our notice; for whilſt he trampled in the blood of his brethren, being beſmeared therewith, and ſpurting as it were in his face, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, uſing this ſpeech: "Children, we are not to learn now, that it
" hath always been the portion of believers, to be
" hated, cruelly uſed, and devoured by unbelievers,
" as Chriſt's ſilly ſheep, of ravening wolves: if we
" ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall alſo reign with him.
" Let not theſe drawn ſwords terrify us; which only
" ſerve to cut that thread which ties us to a miſerable
" life, and let looſe the ſoul into endleſs felicity. We
" have reſided long enough among the wicked, let us
" now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march
" after this great company which is here gone before
" us, and let us make way for them that ſhall follow
" after."

When he ſaw the murderers come, he claſped his arms about his two ſons, and they likewiſe embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler to his children, and the children, as if, by the bond of nature, (which binds them to defend his life from whence they received their's) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, though with the loſs of their own lives; who, when the maſſacre was ended, were all three found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now, at the concluſion of this furious aſſault, theſe barbarous monſters went up and down the city, diſplaying their white doublets, all beſprinkled with blood; boaſting, that ſome had killed an hundred, ſome more, ſome leſs.

As the multitude were dragging the dead bodies to the river, an apothecary came and informed them, that money might be made of the greaſe that was taken out of their bodies. Then were the moſt corpulent bodies preſently ſought for, which when they had ripped up, a great quantity of that commodity being gotten thence, was ſold by theſe merchants for three ſhillings the pound.

Thoſe of Dauphine, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to ſee ſo many bodies floating upon the water, ſome diſmembered, others faſtened together with long poles, others lying on the ſhore, ſome having their eyes put out, others their noſes, ears, and hands cut off, ſtabbed with daggers in every part of their body, ſo as ſome among them had no human ſhape remaining. Yea, ſo great a number of theſe mangled corpſes preſented themſelves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place began to make an outcry, as if their enemies had been at the gates.

Not many months after, when all theſe bloody tragedies were ended, the pope ſent cardinal Urſin, as legate to the king, who was received with great ſolemnity at Lyons. Now having heard maſs at St. John's church, and returning by the ſame door which he went in at, the greateſt number of the maſſacrers attended his coming there, and all kneeled down for his abſolution. But the legate not knowing the reaſon of it, one of the principal agents told him, that they were thoſe who had been the actors in the maſſacre. When the legate perceived that, he abſolved them all with making the ſign of the croſs.

As ſoon as the maſſacre was begun at Paris, a gentleman, named Monſoreau, obtained a paſſport with letters to maſſacre thoſe of the proteſtant religion at Angiers. Who, being diſappointed of his prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned miniſter, called Mr. John Maſon, ſirnamed de Launay, ſieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at the entrance into the houſe, he ſaluted her and kiſſed her, as it is the manner in France, eſpecially among the courtiers, and aſked her where her huſband was? She anſwered him, That he was walking in his garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monſoreau having lovingly embraced la Riviere, ſaid unto him, Do you know wherefore I am come? The king hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me expreſs charge to do it, as you ſhall ſee by his letters. After which words he ſhewed him a piſtol ready charged. Riviere replied, That he knew not wherein he had offended the king; but ſeeing, faith he, you ſeek my life, give me a little time to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my ſpirit into his hands.

Having made a ſhort prayer, he willingly preſented his body to the murderer, who ſhot him with his piſtol, and he died immediately.

The miniſter's wife was ſoon after drowned with nine others.

Six thouſand were murdered at Roan in much the ſame manner.

Now touching the prince of Conde, the king propoſed three things to him; Either to go to maſs, to die, or elſe perpetual impriſonment; and therefore to weigh well with himſelf which of the three he liked beſt. The prince anſwered, That by God's grace he would never chooſe the firſt; as for the latter, he referred himſelf to the king's pleaſure.

About three hundred were barbarouſly murdered at Thoulouſe, and after taking all their goods, they ſtripped them naked, and expoſed them to public view for two days, and then they threw them in heaps into great pits. There were certain counſellors, who, after they were maſſacred, were hung up in their long gowns, upon a great elm which was in the court of the palace.

The maſſacre at Bourdeaux was begun and carried on much in the ſame manner of thoſe before-mentioned.

But their miniſters found means to eſcape, hiding themſelves in the rocks and marſhes, till they had an opportunity to take ſhipping for England.

One thing here may be noted; the houſe of a counſellor in parliament was forced open, pillaged, and ſpoiled, and himſelf cruelly murdered. His clerk ſeeing his maſter about to ſuffer a cruel death, embraced and comforted him: and being aſked whether he were of the ſame religion, he anſwered, yea, and would die with his maſter for the ſame. And they were ſlain in one another's arms.

A deacon of the reformed church, named Du Tour, an old man, who in the days of his ignorance had been a prieſt in the popiſh church, being ſick in his bed, was hauled forth into the open ſtreet; of whom it being demanded, whether he would go to maſs, and thereby ſave his life; he freely anſwered, no, eſpecially now drawing ſo near his end, both in regard of his years and grievous ſickneſs: I hope (ſaith he) I ſhall not ſo far forget the eternal ſalvation of my ſoul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days; for ſo I ſhould buy a ſhort term of life at too dear a rate. They hearing him ſay ſo, murdered him inſtantly.

It was lamentable to ſee the poor proteſtants wandering up and down, not knowing where to ſave their lives: ſome were rejected of their own parents and relations, who ſhut their doors againſt them, pretending as if they knew them not; others were betrayed and delivered up by thoſe, to whoſe truſt they had committed themſelves: many were ſaved even by prieſts and others, from whom a man would have expected no ſuch ſecurity. Some were ſaved by their very enemies, whoſe hearts abhorred ſuch deteſtable outrages.

All the city was full of terror and horrible threats againſt thoſe of this religion, ſaying, that the king's commandment was, that he would not have ſo much as one of them left in his kingdom; and if any refuſed to go to maſs, that a hole ſhould be digged for him in the earth, in which he ſhould be buried without any more ado.

The judgment of God fell not long after upon one of theſe inhuman murderers, called Vincent; he fell dangerouſly ſick, but in the end recovering again, and as he thought being in good health, told ſome of his friends that he felt his arms ſtrong enough to handle his cutlaſs as well as ever he had done. But within a while after he was overtaken by the hand of God, with ſuch a flux of bleeding at his noſe, as could not be reſtrained nor diverted by any of the remedies that were then uſed. It was an hideous ſight to ſee him ſtill bowing his head over a baſon full of blood, which, without ceaſing, iſſued out of his noſe and mouth, even until his laſt gaſp.

Another was taken with ſuch a ſwelling in all the parts of his body, that there was ſcarcely to be diſcerned in him the form of a man, and ſo continued ſwelling till at length he burſt aſunder.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, wherein within a few weeks nigh 30,000 were put to death.

In the year 1573, the place were the faithful fled for refuge, was aſſailed by open war; namely, Sancerre, the hiſtory whereof you have here in a ſhort view.

Sancerre, being encompaſſed about with irreconcileable enemies, from about the beginning of April, the want of victuals having cauſed them to gather together all the aſſes and mules they had in the city, they were eaten up in leſs than a month.

Then they came to horſes, cats, rats, moles, mice, and dogs. After theſe were ſpent, they fell to eat ox and cow-hides, ſheep-ſkins, parchment, old ſhoes, bullocks, and horſe-hoofs, horns, and lanthorns, ropes, and horſe-harneſs, leather girdles, &c.

In the end of June, the third part of the beſieged had not bread to eat. Such as could get hemp-ſeed, ground it, or ſtamped it in mortars, and made bread of it; the like they did with all ſorts of herbs, mingling the ſame with bran if they had it. There they eat meal of chaff, nut-ſhells, and of ſlate, excrements of horſes, and men, yea, the offal which lay in the ſtreets was not ſpared.

The 29th of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a young child, about three years old, which died of hunger; having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman who lodged in their houſe, eating a part of this mournful diet, died in priſon, within a few hours after her impriſonment.

They were found guilty of other offences; but this aggravated the ſame the more. All children under twelve years of age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful lamentations uttered by poor parents, for the miſery wherein their eyes beheld their languiſhing and dying infants.

To which purpoſe you make take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy of ten years old, being ready to yield up the ghoſt, ſeeing his father and mother weeping over him (whoſe arms and legs, when handled, felt as if they had been dried ſticks) ſaid unto them, Wherefore weep ye thus, in ſeeing me famiſhed to death? Mother, ſaid he, I aſk you no bread, I know you have none: but ſeeing it is God's will I muſt die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man, Lazarus, die of famine? have I not read it in my bible? In uttering theſe, with the like ſpeeches, he yielded up the ghoſt, the 30th of July.

That all the people died not of famine in the end of this month, it was by reaſon of certain horſes which were reſerved for ſervice, if need ſhould be, and ſix cows which were left to give milk for the ſuſtenance of young infants. Theſe beaſts were killed, and their fleſh ſold for the relief of ſuch as were living, with a little corn, which by ſtealth ſome brought into the city; ſo that a pound of wheat was ſold for half a crown.

There died by fight in Sancerre but eighty-four perſons, but of the famine more than five hundred. Many ſoldiers getting forth as they could out of the city, flying from the famine, choſe rather to die by the ſword of the enemy; whereof ſome were ſlain, others impriſoned, and the reſt put to death by the executioner.

But when all help of man failed, the king having ſworn that he would make them eat up one another, the King of kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this inſtant the ambaſſadors from Poland came into France to accept the duke of Anjou for their king, at whoſe intreaty (which could not well be denied) poor Sancerre, more than half famiſhed, was now ſet at liberty by raiſing the ſiege, who otherwiſe were determined to leave their bones there, rather than to yield themſelves into their enemy's hands, in regard they had often threatened them with a general maſſacre. Whereas now by the king's appointment they were permitted to paſs out of the city armed; if any would tarry, that they ſhould not be moleſted: having liberty granted them to diſpoſe of their affairs, as they pleaſed, with promiſe of preſerving the honour and chaſtities as well of virgins, as women, &c.

There alſo died in the ſiege of Rochelle, October 20, 1628, fixteen thouſand perſons, the reſt enduring a world of miſeries; moſt of their food being hides, leather, and old gloves: other proviſions being very ſcarce, were at an exceſſive rate, viz.

A buſhel of wheat, 20l. a pound of bread, 20s. a quarter of mutton, 6l. odd money; a pound of butter, 30s. an egg, 8s. an ounce of ſugar, 2s. 6d. a dried fiſh, 20s. a pint of wine, 20s. a pound of grapes, 3s. a pint of milk, 30s.

It is alſo reported, that through the famine, young maids of 14 or 16 years of age, did look like women of an hundred years old. The famine was ſuch, that the poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead as they lay in the church-yard unburied. All the Engliſh that came out looked like anatomies. They lived two months with nothing but cow-hides and goat-ſkins boiled; the dogs, cats, mice, and frogs, being all ſpent.

A brief DISCOURSE *of the great* PREPARATIONS *of the* SPANIARDS, *in order to invade* ENGLAND, *in the* REIGN *of* QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE duke of Parma, in Flanders, by command of the Spaniards, built ſhips, and a great company of ſmall broad veſſels, each one able to tranſport thirty horſes, with bridges fitted for them ſeverally; and hired mariners from the Eaſt part of Germany, and provided long pieces of wood, ſharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one ſide; and 20,000 veſſels, with an huge number of faggots; and placed an army ready in Flanders, of 103 companies of foot, and 4000 horſemen. Among theſe 700 Engliſh vagabonds, who were held of all others in moſt contempt. Neither was Stanley reſpected or obeyed, who was ſet over the Engliſh; nor Weſtmoreland, nor any other who offered their help: but for their unfaithfulneſs to their own country were ſhut out from all conſultations, and as men unanimouſly rejected with deteſtation. And becauſe pope Sixtus the Fifth in ſuch a caſe would not be wanting, he ſent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the bulls declaratory of pope Pius the Fifth, and Gregory the Thirteenth. He excommunicated and depoſed queen Elizabeth, abſolved her ſubjects from all allegiance, and, as if it had been againſt the Turks or infidels, he ſet forth in print a conceit, wherein he beſtowed plenary indulgences, out of the treaſure of the church, beſides a million of gold, or ten hundred thouſand ducats, to be diſtributed (the one half in hand, the reſt when either England, or ſome famous haven therein ſhould be won) upon all them that would join their help againſt England. By which means the marquis of Burgaw, of the houſe of Auſtria, the duke of Paſtrana, Armady duke of Savoy, Veſpaſian, Gonzaga, John Medices, and divers other noblemen were drawn into theſe wars.

Queen Elizabeth, that ſhe might not be ſurprized unawares, prepared as great a navy as ſhe could, and with ſingular care and providence made all things ready neceſſary for war. And ſhe herſelf, who was ever moſt judicious in diſcerning of men's wits and aptneſs, and moſt happy in making choice, when ſhe made it out of her own judgment, and not at the direction of others, deſigned the beſt and moſt ſerviceable to each ſeveral employment. Over the whole navy ſhe appointed the lord admiral Charles Howard, in whom ſhe repoſed much truſt; and ſent him to the weſt part of England, where captain Drake, whom ſhe made vice-admiral, joined with him. She commanded Henry Seimor, the ſecond ſon to the duke of Somerſet, to watch upon the Belgic ſhore with forty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Although ſome were of opinion, that the enemy was to be expected and ſet upon by land forces, according as it was upon deliberation reſolved, in the time of Henry the Eighth, when the French brought a great navy on the Engliſh ſhore.

For the land fight, there were placed on the ſouth ſhore twenty thouſand: and two armies beſides were muſtered of the choiceſt men for war. The one of theſe which conſiſted of 1000 horſe, and twenty-two thouſand foot, was commanded by the earl of Leiceſter, and encamped at Tilbury, on the ſide of the Thames. For the enemy was reſolved firſt to ſet upon London. The other army was commanded by the lord Hunſdon, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to guard the queen.

The lord Grey, ſir Francis Knowles, ſir John Norris, ſir Richard Bingham, ſir Roger Williams, men famouſly known for military experience, were choſen to confer of the land fight. Theſe commanders thought fit that all thoſe places ſhould be fortified, with men and ammunition, which were commodious to land in, either out of Spain or out of Flanders, as Milford-Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Iſle of Wight, Portſmouth, the open ſide of Kent called the Downs, the Thames' mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. That trained ſoldiers through all the maritime provinces ſhould meet upon warning given, to defend the places, that they ſhould, by their beſt means, hinder the enemy from landing; and if they did happen to land, then they were to deſtroy the fruits of the country all about, and ſpoil every thing that might be of any uſe to the enemy, that ſo they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them. And that by continual alarms the enemy ſhould find no reſt day or night. But they ſhould not try any battle, until divers captains were met together with their companies. That one captain might be named in every ſhire which might command.

Two years before, the duke of Parma conſidering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, ſo long as it was continually nouriſhed and ſupported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by the means of ſir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man deſirous of peace, and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman, and profeſſed that the Spaniard had delegated authority to him for this purpoſe. But the queen fearing that the friendſhip between her and the confederate princes might be diſſolved, and that ſo they might ſecretly be drawn to the Spaniard, ſhe deferred that treaty for ſome time. But now, that the wars on both ſides prepared might be turned away; ſhe was content to treat of peace; but ſo, as ſtill holding the weapons in her hand.

For this purpoſe, in February, delegates were ſent into Flanders, the earl of Derby, the lord Cobham, ſir James Croft, doctor Dale, and doctor Rogers. Theſe were received with all humanity on the duke's behalf, and they preſently ſent doctor Dale to him, that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might ſee the authority delegated to him by the Spaniſh king. He appointed the place near to Oſtend, not in Oſtend, which at that time was held by the Engliſh againſt the Spaniſh king. His authority delegated, he promiſed then to ſhew, when they were once met together. He wiſhed them to make good ſpeed in the buſineſs, leſt ſomewhat might fall out in the meantime which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardotus ſpoke ſomewhat more plainly, That he knew not what in this interim ſhould be done againſt England.

Not long after, doctor Rogers was ſent to the prince, by an expreſs commandment from the queen, to know the truth, whether the Spaniard had reſolved to invade England, which he and Richardotus ſeemed to ſignify. He affirmed, that he did not ſo much as think of the invaſion of England, when he wiſhed that the buſineſs might proceed with ſpeed: and was in a manner offended with Richardotus, who denied that ſuch words fell from him.

The 12th of April, the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardotus, doctor Maeſius, and Garnier, delegated from the prince of Parma, met with the Engliſh, and yielded to them the honour both in walking and ſitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat of peace, the Engliſh moved, that firſt a truce might be made. Which they denied; alledging that that thing muſt needs be hurtful to the Spaniards, who had for ſix months maintained a great army, which might not be diſmiſſed upon a truce, but upon an abſolute peace. The Engliſh urged, that a truce was promiſed before they came into Flanders. The Spaniard againſt that held, That ſix months ſince a truce was promiſed: which they granted, but was not admitted. Neither was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who daily attempted hoſtility. The Engliſh moved inſtantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland: but they would have it but for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands; that is, Oſtend, Fluſhing, Bergen-up-Zoom, and the Briel; and theſe only during the treating, and twenty days after; and that in the meantime it might be lawful for the queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders. At laſt, when the Engliſh could not obtain an armiſtice, and could by no means ſee the charter by which the duke of Parma was authoriſed to treat of peace; they propoſed theſe things, that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that with freedom of conſcience they might ſerve God; that the Spaniſh and foreign ſoldiers might be put out of Holland, that neither the Dutch nor their neighbouring nations might fear them. If theſe things might be granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which now ſhe held (that all might know, that ſhe took up arms not for her own gain, but for the neceſſary defence both of herſelf and of the Dutch), ſo that the money which is owing therefore be repaid. To which they anſwered, That for renewing the old leagues there ſhould be no difficulty, when they might have a friendly conference of that thing. That concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no cauſe why foreign princes ſhould take care, which privileges were moſt favourably granted not only to provinces and towns reconciled, but even to ſuch as by force of arms are brought into ſubjection. That foreign ſoldiers were held upon urgent neceſſity, ſince Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Touching thoſe towns taken from the king of Spain, and the repaying of the money, they anſwered, That the Spaniards might demand as many myriads of crowns to be from the queen repaid them, as the Belgic war hath coſt ſince the time that ſhe hath favoured and protected the Dutch againſt them.

At this time, doctor Dale, by the queen's command, going to the duke of Parma, gently expoſtulated with him touching a book printed there, ſet out lately by cardinal Allen, wherein he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themſelves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the ſentence of pope Sixtus V. againſt the queen, declared by his bull; in which ſhe is declared an heretic, illegitimate, cruel againſt Mary queen of Scots, and her ſubjects were commanded to help Parma againſt her: for at that time a great number of thoſe bulls and books were printed at Antwerp to be diſperſed through England. The duke denied that he had ſeen ſuch a bull or book, neither would he do any thing by the pope's authority; as for his own king, him he muſt obey. Yet, he ſaid, he ſo revered the queen for her princely virtues, that after the king of Spain, he offered all ſervice to her. That he had perſuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable to England than Spain: for if they ſhould be overcome, they would eaſily repair their loſs, but if you be overcome, the kingdom is loſt.

To whom Dale replied, That our queen was ſufficiently furniſhed with forces to defend the kingdom. That a kingdom will not eaſily be gotten by the events of one battle, ſeeing the king of Spain in ſo long a war is not able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands.

Well, quoth the duke, be it ſo, theſe things are in God's hands.

After this the delegates contended among themſelves by mutual replications, weaving and unweaving the ſame web. The Engliſh were earneſt in this, That freedom of religion might be granted at leaſt for two years to the confederate princes. They anſwered, That as the king of Spain had not intreated that for Engliſh catholics, ſo they hoped the queen in her wiſdom would not intreat any thing of the king of Spain, which might ſtand againſt his honour, his oath, and his conſcience.

Then they demanded the money due from the ſtates of Brabant; it was anſwered, That the money was lent without the king's knowledge; but let the account be taken, how much the money was, and how much the king hath ſpent in theſe wars, and then it may appear who ſhould look for repayment.

Thus the Engliſh were from time to time put off, until the Spaniſh fleet was come near the Engliſh ſhore, and the noiſe of guns was heard from ſea. Then had they leave to depart, and were by the delegates honourably brought to the borders of Calais. The duke of Parma had in the meantime brought all his forces to the ſea ſhore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiſer then thought, to avert the Spaniſh fleet; continued by the Spaniard that he might oppreſs the queen, being as he ſuppoſed unprovided, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to uſe time to their beſt advantages.

In fine, the Spaniſh fleet, well furniſhed with men, ammunition, engines, and all warlike preparations, the beſt indeed that ever was ſeen upon the ocean, called by that arrogant title, The Invincible Armada, conſiſted of 130 ſhips, wherein there were in all 19,290. Mariners 8350. Chained rowers 11,080. Great ordnance 11,630. The chief commander was Perezius Guſmannus, duke of Medina Sidonia; and under him Joannes Martinus Ricaldus, a man of great experience in ſea affairs.

The 30th of May they looſed out of the river Tagus, and bending their courſe to the Groin, in Gallicia, they were beaten and ſcattered by a tempeſt: three gallies, by the help of David Gwin, an Engliſh ſervant, and by perfidiouſneſs of Turks which rowed, were carried away into France. The fleet with much ado after ſome days came to the Groin and other harbours near adjoining. The report was, that the fleet was ſo ſhaken with this tempeſt, that the queen was perſuaded, that ſhe was not to expect that fleet this year. And ſir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he might ſend back four of the greateſt ſhips, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not eaſily give credit to that report; yet with a gentle anſwer intreated him to believe nothing haſtily in ſo important a matter: as alſo that he might be permitted to keep thoſe ſhips with him which he had, though it were upon his own charges. And getting a favourable wind, made ſail towards Spain, to ſurpriſe the enemy's damaged ſhips in their harbours. When he was cloſe in with the coaſt of Spain, the wind ſhifting, and he being charged to defend the Engliſh ſhore, fearing that the enemies might unſeen by the ſame wind ſail for England, he returned unto Plymouth.

Now with the ſame wind, the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet departed from the Groin. And after a few days he ſent Rodericus Telius into Flanders, to advertiſe the duke of Parma, giving him warning that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himſelf ready. For Medina's commiſſion was to join himſelf with the ſhips and ſoldiers of Parma; and under the protection of his fleet, to bring them into England, and to land his land forces upon the Thames ſide.

The ſixteenth day (ſaith the relator), there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the ſea till noon: then the north-wind blowing roughly; and again the weſt-wind till midnight, and after that the eaſt; the Spaniſh navy was ſcattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within ſight of England, the nineteenth day of July. Upon which day the lord admiral was certified by Flemming (who had been a pirate) that the Spaniſh fleet was entered into the Engliſh ſea, which the mariners call the channel, and was deſcried near to the Lizard. The lord admiral brought forth the Engliſh fleet into the ſea, but not without great difficulty, by the ſkill, labour, and alacrity of the ſoldiers and mariners, every one labouring; yea, the lord admiral himſelf put his hand to this work.

The next day the Engliſh fleet viewed the Spaniſh fleet coming along like towering caſtles in heighth, her front crooked like the faſhion of the moon, the wings of the fleet were extended one from the other about ſeven miles, or as ſome ſay eight miles aſunder, ſailing with the labour of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it; their ſail was but ſlow, and yet at full ſail before the wind. The Engliſh were willing to let them hold on their courſe, and when they were paſſed by, got behind them, and ſo got to windward of them.

Upon the 21ſt of July, the lord admiral of England ſent a cutter before, called the Defiance, to denounce the battle by firing off pieces. And being himſelf in the Royal-Arch (the Engliſh admiral ſhip), he began the engagement with a ſhip which he took to be the Spaniſh admiral, but which was the ſhip of Alfonſus Leva. Upon that he expended much ſhot. Preſently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, came in upon the rear of the Spaniards, which Ricaldus commanded. Upon these they thundered. Ricaldus endeavoured as much as in him lay, to keep his men to their quarters, but all in vain, until his ſhip much beaten and battered with many ſhot hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his ſcattered fleet, and ſetting more ſail, held on his courſe. Indeed they could do no other, for the Engliſh had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ſhips being much eaſier managed, and ready with incredible celerity to come upon the enemy with a full courſe, and then to tack and retack, and be on every ſide at their pleaſure. After a long fight, and each of them had taken a trial of their courage, the lord admiral thought proper to continue the fight no longer, becauſe there were forty ſhips more, which were then abſent, and at that very time were coming out of Plymouth Sound.

The night following, the St. Catherine, a Spaniſh ſhip, being ſadly torn in the battle, was taken into the midſt of the fleet to be repaired. Here a great Cantabrian ſhip, of Oquenda, wherein was the treaſurer of the camp, by force of gunpowder took fire, yet it was quenched in time by the ſhips that came to help her. Of theſe which came to aſſiſt the fired ſhip, one was a galeon, commanded by Petrus Waldez; the fore-yard of the galeon was caught in the rigging of another ſhip, and carried away. This was taken by Drake, who ſent Waldez to Dartmouth, and a great ſum of money, viz. 55,000 ducats, which he diſtributed among the ſoldiers. This Waldez coming into Drake's preſence, kiſſed his hand, and told him they had all reſolved to die, if they had not been ſo happy as to fall into his hands, whom they knew to be noble. That night he was appointed to ſet forth a light, but neglected it; and ſome German merchant ſhips coming by that night, he thinking them to be enemies, followed them ſo far, that the Engliſh fleet lay to all night becauſe they could ſee no light ſet forth. Neither did he nor the reſt of the fleet find the admiral until the next evening. The admiral all the night proceeding with the Bear, and the Mary Roſe, carefully followed the Spaniards with watchfulneſs. The duke was buſied in ordering his ſquadron. Alfonſus Leva was commanded to join the firſt and laſt diviſions. Every ſhip had it's proper ſtation aſſigned according to that preſcribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was preſent death to any who forſook his ſtation. This done, he ſent Glicius, and Anceani, to Parma, which might declare to them in what ſituation they were, and left that Cantabrian ſhip of Oquenda to the wind and ſea, having taken out the money and mariners, and put them on board of other ſhips. Yet it ſeemed that he had not care for all: for that ſhip the ſame day with fifty mariners, and ſoldiers wounded, and half burned, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and was carried to Weymouth.

The 23d of the ſame month, the Spaniards having a favourable north wind tacked towards the Engliſh; but they being more expert in the management of their ſhips, tacked likewiſe and kept the advantage they had gained, keeping the Spaniards to leeward, till at laſt the fight became general on both ſides. They fought a while confuſedly with variable ſucceſs: whilſt on the one ſide the Engliſh with great courage delivered the London ſhips which were incloſed about by the Spaniards: and on the other ſide the Spaniards by valour freed Ricaldus from the extreme danger he was in: great and many were the exploſions which by the continual firing of great guns were heard this day. But the loſs (by the good providence of God) fell upon the Spaniards, their ſhips being ſo high that the ſhot went over our Engliſh ſhips; and the Engliſh having ſuch a fair mark at their large ſhips never ſhot in vain. During this engagement, Cock, an Engliſhman, being ſurrounded by the Spaniſh ſhips, could not be recovered, but periſhed; however, with great honour he revenged himſelf. Thus a long time the Engliſh ſhips with great agility were ſometimes upon the

Spaniards, giving them the fire of one ſide, and then of the other, and preſently were off again, and ſtill kept the ſea, to make themſelves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spaniſh ſhips being of great burthen were troubled and hindered, and ſtood to be the marks for the Engliſh ſhot. For all that, the Engliſh admiral would not permit his people to board their ſhips, becauſe they had ſuch a number of ſoldiers on board, which he had not; their ſhips were many in number, and greater, and higher, that if they had come to grapple as ſome would have had it, the Engliſh being much lower than the Spaniſh ſhips, muſt needs have had the worſt of them that fought from the higher ſhips. And if the Engliſh had been overcome, the loſs would have been greater than the victory could have been; for our being overcome would have put the kingdom in hazard.

The 24th day of July, they gave over fighting on both ſides. The admiral ſent ſome ſmall barks to the Engliſh ſhore, for a ſupply of proviſions, and divided his whole fleet into four ſquadrons; the firſt whereof he took under his own command, the next was commanded by Drake, the third by Hawkins, and the laſt by Forbiſher. And he appointed out of every ſquadron certain little ſhips, which on divers ſides might ſet upon the Spaniards in the night, but a ſudden calm took them, ſo that expedient was without effect.

The 25th, the St. Anne, a galleon of Portugal, not being able to keep up with the reſt, was attacked by ſome ſmall Engliſh ſhips. To whoſe aid came in Leva, and Didacus Telles Enriques, with three galeaſſes: which the admiral, and the lord Thomas Howard eſpying, made all the ſail they could againſt the galeaſſes, but the calm continuing, they were obliged to be towed along with their boats: as ſoon as they reached the galeaſſes, they began to play away ſo fiercely with their great guns, that with much danger and great loſs, they hardly recovered their galleon. The Spaniards reported that the Spaniſh admiral was that day in the rear of their fleet, which being come nearer the Engliſh ſhips than before, got terribly ſhattered with their great guns, many men were killed aboard, and her maſts laid over the ſide. The Spaniſh admiral after this, in company with Ricaldus, and others, attacked the Engliſh admiral, who having the advantage of the wind ſuddenly tacked, and eſcaped. The Spaniards holding on their courſe again, ſent to the duke of Parma, that with all poſſible ſpeed he ſhould join his ſhips with the king's fleet. Theſe things the Engliſh knew not, who write that they had carried away the lanthorn from one of the Spaniſh ſhips, the ſtem from another, and ſore mauled the third, very much diſabling her. The Non-Parigly, and the Mary Roſe fought a while with the Spaniards; and the Triumph being in danger, other ſhips came in good time to help her.

The next day, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbiſher, for their valour in the laſt engagement. After this, they agreed not to attack the enemy until they came into the ſtreights of Calais, where Henry Seimor, and William Winter, waited for their coming. Thus with a fair gale the Spaniſh fleet went forward, and the Engliſh followed. This great Spaniſh Armada was ſo far from being eſteemed invincible in the opinion of the Engliſh, that many young men and gentlemen, in hope to be partakers of a famous victory againſt the Spaniards, provided ſhips at their own expences, and joined themſelves to the Engliſh fleet; among whom were the earls of Eſſex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooks, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambroſe Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorge, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

The ſeven-and-twentieth day at even, the Spaniards caſt anchor near to Calais, being admoniſhed by their ſkilful ſeamen, that if they went any further, they might be in danger, through the force of the tide, to be driven into the north ocean. Near to them lay the Engliſh admiral with his fleet within a great gun's ſhot. To the admiral, Seimor and Winter now join their ſhips; ſo that now there were an hundred and forty ſhips in the Engliſh fleet, able and well furniſhed for fighting, for ſailing, and every thing elſe which was requiſite: and yet there were but fifteen of theſe which bore the heat of the battle, and repulſed the enemy. The Spaniard, as often as he had done before, ſo now with great earneſtneſs ſent to the duke of Parma, to ſend forty fly-boats, without which they could not fight with the Engliſh, becauſe of the greatneſs and ſlowneſs of their ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh; and intreating him by all means now to come to ſea with his army, which army was now to be protected as it were under the wings of the Spaniſh Armada, until they ſhould land in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an inſtant. The broad ſhips with flat bottoms being then full of chinks muſt be mended. Victuals wanted and muſt be provided. The mariners being long kept againſt their wills, began to ſhrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he muſt bring his army to the ſea, were now ſo beſet with the ſtrong ſhips of Holland and Zealand, which were furniſhed with great and ſmall ammunition, that he was not able to come to ſea, unleſs he would come upon his own apparent deſtruction, and caſt himſelf and his men wilfully into a headlong danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being a man eager and induſtrious, and inflamed with a deſire of overcoming England.

But queen Elizabeth's providence and care prevented both the diligence of this man, and the credulous hope of the Spaniard: for by her command the next day the admiral took eight of their worſt ſhips, charging the ordnance therein up to the mouth with ſmall ſhot, nails, and ſtones, and dreſſed them with wild fire, pitch and roſin, and filled them full of brimſtone and ſome other matter fit for fire, and theſe being ſet on fire by the management of Young and Prowſe, were ſecretly in the night, by the help of the wind, ſet full upon the Spaniſh fleet, which on Sunday the ſeventh of Auguſt they ſent in among them as they lay at anchor.

When the Spaniards ſaw them come near, the flame giving light all over the ſea; they ſuppoſing thoſe ſhips, beſides the danger of fire, to have been alſo furniſhed with deadly engines, to make horrible deſtruction among them; lifting up a moſt hideous cry, ſome pull up anchors, ſome for haſte cut their cables, they ſet up their ſails, they apply their oars, and ſtricken with extreme terror, in great haſte they fled moſt confuſedly. Among them the Pretorian Galleaſs floating upon the ſeas, her rudder being broken, in great danger and fear drew towards Calais, and ſticking in the ſand was taken by Amias Preſton, Thomas Gerard, and Harvey; Hugh Moncada the governor was ſlain, the ſoldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned; in her there was found great ſtore of gold, which fell to be the prey of the Engliſh. The ſhip and ordnance went to the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report, that the duke, when he ſaw the fire-ſhips coming, commanded all the fleet to heave up their anchors, but ſo as the danger being paſt, every ſhip might return again to his ſtation: and he himſelf returned, giving a ſign to the reſt by ſhooting off a gun; which was heard but by a few, for they were far off ſcattered, ſome into the open ocean, ſome through fear were driven upon the ſhallows of the coaſt of Flanders.

Over againſt Graveling the Spaniſh fleet began to gather themſelves together. But upon them came Drake and Fenner, and battered them with great ordnance: to theſe Fenton, Southwel, Beeſton, Croſs, Riman, and preſently after the lord admiral, Thomas Howard, and Sheffield, came in and all joined together. The duke Medina, Leva, Oquenda, Ricaldus, and others with much ado getting themſelves out of the ſhallows ſuſtained the Engliſh force as well as they might, until moſt of their ſhips were pierced and torn; the galleon St. Matthew, governed by Diego Pimentellus, coming to aid Francis Toletan, being in the St. Philip, was pierced and ſhaken with the reiterated ſhots of Seimor and Winter, and driven to Oſtend, and was at laſt taken by the

Fluſhingers. The St. Philip came to the like end: ſo did the galleon of Biſcay and divers others.

The laſt day of this month, the Spaniſh fleet ſtriving to recover the ſtreights again, were driven towards Zealand. The Engliſh left off purſuing them, as the Spaniards thought, becauſe they ſaw them in a manner caſt away; for they could not avoid the ſhallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, they got them out of the ſhallows, and then began to conſult what were beſt for them to do. By common conſent they reſolved to return into Spain by the Northern ſeas, for they wanted many neceſſaries, eſpecially ſhot, their ſhips were torn, and they had no hope that the duke of Parma could bring forth his forces. And ſo they took the ſea, and followed the courſe toward the North. The Engliſh navy followed, and ſometimes the Spaniſh turned upon the Engliſh, inſomuch that it was thought by many that they would turn back again.

Queen Elizabeth cauſed an army to encamp at Tilbury, a place by the ſea ſide upon the river of Thames. After the army was come thither, her majeſty, to ſhew her own courage, and for the comfort of her people, went in perſon to viſit the camp, which then lay between the city of London and the ſea, under the charge of the earl of Leiceſter, where placing herſelf between the enemy and her city, ſhe viewed her army, paſſing through it divers times, and lodging in the borders of it, returned again and dined in the army. Firſt viewing from place to place the people as they were by their countries lodged and quartered by their ſeveral camps. Afterwards when they were all reduced into battle, prepared as it were for fight, ſhe rode round about with a leader's ſtaff, in her hand, only accompanied with the general, and three or four others attending upon her: but yet to ſhew her ſtate, (I well marked it) ſhe had the ſword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There ſhe was generally ſaluted with ſhouts, with all tokens of love, obedience, and readineſs to fight for her, as the like hath ſeldom been ſeen in an army. All which tended to ſhew a marvellous concord, and mutual love between a queen and her ſubjects; which ſhe requited with very princely thanks.

I could enlarge the deſcription hereof with many more particulars of mine own obſervation (ſays the author), for I wandered, as many others did, from place to place, all the day, and never heard a word ſpoke of her, but in praiſing her for her ſtately perſon and princely behaviour, in praying for her long life, and earneſtly deſiring to venture their lives for her ſafety. In her preſence they ſung pſalms of praiſe to Almighty God, for which ſhe greatly commended them, and devoutly praiſed God with them. This that I write you may be ſure I do not with any comfort, but to give you theſe manifeſt arguments, that neither this queen did diſcontent her people, nor her people ſhew any diſcontent in any thing they were commanded to do for her ſervice, as heretofore hath been imagined.

This account was related by a popiſh ſpy, in a letter written here in England to Mendea. The copy of which letter was found upon Richard Leigh, a ſeminary prieſt, in French and Engliſh: which prieſt was executed for high treaſon whilſt the Spaniſh Armada was at ſea.

The ſame day whereon the laſt fight was, the duke of Parma, after his vows offered to the lady of Halla, came ſomewhat late to Dunkirk, and was received with very opprobrious language by the Spaniards, as if in favour of queen Elizabeth he had ſlipped the faireſt opportunity that could be to do the ſervice. He, to make ſome ſatisfaction, puniſhed the purveyors that had not made proviſion of beer, bread, &c. which was not yet ready nor embarked, ſecretly ſmiling at the inſolence of the Spaniards, when he heard them bragging, that what way ſoever they came upon England, they would have an undoubted victory; that the Engliſh were not able to endure the ſight of them. Bernardinus Mendoza did indeed by books in France ſing a fooliſh and triumphant ſong before the victory. The Engliſh admiral appointed Seimor and the Hollanders to watch upon the coaſt of Flanders, that the duke of Parma ſhould not come out; whilſt he himſelf cloſe followed the Spaniards until they were paſt Edinburgh Frith.

The Spaniards ſeeing all hopes fail, fled amain; and ſo this great navy, being three years preparing with great expence, was within one month overthrown, and after many were killed, being chaſed again, was driven about all England by Scotland, the Orcades, and Ireland, toſſed and damaged with tempeſts, much diminiſhed, and went home without glory. There were not an hundred men of the Engliſh loſt, and but one ſhip. Whereupon money was coined with a navy fleeing away in full ſail, with this inſcription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit.* Others were coined with the ſhips on fire, the navy confounded, in honour of the queen, inſcribed, *Dux Fœmina Facti.* As they fled, it is certain that many of their ſhips were caſt away upon the ſhores of Scotland and Ireland. Above ſeven hundred ſoldiers and mariners were caſt away upon the Scottiſh ſhore, who at the duke of Parma's interceſſion with the Scotch king, the queen of England conſenting, were after a year ſent into Flanders. But they that were caſt upon the Iriſh ſhore came to more miſerable fortunes; for ſome were killed by the wild Iriſh, and others were deſtroyed for fear they ſhould join themſelves with the wild Iriſh (which cruelty queen Elizabeth much condemned), and the reſt being afraid, ſick, and hungry, with their diſabled ſhips, committed themſelves to the ſea, and many were drowned.

The queen went to public thankſgiving in St. Paul's church, accompanied by a glorious train of nobility through the ſtreets of London, which were hung with blue cloth, the companies ſtanding on both ſides in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemies were ſpread; ſhe heard the ſermon, and public thanks were rendered unto God with great joy. This public joy was augmented when ſir Robert Sidney returned from Scotland, and brought from the king aſſurances of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion; which as in ſincerity he had eſtabliſhed, ſo he purpoſed to maintain with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was ſent to him when the Spaniſh fleet was coming, to congratulate and return thanks for his great affection towards the maintenance of the common cauſe; and to declare how ready ſhe would be to help him if the Spaniards ſhould land in Scotland; and that he might recal to memory with what ſtrange ambition the Spaniards had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate him, to the end that he might be thruſt from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the ſucceſſion in England: and to give him notice of the threatening of Mendoza, and the pope's nuncio, who threatened his ruin if they could effect it; and therefore warned him to take ſpecial heed to the Scottiſh papiſts.

The king pleaſantly anſwered, That he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniards, than that which Polyphemus promiſed to Ulyſſes, to devour him laſt after his fellows were devoured.

To cloſe up this whole relation, hear what Theodore Beza ſays in his congratulatory verſes written in Latin, and ſent to her majeſty: the effect of which in Engliſh is this:

WITH navy huge the Spaniard proud
  The Engliſh ſeas had ſpread,
And all to ſet the Engliſh crown
  Upon the Spaniſh head.
And would you gladly underſtand
  The cauſe of all this rout,
Ambition firſt did lay the plot,
  And lucre brought them out.
How well this pride thus puffed up,
  A puff did overthrow:
And ſwelling wave ſuch ſwelling wights,
  How well did overflow.
How well that warrior of mankind,
  That cruel Spaniſh wolf,
Was toſt and tumbled up and down
  Within the ocean gulph.

And you for whom both all the wind
  And all the waters fight;
O noble queen, of all the world
  The only true delight,
Go forward ſtill to rule for God;
  Ambition lay aſide;
Go forward ſtill for Chriſt his flock
  In bounty to provide.
That thou may'ſt England govern long,
  Long England thee enjoy,
As well a love unto the good,
  As to the bad annoy.

From Geneva, beſieged by the duke of Savoy, the 12th day of Auguſt, 1589.

Your majeſty's moſt humble ſervant,
THEODORE BEZA.

An ACCOUNT *of the* DISCOVERY *of the* GUNPOWDER TREASON, *in the* YEAR 1605, *in the* REIGN *of* KING JAMES I.

WHILST every thing ſeemed to procure king James a quiet and peaceable reign, the devil envying the happineſs of the Engliſh, inſpired ſome of his agents with one of the moſt horrible plots that ever was heard of. I mean the gunpowder-treaſon plot, which has made ſo much noiſe in the world, and of which I ſhall relate the particulars without any exaggeration.

The chief perſons concerned in this helliſh contrivance were, Robert Cateſby, a gentleman of Northamptonſhire; Thomas Percy, the earl of Northumberland's couſin, John Grant, Ambroſe Rockwood, John and Chriſtopher Wright, Francis Treſham, Guy Fawkes, ſir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter, Thomas Bates, and Robert Keyes: ſome of theſe conſulting together how they might reſtore the popiſh religion in England, Percy, one of the moſt zealous, propoſed to kill the king, and offered to perform it himſelf. To whom Cateſby anſwered, That if the king was taken off, there were ſtill two young princes and princeſſes, with the greateſt part of the nobility and gentry, devoted to the proteſtant religion; and unleſs theſe were involved in the ſame fate with the king, they ſhould render their condition rather worſe than better, by attempting his majeſty's life only. He propoſed therefore the blowing up the king, queen, and prince, with both the houſes of lords and commons, at the next aſſembly of the parliament, when the king ſhould come to the houſe, and make his ſpeech there, at the opening of the ſeſſions; which being approved by the reſt as a moſt glorious undertaking, it was reſolved to put it into execution; only ſome, ſcrupling the lawfulneſs of committing ſo terrible a ſlaughter on a religious account, they agreed, before they proceeded in it, to demand the opinion of their confeſſors; whereupon Henry Garnet, the ſuperior, with Oſwald Teſmond and John Gerard, two other prieſts of the Jeſuits order, were conſulted; who did not only declare the enterpriſe lawful, but applauded the deſign as juſt, and even pious; ſince it was to be executed upon excommunicated heretics.

Then an oath of ſecrecy was taken by the conſpirators; and maſs being celebrated by Gerard, they alſo took the ſacrament to be true to each other, and promote the plot with all their powers; after which, Percy took a houſe adjoining to the houſe of lords, from whence they propoſed to dig a mine under it, which would contain a ſufficient quantity of gunpowder to blow up the whole building; and they began to work on their mine about Chriſtmas 1604. But the parliament being prorogued, firſt to February, then to October, and again to the 5th of November, 1605, they had time enough, or rather too much, to effect their deſign, though they were obliged to dig through the foundation of a very thick wall. When the conſpirators had almoſt conquered this difficulty, they were ſurpriſed to hear a noiſe and the talking of people near the place where they were at work, and began to conclude they were diſcovered; but ſending out Guy Fawkes for intelligence, he brought them word, that the voices they had heard were in an adjoining cellar, where coals were expoſed to ſale; that it was exactly under the houſe of lords, and now offered to be let. Whereupon Percy went immediately and hired it, putting thirty-ſix barrels of gunpowder into it, which he imported from Holland, and covered them with coals and faggots.

Having made this proviſion for their grand deſign, it was conſidered, that though the king and prince might be taken off by this means, yet the duke of York and the princeſs Elizabeth would be out of their power; and conſequently the ſucceſs of their enterprize muſt ſtill be very doubtful: but Percy being one of the band of penſioners, and well acquainted with the palace, undertook to ſecure the duke of York; and it was looked upon as no difficult matter to ſurpriſe the princeſs, who reſided at the lord Harrington's, in Warwickſhire, under a pretence of a hunting match. It was next conſidered, what money and horſes they could raiſe towards effecting their purpoſe: whereupon Digby promiſed fifteen hundred pounds, Treſham two hundred, Percy the rents of Northumberland, which he was empowered to receive, and computed they would amount to 4000l. He alſo engaged to provide ten horſes from the ſame quarter; and the reſt of the conſpirators promiſed to raiſe what money and troops they could, that they might be able to make a ſtand, and encourage their friends to take arms in defence of their religion, when the great blow was given. It was debated alſo, whether they ſhould require the aſſiſtance of any princes of their communion; but it was thought neceſſary to defer this till after the fact was committed, leſt the plot ſhould be diſcovered by being communicated to too many. And it was reſolved to proclaim the princeſs Elizabeth queen, when they had aſſembled their troops, a proclamation being drawn up with this view, in which they made no mention of the intended alteration of religion; this being agreed to be deferred till their forces ſhould be joined by ſome of the catholic powers. In the mean time, they reſolved to charge the Puritans with the deſtruction that was intended: and it is ſuppoſed, they deſigned to aſſaſſinate the duke of York, by their promiſing to proclaim the princeſs Elizabeth.

Thus had the conſpirators formed their ſcheme, and proceeded ſo far in the execution of it, that there remained little more for them to do, than to ſet fire to the train they had laid for blowing up the king, the queen, the prince, the nobility, and the repreſentatives of a great and flouriſhing people. When, on a ſudden, an unaccountable fit of tenderneſs ſeized one of theſe merciless wretches, who, by his endeavouring to reſcue a friend from this unparallelled deſtruction, diſcovered the deep-laid deſign, which Lucifer only could be the contriver of. This diſcovery was made by the following letter, ſent to the lord Monteagle by one of the conſpirators, about ten days before the meeting of the parliament, viz.

A LETTER,

To the LORD MONTEAGLE.

My Lord,

OUT of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have regard to your preſervation; therefore would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to invent ſome excuſe to put off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of theſe times. Think not ſlightly of this advice, but retire yourſelf into the country, where you may expect the event in ſafety; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow in this parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it. To whoſe holy protection I commit you.

This

His lordſhip carried the letter, the ſame evening he received it, to ſecretary Cecil; who communicated it to ſome other members of the council: but they did not think it of that conſequence, to make any inquiries about the matter, till the king ſhould return from Royſton, where he was gone to hunt, and did not return till the laſt day of October. The next day this letter was ſhewn to his majeſty; who, upon peruſing it, ſaid, he did not think it was to be contemned: to which Cecil anſwered, He was of opinion, that it was written either by a fool or a madman, by that expreſſion in it, "The danger is paſt, as ſoon as you have burnt the letter:" for he obſerved, the warning given by it could be of no uſe, if the burning the letter would remove the danger: but the king interpreted it, That the danger would be over in as little time as he could burn the letter; having great regard to that paſſage, "They ſhould receive a terrible blow this parliament," and yet "ſhould not ſee who hurt them." Which ſudden blow, he apprehended, would be the effect of gun-powder; and therefore ordered all the cellars, and all other places near the parliament-houſe, to be ſearched. The earl of Suffolk, who was then lord-chamberlain, and whoſe proper place it was to ſee all places prepared for the king's reception, put off the ſearch till the day before the meeting of parliament; and then, taking the lord Monteagle with him, viewed all the rooms about the parliament-houſe, and particularly the cellar under the houſe of lords; which he found full of wood and coals: and having inquired who it belonged to, was anſwered, to Mr. Percy; who being a ſervant of his majeſty, and one who made ſome figure at court, the earl returned, and acquainted the king in what ſtate he found things, without ſearching further. But the king's ſuſpicion being rather increaſed than diminiſhed by this report, he ordered all the wood and coals in the cellar, already mentioned, to be removed forthwith; and ſir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of peace for Weſtminſter, and gentleman of the privy-chamber, was ordered to ſee it done, though it was then late at night. This gentleman was ſo fortunate, as to diſcover the ſix and thirty barrels of powder hidden under the coals; he alſo found a man ſtanding near the place, booted and ſpurred, with his cloak on, whom he ſearched, and found upon him a dark lanthorn and three matches. This perſon proved to be Guy Fawkes, one of the conſpirators, who paſſed for Percy's man; who ſeeing their hopeful plot diſcovered, ſwore, when he was apprehended, that had he been found within the cellar, he would have blown up himſelf, and them likewiſe. This diſcovery being made, the ſecretary and the lord-chamberlain immediately acquainted the king therewith, who was then in bed; and the priſoner, being examined before the council, was ſo far from being in any conſternation, that he acknowledged the villainous deſign, took it all upon himſelf, ſaid his religion and conſcience prompted him to it, and would name none of his accomplices; only obſerved, That the devil had betrayed a very good deſign, and that there was no crime in deſtroying an heretical king. However, being carried to the Tower the next day, and threatened with the rack, he confeſſed the conſpiracy, and named his accomplices; who having ſome intimation of the diſcovery, fled into Warwickſhire; where ſome of his friends were preparing to riſe in arms, and ſurpriſe the princeſs Elizabeth, according to the ſcheme they had laid; and they had actually broke open a ſtable belonging to one Benock, and ſeized ſeven or eight managed horſes for their purpoſe: but underſtanding from their friends who fled from London, that the enterprize was entirely defeated, they aſſembled about an hundred horſe, and endeavoured to perſuade their brethren the papiſts, to take arms in the defence of their religion: but nobody joining them, they fled, and were purſued by ſir Foulk Grevill, deputy-lieutenant of Warwickſhire, and the ſheriffs of that and the neighbouring counties, till the rebels took ſhelter in a houſe, at a place called Holbach, in Staffordſhire. Here they endeavoured to defend themſelves, when a ſpark of fire falling into a parcel of gunpowder, which they were drying by the fire, blew up part of the houſe; whereupon they endeavoured to ſally out of the gate, and make their way with their ſwords in their hands, but were repulſed; Cateſby, Percy, and Winter, ſetting themſelves back to back, reſolved to die fighting: the two firſt had their deſire, but Winter was wounded and taken; Digby, Rockwood, Grant, and Boter ſurrendered; and Treſham, Robert Winter, and Littleton, were apprehended at their lodgings in London, and all of them committed to the Tower.

Thomas Winter, upon his examination, confeſſed the whole conſpiracy, and acknowledged their crimes were too great to be forgiven; while Digby, on the other hand, ſaid they were provoked to this deſperate attempt through the ſevere uſage they met with from the government, after hopes had been given them of a toleration; and Treſham, in his examination, accuſed Garnet the Jeſuit as privy to the conſpiracy, though he afterwards retracted it, and pretended he had not ſeen Garnet for ſixteen years.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring papiſts, who dreaming of no leſs than the deſtruction of king and kingdoms, promiſed to themſelves no leſs eſtate than the government of great and ancient monarchies, were miſerably defeated, and quite overthrown in an inſtant; falling into the pit which they had prepared for others, and ſo fulfilling that ſentence which his majeſty did in a manner propheſy of them in his ſpeech to the parliament; ſome immediately ſlain, others wounded, and ſtripped of their clothes, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo died rather through cold than of their wounds; and the reſt, that either were whole, or but ſlightly wounded, were taken and led by the ſheriff, the ordinary miniſter of juſtice, to the gaol, the ordinary place even of the baſeſt malefactors, where they remained till they were ſent up to London, being met by an huge confluence of all ſorts of people, deſirous to ſee them as the greateſt of monſters; fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfy their curioſity in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo unparallelled a villainy, and generally all ſorts of people to gratify their eyes with the ſight of thoſe whom in their hearts they deteſted: ſerving ſo for a fearful and public ſpectacle of God's fierce wrath and juſt indignation.

An ACCOUNT *of the* TROUBLES *and* PERSECUTION *of* BARTHOLOMEW COPIN, MARTYR *of* CHRIST.

IN the year 1601, Bartholomew Copin, of the valley of Luſerne, reſorted unto a place called Aſt, in Piedmont, with certain merchandize, purpoſing to vend the ſame at a fair there, which was to be kept the day following. It ſo fell out, that ſitting at ſupper in the evening with ſundry other merchants, one amongſt the reſt began a diſcourſe about the diverſities of religions, and therewith caſt ſeveral reflections, tending to the diſgrace of the inhabitants of the valley of Angrougne, and the neighbouring villages.

Copin hearing ſuch reflections caſt forth againſt his brethren, as he little expected from men of that ſort, and alſo againſt their religion, all which tended to the diſhonour of God; he feared leſt it ſhould be offenſively taken, if he ſhould not make ſome reply unto thoſe blaſphemies which he heard with his ears, and ſo anſwered him who held ſuch a diſcourſe againſt the religion which he himſelf profeſſed. He who reproved Copin, aſked, Are you one of Vandois? He anſwered, Yes, I am. And what, ſaid the other, believe you not that God is in the Hoſt? No, ſaid Copin. Oh, ſaid the other, ſee how falſe your religion is! My religion, ſaid Copin, is no leſs true than God is God, and as certain as I am ſure to die.

The next day Copin was called before the biſhop of Aſt, who told him that report had been made to him of ſome offenſive ſpeeches which he had uſed the night before in his lodging: and therefore it behoved him now to acknowledge his fault, if he meant to obtain pardon for the ſame, otherwiſe he muſt look to be chaſtiſed according to his demerits.

Copin anſwered, he had uttered nothing, but that which he was firſt provided to ſpeak ; nor had he ſaid aught, but what he was reſolved to maintain to the hazard of his life. He affirmed that God had beſtowed upon him ſome worldly goods, as alſo a wife and children, but that he was not ſo glued in his affection to any of them, but he could be content to forego them all rather than the peace of a good conſcience.

As touching his carriage and behaviour, if it pleaſed him, he ſaid, to make inquiry thereof among the merchants of Aſt, they could all reſolve him as touching his honeſt dealing: who alſo he knew would witneſs with him, that he had wronged none in all that time he had converſed among them. And inaſmuch as he was a merchant trafficking in and about his lawful calling, he ought to be diſmiſſed and to be no further moleſted. For if it were lawful for Jews and Turks to trade in fairs and markets, and to uſe commerce throughout Piedmont ; that favour ought much more to be permitted unto him who was a chriſtian. And as touching the matter of religion, whereabout he was accuſed, he meddled not at all therewith for his own particular, but had queſtions propounded to him concerning the ſame by others : in which regard leave was granted him to anſwer, and to yield a reaſon of his faith in any place, to any whoſoever they were that ſhould aſk what he thought of the ſame : yea, a liberty was granted even by his excellency, to thoſe of the valleys of Vandois, to anſwer any man to a queſtion demanded ; provided that he proceeded not to teach and inſtruct others.

The biſhop regarded none of theſe allegations, but commanded he ſhould be put into priſon. The next day the biſhop's ſecretary came to viſit Copin, teſtifying how much good-will he bore him ; adviſing him as a friend, that if he acknowledged not his fault, he was in great danger of his life.

Copin anſwered, That his life was in the hands of God, and that he would never ſeek to ſave it to the prejudice of God's glory : alſo, that he had not above two or three turns to fetch here in this world before he arrived in heaven ; and therefore prayed God ſo to aſſiſt him by his grace, that he might never leave the ſtrait way which leadeth thereto.

A few days after he was examined by a monk, who was an inquiſitor, in the preſence of the biſhop, who vexed him a long while with his ſugared diſcourſe, and by fair words endeavoured to draw him to abjure his religion. But Copin reſiſted him ſtill by the holy ſcriptures ; ſhewing that if he ſhould now be aſhamed of Chriſt, and deny him, Chriſt might juſtly be aſhamed of him, and utterly deny him before his heavenly Father.

The monk finiſhed his diſpute with this dogged farewel, "Away thou curſed Lutheran, thou ſhalt go to all the devils in hell ; and when thou comeſt to be tormented among thoſe unclean ſpirits, then wilt thou remember theſe holy admonitions which we have tendered unto thee for the ſaving of thy ſoul ; but thou hadſt rather go to hell, than to reconcile thyſelf to thy holy mother the church." To which Copin anſwered, It is not long ſince I was reconciled to the true church.

After many violent aſſaults, they gave leave for his wife to come unto him, and with her one of his ſons, promiſing them to ſet him at liberty to go home with them, if he would make amends for his fault, by acknowledging the ſame. His wife and ſon ſtaid to ſupper with him in priſon : during which time he uſed many exhortations tending to patience ; albeit the wife ſhould depart to her houſe without an huſband, or the child without his father : For be you well aſſured, ſaid he, that God will be a better huſband and father unto you, than ever I was or can be. For his own part, he ſaid, he was not bound to love wife or children more than Chriſt : beſides, they had cauſe to rejoice, and to think him happy, that God would honour him ſo far as to bear witneſs to his truth with the loſs of his life, and hoped, he ſaid, that God would be ſo favourable to him, as to ſupport him under any torments he was to endure, for his glory's ſake.

In concluſion, he committed his ſon and daughter to his wife's care, which God had given them in holy wedlock, charging her again and again, to ſee them brought up virtuouſly and in the fear of God. He charged his ſon to obey his mother, ſo ſhould he be made partaker of the promiſed bleſſing. He intreated them both to pray for him, that God would fortify him againſt all temptations. And thus having bleſſed his ſon, and taken leave of his wife, they were conducted out of the priſon, and he ſhut up as he was before.

The woman and her ſon were diſſolved into tears, ſighing and crying out, that it would have moved the ſtonieſt heart to compaſſion: but this holy man not contenting himſelf with what he had ſaid to them by word of mouth, wrote unto his wife the following letter, the original whereof ſhe hath exhibited to us, written and ſigned with the hand of the ſaid Copin, with this inſcription :

To my well-beloved WIFE, SUSANNAH COPIN, *from the* TOWER *of* LUSERNA.

DEAR yoke-fellow, I received much conſolation by your coming to this place, and by ſo much the more as it were beyond my expectation ; and I ſuppoſe you alſo were not a little comforted that you had ſuch an opportunity offered you, as to ſup with me the laſt night, being Saturday the 15th of September 1601. I know not well what they aimed at in permitting you ſo to do. But God ordereth all theſe things. But as far as I can gueſs, it ſhall be the laſt time that ever we ſhall ſup together in this life : and therefore pray to God that he will not ceaſe to be a comfort unto you. Truſt you ſtill in him, for he hath promiſed never to leave nor forſake thoſe that put their truſt in him. God hath endued you with wiſdom, govern your own family in ſuch a manner that our children Samuel and Martha may be obedient unto you : whom in the name and authority of God, I command that they obey you, for ſo the bleſſing of Almighty God ſhall light upon them.

Dear wife, be not over penſive for me, for if God hath ordained me now to attain unto the end of the race, and that I muſt render into the hands of the Almighty my ſoul, which ſo long time he hath lent me ; my hope is, that of his holy and divine mercy he will receive it into his kingdom, for his own beloved Son's ſake Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, through whom I believe that my ſins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy death and paſſion. Alſo my prayer is, that he will aſſiſt me by the power of his holy Spirit unto my laſt breath.

Be fervent in prayer, and in all other parts of God's worſhip and ſervice, for this is the way to true bleſſedneſs. Take no care about ſending any thing unto me for theſe three weeks, and then I pray you ſend me ſome money, if you think good, to give the jailor, and ſomewhat more for mine own neceſſaries, if it pleaſe God I live ſo long. Alſo I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely, how God prolonged king Hezekiah's life for fifteen years. But he hath preſerved my life much longer ; for it is many years ago ſince you ſaw me at the point of death, and through God's goodneſs I am alive ; and I hope, yea I am aſſured, that he will ſo long preſerve me as ſhall be for his glory and my good, through his eternal goodneſs.

From the priſon of Aſt, September 16, 1601.

The biſhop of Aſt was ſomewhat troubled about this his priſoner ; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed ſome ſcandal, and many might thereby be emboldened to open their mouths wide againſt the Roman religion. Beſides, there was a clauſe in the contract made between his excellency and the people of Vandois, which exempted thoſe of the religion from offence, in theſe words : And if it ſhall fall out that they be aſked or queſtioned withal in Piedmont, about the cauſe of religion, by any of his excellency's ſubjects, it ſhall be lawful for thoſe of the ſaid religion to anſwer without ſuffering any penal or perſonal puniſhment for the ſame.

Now Copin had a queſtion put to him, in which reſpect he ought to have been cleared. But the biſhop would by no means hear that he had unjuſtly impriſoned him; and therefore that his death ſhould not be laid to his charge, nor yet that he ſhould be ſent away abſolved, he ſent the cauſe of his indictment to pope Clement the Eighth, to know what ſhould be done with him. We cannot learn what anſwer the pope returned to the biſhop; but not long after, this good man was found dead in priſon, not without ſome apparent ſuſpicion of his being ſtrangled there; left if they had executed him in public, the people ſhould have been edified by his conſtancy.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having cauſed him to be brought out of priſon, they read his ſentence openly, and the body was caſt into the fire.

The DEATH *of* HENRY III. KING *of* FRANCE.

A Friar, of the order of St. Dominic, pretended he had matters of great conſequence to impart to the king: who being admitted into his preſence, upon his knees preſented a letter to him, which he drew out of one ſleeve; which whilſt the king attentively read, the friar pulled forth a poiſoned knife out of his other ſleeve, wherewith he ſtabbed the king in the lower part of his belly. The king finding himſelf wounded, ſnatched out the knife, and ſtruck it into the friar's eye, who haſtening to get away, the king cried out. His lords and gentlemen perceiving what the friar had done, ſlew him immediately with rapiers and ſwords.

An ACCOUNT *of the* BLOODY MASSACRE *in the* VALTOLINE, *in the* YEAR 1620.

THE beginning of the murders were at Tyrane. The ringleaders of this cruel maſſacre gave orders, that all the ways and paſſages ſhould be well guarded, that their bloody deſigns might not be ſo readily diſcovered, and they leſs troubled in the execution. Then about ſix o'clock in the night, they entered the country, like ſo many foaming wild boars, and cauſed four muſkets to be diſcharged before the palace of the ſeignior Podeſta, the principal magiſtrate of the place, and rung the great bell of Tyrane; upon which ſignal all the inhabitants of that vicinity took the alarm, and made head towards the ſaid houſe. They gave orders to break the bridges which lay towards Bruce, and on the place they planted a ſtrong guard, and this was done before day. Upon the dawning of the day, the bells began to ring another peal at Marello, and then theſe traitors began to range themſelves together. The proteſtants, who without fear or ſuſpicion came out of their houſes to ſee what the matter was, were ſuddenly ſhot in the place. Others by force entered into the houſes of proteſtants, drew them out of their beds, and without any compaſſion, ſlew all they could meet with.

One poor gentleman hid himſelf in a garret, but the villains finding him, threw him out of the window; and when they found him yet alive, they diſpatched him with a piece of timber.

Antonio de Salva, a chancellor in that valley, being appointed judge upon criminal cauſes, a man of the greateſt authority in the place, being deſirous to ſave himſelf, together with his deputy, was drawn out of the houſe, and ſhot.

Another gentleman of great worth, very ſingularly learned, and ſkilful in many languages, being at that time governor of Teglio, being by chance in this hurly burly at Tyrane, was alſo with his ſervant ſtrangled to death, in the chamber where he was found.

The reverend paſtor of the church of Tyrane, a man of great ſanctity and wiſdom, and a lover of the peace of the country, hearing the noiſe of theſe uproars, he and the paſtor of Mello withdrew themſelves into a hall, where having commended their ſouls to God, were there murdered.

The furious wretches cut off Baſſo's head, and carried it into the church, and fixed it upon a pole in the pulpit where he uſed to preach, ſcornfully ſaying, Come down, Baſſo, thou haſt preached long enough already.

In like manner at the ſame time the palace of the chequer of Tyrane was beſieged by thoſe hell-hounds; wherein dwelled ſeignior John de Cappaul, being at that time governor. To which place, Michael Lazarone, a man of good account, and chancellor of that office, had retired himſelf early in the morning to ſave his life. But becauſe he was extremely hated by the papiſts, for his ſingular piety and ſincerity, he was continually purſued by them; inſomuch that thoſe rebels followed him even to the palace, threatening to ſet fire to the ſame, if he were not delivered into their hands. Lazarone ſeeing that, was forced that evening to leave the houſe, and hide himſelf about the banks of the river Adda, wherein he covered himſelf, and lay cloſe three whole hours all naked to ſave himſelf. But his enemies followed him cloſely, and at laſt found him, and dragged him out of the water; and though with tears in his eyes he begged for his life, in conſideration of his dear ſmall children, yet they anſwered, That this was no time for pity and favour: but if he would ſwear by the pope's bull, and abjure his faith, they would grant him his life. But he, with a courageous reſolution, anſwered, God forbid, that I, for love of this temporal life, ſhould deny my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with his precious blood upon the croſs, did at ſo dear a rate redeem me, and after I have ſo long time, through his grace, freely and publicly confeſſed him, ſhould now hazard the loſs of eternal life; I ſay, God forbid. Upon this they immediately murdered him.

The very ſame evening, the gate of the palace was burnt to the ground by thoſe rebels, who the next morning entered into the ſame, raging with fury, and took the governor priſoner, with his young ſon; ſpoiling and runſacking wives and maidens, and carrying away all they could lay hands on. The governor of the place was taken away, and after he had remained a long time priſoner, he was ſhot.

John Antonio Mazano, endeavouring to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe rebels, and his wife defending him, was with herſelf and two young children miſerably killed.

Another called John Antonio Schloſſer, a Gardoneſe, having made long reſiſtance, and killed one of the rebels, was at laſt taken, and tied to a tree, and ſo ſhot to death.

To be ſhort, theſe villains had no regard of any perſon, neither young, old, weak, or ſtrong, many of all ſorts were either ſhot to death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other deſtroyed; and the number of thoſe perſons in eſtimation, who in Tyrane received the crown of martyrdom for the profeſſion of the goſpel, was about ſixty.

The ladies who were not ſlain, were conſtrained to change their religion, and to go to maſs; except the wife of the ſaid Lazarone and her daughters, and her niece, being the wife of one Egido, who by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God continued in ſafety. And there alſo the 8th of Auguſt, the ſaid ladies were releaſed, who retired themſelves into Retia, viz. the wife of this Lazarone, and her two daughters, leaving behind them in the Valtoline one daughter and two young ſons who could not obtain leave to depart the country.

At the maſſacre of Teglio were murdered about ſixty perſons. Theſe wicked wretches, apparelled in red caſſocks, and well mounted on horſeback, marched in the morning to Tellat, the hour when the ſermon was, and ran like famiſhed wolves to the Volta church: the proteſtants who were in the church, obſerving the evil intention of thoſe villains, aroſe ſuddenly from their ſeats, and endeavoured to ſhut the door, and to barricado the place with the benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the church; but not being able ſo ſpeedily to do it, ſome of them climbed up unto the windows, and diſcharged their muſkets among the people without reſpect of any perſon, and killed many of them. At laſt they opened the door, entered, and ſlew all they found, ſaving a few who promiſed to go to maſs. Some of the men and women with their children fled into the belfrey to ſave themſelves; but they ſet fire to the place, and burnt all that were within.

At the maſſacre at Sondres, in the mountain of Sondrium and Malenk, were left dead above one hundred and forty perſons. But the chancellor Giovan Andrea Migardino, with his brother Gregory, and others of the church of Sondres, withdrew themſelves, to the number of eighteen, together with certain ladies and their young children, into their own houſe, which joined to the palace, and there they fortified themſelves with reſolution to defend themſelves even unto death, ſeeing that in the ſtreet wherein they dwelt none durſt come out of their doors, nor enter into the church which ſtood over againſt them. Nevertheleſs, the enemy reſolved to ſet upon the houſe with a thouſand armed men, threatening alſo to kill the magiſtrate, in caſe any of them ſhould take any harm by thoſe who were in the houſe. Whereupon the magiſtrate commanded thoſe in the houſe to depart; who being well armed, immediately took their way by Sondres towards the bridge, where for a time they fortified themſelves, then returning again, they drew unto them certain others, and marched towards the church of the mountain of Sondres. In which place being gathered together with the paſtor, they made their prayers to God, and afterwards, to the number of threeſcore and thirteen perſons in all, they paſſed the valley of Malenco, which was beſet by the enemy on two ſides: but thoſe that kept thoſe places were by the providence of God ſo aſtoniſhed, that they fled away, and the proteſtants, though they were purſued to the tops of the hills, did miraculouſly eſcape with ſafety.

Annaidi Lita, wife of Anthoni Grotti, of Chio, in the territory of Vincentine, of an honourable and ancient houſe, was come out of Italy but a few years before for the liberty of her conſcience. She was firſt by them exhorted with fair words to change her religion; but ſhe conſtantly perſevering therein, was admoniſhed that ſhe would at leaſt have a care of her young infant which ſhe held in her arms, being about two months old; otherwiſe ſhe would make reckoning, that in the twinkling of an eye both ſhe and her babe ſhould die: but ſhe with a bold and undaunted courage anſwered, That ſhe had not departed out of Italy her native country, neither had ſhe forſaken all the eſtate ſhe had, to renounce at laſt that faith which had been inſpired into her by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; yea, that ſhe would rather ſuffer, if it were poſſible, a thouſand deaths. And how, ſaid ſhe, ſhould I have regard in this cauſe of my infant, ſince God our heavenly Father ſpared not his only Son, my Lord Jeſus, but delivered him up to death for the love of me and of all ſinners? Then giving them the child, ſhe ſaid, Behold the child; the Lord God, who hath the care of the birds of the air, will much more be able to ſave this poor creature, although by you it were left in thoſe wild mountains. So unlacing her gown, ſhe opened her breaſt, and ſaid, Here is the body which you have power to kill; but my ſoul, on which you have no power to lay hands, that I commend to my God, and immediately ſhe was cut in pieces, being thirty-five years of age. The infant, becauſe it was a lovely and ſweet babe to look on, was ſuffered to live, and was delivered to a popiſh woman to nurſe. The huſband of this gentlewoman was murdered for the faith before.

Some women were by force taken up to the tops of high and craggy mountains, and threatened to be thrown down headlong with their children, unleſs they would go to maſs. And although ſome were moved and terrified with the horrors of death, and had conſented to change their religion, yet were they murdered for all that without any pity at all.

The ſame befel a gentleman of Soglio, in the Pregaglia; for though his life was promiſed him, he was brought into the market place pinioned with a cord, and miſerably ſlain by two muſketeers, being ſeventy-two years of age, after he had been robbed of his gold and ſilver, whereof great ſtore was found in his houſe, according to the common and too much practiſed rule of the Roman catholics.

An aged man of ſixty-ſeven years was ſet upon an aſs, his face turned to the tail, which he held in his hand inſtead of a bridle, and in his other hand a book, whom in this manner they carried through Sondres, with great joy and triumph. Then they cut off his ears, noſe, and cheeks, boring holes into divers parts of his body, with a ſtrange and unparallelled barbarity, until they had quite killed him; but he for the love of Chriſt his Saviour with great and incredible courage endured all thoſe varieties of torments.

Anthony de Prati, of the hills, was exhorted with many words to abjure his religion; but he conſtantly perſevered, and with a generous courage replied in theſe words, "My ſoul ſhall be taken up into Abraham's boſom, and after my death my enemies ſhall ſee the angel of God hard by me, &c." And accordingly an angel appeared over his body in a white garment, being ſeen by thoſe who ſtood near him, who of their own accord have publicly confeſſed the ſame.

An aged man of ſeventy-five years, being ſet upon by thoſe inhuman wretches, leaped out of a window and paſſed the river Maleto, and having got to his houſe, and ſhifted his clothes, he was aſſailed again, taken priſoner, and carried to the palace, put often to the ſtrapado, and at laſt was ſo hewn and ſliced with a ſword, that he had nothing left him but his arms, which were faſtened to the cord.

Paulo Beretta, of Chio, in the county of Vicence, a virgin of the age of ſeventy-five years, of an honourable, noble, and ancient family, who came twenty-ſeven years before to Sondres to embrace the goſpel, was by theſe villains carried through Sondres, with all diſgrace, ſhame, and ſcorn, having a mitre of paper put upon her head, her face beſmeared with dirt, and many buffets given in her cheeks, and in many other faſhions abuſed. Being required to call upon the holy virgin Mary and the ſaints, and to place her truſt in them, ſhe ſmiling, readily anſwered them, My truſt and my ſalvation is in my only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and in him only will I truſt. And it is alſo true, that I acknowledge the virgin Mary for the moſt holy virgin above all others, which ever was, or ever will be; who was a virgin before the birth, a virgin in the birth, and after birth, and ſo ſhall remain. Who though ſhe be favoured and beloved of God, above all women in the world, to be made the mother of my Lord Jeſus the Saviour of the world; nevertheleſs, becauſe ſhe is not able to know our neceſſities, as not being omnipotent, (for otherwiſe ſhe would be God himſelf) and beſides hath had need of the merits of her Son, it was not lawful for her to call upon any other than the eternal God, who knoweth all things, and upon no creature of any quality whatſoever, &c. In this manner ſhe endured their ſcorns and outrages with an incredible conſtancy and chearfulneſs, ſaying continually, I do willingly endure as becometh me to do, deſiring no better uſage, ſince the very ſame hath been done to my Lord and Saviour Jeſus, and to his apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy martyrs. At laſt ſhe was carried away to be ſent to Milan. On the eighteenth of July an elderly woman was found murdered in the highway, in the plain of St. Gregory, in the Valtoline, which ſome conjectured to be the body of this gentlewoman, who it was thought was murdered by the aſſaſſins in that place.

Many hid themſelves in holes and caves, and woods, out of which they durſt not come but by night only to get ſome food, and that with great fear and terror, on account of the watching of the enemy; and others for want of convenient food to eat, and others that fed only upon roots, leaves, and graſs, made an end of their lives; and many were murdered in divers places, who had no burial at all; ſo that many carcaſes were to be ſeen in groves and woods in the mountains, and in the waters in many places.

At the maſſacre of Berbonne, were ſlain about eleven perſons. And likewiſe

At Caſpano, and Trahorn, about the ſame number: one of them was by trade a taylor, who being diſcovered by his countrymen and kindred, was taken and carried to Morbegnio, and being ſolicited to forſake the true religion, and to embrace the Roman, and ſtanding with great manfulneſs thereto, was condemned to the fire, and was placed between two heaps of wood, to make him recant; but all was in vain; for being aſked, If he were a catholic, he anſwered, That he was. Then, if he were a Roman catholic; he likewiſe affirmed he was ſo. But being demanded, if he held the Roman faith as it is at this day, he anſwered, No. It is true, ſaid he, that I hold the ancient catholic Roman faith, which was preached by St. Paul, That a man is ſaved by grace by the means of faith, and not by works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt. Being demanded, if he believed the pope to be the head of the church, he anſwered, No; becauſe Chriſt only is the head of the church, according to the promiſe, "I will be with you unto the end of the world." And though the fire was kindled and put out again on purpoſe to draw him to a recantation, nevertheleſs he perſevered and endured that cruel death with admirable conſtancy, the 15th day of Auguſt, being ſixty years old.

Giovan Pietro Malacrida, although he were little of ſtature, yet was he great and mighty in the confeſſion of the truth, inſomuch that for the love of his Saviour he ſuffered death with ſingular chearfulneſs, being forty years of age. His example was devoutly and conſtantly imitated by Elizabeth his wife, who was killed in the 38th year of her age: and moreover theſe Herodian murderers not therewith content, but joining one barbarous inhumanity to another, obſerving a daughter of her's, being an infant of three years old, to lie in the cradle, although it was a child of a ſweet countenance, and theſe wretches ſeeing that the babe looked lovingly and pleaſantly upon them, which would have been enough to have moved any adamantine heart to compaſſion, yet notwithſtanding they took this pretty innocent babe by the feet, and daſhed out her brains againſt the wall.

Upon the moſt ſerious conſideration it every way appeareth, that the aforeſaid perſons underwent thoſe ſufferings for no other cauſe, but only for the truth of the goſpel; even as by the eternal decree of God, the holy prophet St. John the Baptiſt, the holy apoſtles, yea, even our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and after him thoſe many millions of the martyrs in all ages have done before, and eſpecially in theſe times, in Germany, France, England, Scotland, Low-Countries, Bohemia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c.

Which martyrdom they endured willingly, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to ſuffer blame for the name of Jeſus, remembering the promiſe of our Lord, Bleſſed are they who are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake, becauſe the kingdom of heaven is their's. Bleſſed are you when others ſhall revile and perſecute you, and ſhall falſely ſpeak all evil of you for my ſake: rejoice and triumph, for great is your reward in heaven, for ſo have they perſecuted the prophets who were before you. Read to this purpoſe, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16; which words, by all good chriſtians are to be well pondered and weighed. For firſt, By ſuch trial we periſh not. Secondly, We are thereby made conformable to Chriſt our head. Thirdly, Such ſufferings cauſe unto us greater joy than ſorrow. Fourthly, They are infallible marks that the ſpirit of God reſts upon us. Fifthly, They manifeſt to all our unfeigned love to Chriſt and his goſpel. Sixthly, Hereby we have good proof that the Lord doth correct us, not as a ſevere judge, but as a moſt loving and tender-hearted Father; to whom therefore with his bleſſed Son, and Holy Spirit, be all glory and honour aſcribed in all the churches of the ſaints, world without end, Amen.

SIGNS *and* PRODIGIES, *which happened before and after the* MASSACRE *in the* VALTOLINE.

THE proteſtants having appointed guards in the churches of the Valtoline, beſides others which were commanded to watch in certain places, to give the ſign by fire, to the intent that the whole valley being warned partly by the beacons, partly by the ſound of the bells, might be ready together on a ſudden to take arms for their defence againſt the Spaniards, if they ſhould make any excurſion upon the valley: about the month of May, 1620, in Sondres, the aforeſaid centinels reported, that in the night as they watched, they heard in the church of Gervaſe, a murmuring as it were of many perſons, with great earneſtneſs and vehemency of arguing and conteſting among themſelves: and from the church there ſhined upwards through the ſteeple a great brightneſs, inſomuch that the centinels lighted their torches, and aſſembled themſelves to go down into the church to ſee what the matter might be. But as they were deſcending down the ſtairs, their lights were put out, and returning afreſh to light their torches, they were put out again with greater ſtrength, and with much aſtoniſhment and trembling; and the brightneſs which filled the church ſuddenly vaniſhed, the weights alſo of the great clock fell down, and they heard about ten tolls of a bell, in ſuch a manner as it uſeth to ring to give the alarm, which was heard by many.

Likewiſe in Tyrane, the great bell was heard in like manner; and the magiſtrates commanded them ſuddenly to go and know the cauſe, but he found that it was not done by the hand of men, and inſtantly the ſervants running from the belfrey, and diligently attending to ſee this buſineſs, they diſcerned a thing like a cat to deſcend down into the place.

After the maſſacre, in the Valtoline, the evangelic proteſtant church, and principally from Teglio and Tyrane, a voice hath been heard to cry, Woe, woe to you, the vengeace of God is upon you for the blood of the innocent.

Alſo the bell of the evangelic church of Tyrane, uſed to ring even at the ſame time that the ſermon was wont to be: and in that church a voice was heard, like the voice of Seignior Antonio Baſſo, who ſome time had been there a miniſter, and was murdered in the ſaid place, as if himſelf had been preaching there.

In Sondres there was ſeen to deſcend an army from the mountains every way furniſhed; which ſight was the cauſe that many took their flight, and departed out of Sondres; but ſuddenly this apparition vaniſhed like a cloud. Which ſtruck a great terror into the minds of the people, inſomuch that many departed out of the valley, as fearing a dreadful puniſhment from heaven.

THE
NEW AND COMPLETE
BOOK of MARTYRS,
OR, AN
Univerſal Hiſtory of Martyrdom:
BEING
FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS,
Reviſed and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

An Hiſtorical Account of the Lives, Perſecutions, Sufferings, and cruel Deaths, of many

EMINENT PROTESTANTS.

CHAP. I.

An ACCOUNT *of the* RISE, PROGRESS, PERSECUTIONS, *and* SUFFERINGS, *of the* PEOPLE *commonly called* QUAKERS.

IN treating of theſe people in an hiſtorical manner, we are obliged to have recourſe to much tenderneſs. That they differ from the generality of Proteſtants in ſome of the capital points of religion, cannot be denied; and yet, as Proteſtant Diſſenters, they are included under the deſcription of the toleration act. It is not our buſineſs to inquire whether people of ſimilar ſentiments had any exiſtence in the primitive ages of Chriſtianity; perhaps, in ſome reſpects, they had not; but we are to write of them not as what they were, but what they now are. That they have been treated by ſeveral writers in a very contemptuous manner, is certain; that they did not deſerve ſuch treatment, is equally certain.

The appellation *Quakers* was beſtowed upon them as a term of reproach, in conſequence of their apparent convulſions which they laboured under when they delivered their diſcourſes, becauſe they imagined they were the effect of Divine inſpiration.

It is not our buſineſs, at preſent, to inquire whether the ſentiments of theſe people are agreeable to the goſpel, but this much is certain, that the firſt leader of them, as a ſeparate body, was a man of obſcure birth, who had his firſt exiſtence in Leiceſterſhire, about the year 1624. In ſpeaking of this man we ſhall deliver our own ſentiments in an hiſtorical manner, and joining theſe to what have been ſaid by the Friends themſelves, we ſhall endeavour to furniſh out a complete narrative.

He was deſcended of honeſt and reſpected parents, who brought him up in the national religion: but from a child he appeared religious, ſtill, ſolid, and obſerving, beyond his years, and uncommonly knowing in divine things. He was brought up to huſbandry, and other country buſineſs, and was particularly inclined to the ſolitary occupation of a ſhepherd; "an employment," ſays our author, "that very well ſuited his mind in ſeveral reſpects, both for it's innocency and ſolitude; and was a juſt emblem of his after miniſtry and ſervice." In the year 1646, he entirely forſook the national church, in whoſe tenets he had been brought up, as before obſerved; and in 1647, he travelled into Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire, without any ſet purpoſe of viſiting particular places, but in a ſolitary manner he walked through ſeveral towns and villages, which way ſoever his mind turned. "He faſted much," ſays Sewell, "and walked often in retired places, with no other companion than his Bible." "He viſited the moſt retired and religious people in thoſe parts," ſays Penn, "and ſome there were, ſhort of few, if any, in this nation, who waited for the conſolation of Iſrael night and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and Simeon, did of old time. To theſe he was ſent, and theſe he ſought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he ſojourned till his more ample miniſtry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of ſilence, endeavouring to bring them from ſelf-performances; teſtifying of, and turning them to the light of Chriſt within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to ſtir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worſhip of God might ſtand in the power of an endleſs life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifeſtation of it in man: for in the word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the word, by which the word begets them again to God, which is the generation and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God, and to which whoever comes is greater than John; that is, than John's diſpenſation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the conſummation of the legal, and fore-running of the goſpel-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly ſeveral meetings were gathering in thoſe parts; and thus his time was employed for ſome years.

In the year 1652, "he had a viſitation of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth, in a public miniſtry, to begin it." He directed his courſe northward, "and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exerciſe and ſervice ſhewn to him, ſo that the Lord was his leader indeed." He made great numbers of converts to his opinions, and many pious and good men joined him in his miniſtry. Theſe were drawn forth eſpecially to viſit the public aſſemblies to reprove, reform, and exhort them; ſometimes in markets, fairs, ſtreets, and by the highway-ſide, "calling people to repentance, and to return to the Lord, with their hearts as well as their mouth; directing them to the light of Chriſt within them, to ſee, examine, and to conſider their ways by, and to eſchew the evil, and to do the good and acceptable will of God."

They were not without oppoſition in the work they imagined themſelves called to, being often ſet in the ſtocks, ſtoned, beaten, whipped, and impriſoned, though, as our author obſerves, honeſt men of good report, that had left wives, children, houſes and lands, to viſit them with a living call to repentance. But theſe coercive methods rather forwarded than abated their zeal, and in thoſe parts they brought over many proſelytes, and amongſt them ſeveral magiſtrates, and others of the better ſort. They apprehended the Lord had forbidden them to pull off their hats to any one, high or low, and required them to ſpeak to the people, without diſtinction, in the language of thou and thee. They ſcrupled bidding people good-morrow, or good-night; nor might they bend the knee to any one, even in ſupreme authority. Both men and women went in a plain and ſimple dreſs, different from the faſhion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of reſpect or honour, nor would they call any man maſter, on earth. Several texts of ſcripture they quoted in defence of theſe ſingularities; ſuch as, Swear not at all. How can ye believe who receive honour of one another, and ſeek not the honour which comes from God only? &c. &c. They placed the baſis of religion in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulſe of the holy Spirit.

In 1654, their firſt ſeparate meeting in London was held in the houſe of Robert Dring, in Watling-ſtreet, for by that time they had ſpread themſelves into all parts of the kingdom, and had in many places ſet up meetings and aſſemblies, particularly in Lancaſhire and the adjacent parts; but they were ſtill expoſed to great perſecutions and trials of every kind. One of them, in a letter to the protector, Oliver Cromwell, repreſents, that though there are no penal laws in force obliging men to comply with the eſtabliſhed religion, yet the Quakers are expoſed upon other accounts; they are fined and impriſoned for refuſing to take an oath; for not paying their tithes; for diſturbing the public aſſemblies, and meeting in the ſtreets, and places of public reſort; ſome of them have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain ſpeeches to the magiſtrate.

Under favour of the then toleration, they opened their meetings at the Bull and Mouth, in Alderſgate-ſtreet, where women, as well as men, were moved to ſpeak. Their zeal tranſported them to ſome extravagancies, which laid them ſtill more open to the laſh of their enemies, who exerciſed various ſeverities upon them throughout the next reign. Upon the ſuppreſſion of Venner's mad inſurrection, the government having publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, and Fifth monarchy men, to aſſemble or meet together under pretence of worſhipping God, except it be in ſome parochial church, chapel, or in private houſes, by conſent of the perſons there inhabiting, all meetings in other places, being declared to be unlawful and riotous, &c. &c. the Quakers thought it expedient to addreſs the king thereon, which they did in the following words:

"*Oh King Charles!*

"OUR deſire is, that thou mayeſt live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beſeech thee and thy council to read theſe following lines in tender bowels, and compaſſion for our ſouls, and for your good.

"And this conſider, we are about four hundred impriſoned, in and about this city, of men and women from their families, beſides, in the county gaols, about ten hundred; we deſire that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up.

"London, 16th day, eleventh month, 1660."

On the 28th of the ſame month, they publiſhed the declaration referred to in their addreſs, entitled, "A declaration from the harmleſs and innocent people of God, called Quakers, againſt all ſedition, plotters, and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion, from both magiſtrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings." It was preſented to the king the 21ſt day of the eleventh month, 1660, and he promiſed them upon his royal word, that they ſhould not ſuffer for their opinions, as long as they lived peaceably; but his promiſes were very little regarded afterwards.

In 1661, they aſſumed courage to petition the houſe of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a diſpenſation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any diſaffection to the government, or a belief that they were leſs obliged by an affirmation, but from a perſuaſion that all oaths were unlawful, and that ſwearing upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions was forbidden in the New Teſtament. Their petition was rejected, and inſtead of granting them relief, an act was paſſed againſt them, the preamble to which ſet forth, "That whereas ſeveral perſons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magiſtrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and whereas, under pretence of religious worſhip, the ſaid perſons do aſſemble in great numbers in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, ſeparating themſelves from the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, and the public congregations and uſual places of divine worſhip: be it therefore enacted, that if any ſuch perſons, after the 24th of March, 1661-2, ſhall refuſe to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or perſuade others to do it, or maintain in writing, or otherwiſe, the unlawfulneſs of taking an oath; or if they ſhall aſſemble for religious worſhip, to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they ſhall for the firſt offence forfeit five pounds; for the ſecond, ten pounds; and for the third ſhall abjure the realm, or be tranſported to the plantations: and the juſtices of peace at their open ſeſſions may hear and finally determine in the affair."

This act had a moſt dreadful effect upon the Quakers, though it was well known and notorious theſe conſcientious perſons were far from ſedition or diſaffection to the government. George Fox, in his addreſs to the king, acquaints him, that three thouſand and ſixty-eight of their friends had been impriſoned ſince his majeſty's reſtoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood guſhed out, which gave riſe to their meeting in the open ſtreets. A relation was printed, ſigned by twelve witneſſes, which ſays, that more than four thouſand two hundred Quakers were impriſoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the ſuburbs; ſeveral of whom were dead in the gaols.

However, they even gloried in their ſufferings, which increaſed every day; ſo that in 1665, and the intermediate years, they were harraſſed without example. As they perſiſted reſolutely to aſſemble, openly, at the Bull and Mouth before-mentioned, the ſoldiers, and other officers, dragged them from thence to priſon, till

Newgate was filled with them, and multitudes died of cloſe confinement, in that and other gaols.

Six hundred of them, ſays an account publiſhed at this time, were in priſon, merely for religion-ſake, of whom ſeveral were baniſhed to the plantations. In ſhort, ſays Mr. Neale, the Quakers gave ſuch full employment to the informers, that they had leſs leiſure to attend the meetings of other Diſſenters.

Yet, under all theſe calamities, they behaved with patience and modeſty towards the government, and upon occaſion of the Rye-houſe plot, in 1682, thought proper to declare their innocence of that ſham plot, in an addreſs to the king, wherein, appealing to the ſearcher of all hearts, they ſay, their principles do not allow them to take up defenſive arms, much leſs to avenge themſelves for the injuries they receive from others; that they continually pray for the king's ſafety and preſervation; and therefore take this occaſion humbly to beſeech his majeſty to compaſſionate their ſuffering friends, with whom the gaols are ſo filled, that they want air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Beſides, many houſes, ſhops, barns, and fields are ranſacked, and the goods, corn, and cattle ſwept away, to the diſcouraging trade and huſbandry, and impoveriſhing great numbers of quiet and induſtrious people; and this, for no other cauſe, but for the exerciſe of a tender conſcience in the worſhip of Almighty God, who is ſovereign Lord and King of men's conſciences.

On the acceſſion of James II. they addreſſed that monarch honeſtly and plainly, telling him, "we are come to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the perſuaſion of the church of England, no more than we; therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the ſame liberty which thou alloweſt thyſelf, which doing, we wiſh thee all manner of happineſs."

When James, by his diſpenſing power, granted liberty to the Diſſenters, they began to enjoy ſome reſt from their troubles; and indeed it was high time, for they were ſwelled to an enormous amount. They, the year before this, to them glad releaſe, in a petition to James for a ceſſation of their ſufferings, ſet forth, "that of late above one thouſand five hundred of their friends, both men and women, and that now there remain one thouſand three hundred and eighty-three; of which two hundred are women, many under ſentence of præmunire; and more than three hundred near it, for refuſing the oath of allegiance, becauſe they could not ſwear. Three hundred and fifty have died in priſon ſince the year 1680; in London, the gaol of Newgate has been crouded, within theſe two years, ſometimes with near 20 in a room, whereby ſeveral have been ſuffocated, and others, who have been taken out ſick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days. Great violences, outrageous diſtreſſes, and woeful havock and ſpoil, have been made upon people's goods and eſtates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and mercileſs informers, by perſecutions on the conventicle-act, and others; alſo on *qui tam* writs, and on other proceſſes, for twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of their eſtates ſeized for the king. Some had not a bed left to reſt on, others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for ſeed or bread, nor tools to work with; the ſaid informers and bailiffs in ſome places breaking into houſes, and making great waſte and ſpoil, under pretence of ſerving the king and the church. Our religious aſſemblies have been charged at common law with being rioters and diſturbers of the public peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in priſon without regard to age, and many confined in holes and dungeons. The ſeizing for 20l. a month has amounted to many thouſands, and ſeveral who have employed ſome hundreds of poor people in manufactures, are diſabled to do any more, by reaſon of long impriſonment. They ſpare neither widow nor fatherleſs, nor have they ſo much as a bed to lie on. The informers are both witneſſes and proſecutors, to the ruin of great numbers of ſober families; and juſtices of the peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not iſſue out warrants upon their informations." With this petition they preſented a liſt of their friends in priſon, in the ſeveral counties, amounting to four hundred and ſixty.

During the reign of king James II. theſe people were, through the interceſſion of their friend Mr. Penn, treated with greater indulgence than ever they had been before. They were now become extremely numerous in many parts of the country, and the ſettlement of Pennſylvania taking place ſoon after, many of them went over to America. There they enjoyed the bleſſings of a peaceful government, and cultivated the arts of honeſt induſtry.

As the whole colony was the property of Mr. Penn, ſo he invited people of all denominations to come and ſettle with him. An univerſal liberty of conſcience took place; and in this new colony the natural rights of mankind were, for the firſt time, eſtabliſhed.

Theſe Friends are, in the preſent age, a very harmleſs inoffenſive body of people; but of that we ſhall take more notice hereafter. By their wiſe regulations, they not only do honour to themſelves, but they are of vaſt ſervice to the community: and here we are led to conſider their tenets, with reſpect to the grand articles of the Chriſtian faith, and their diſcipline concerning church communion.

They profeſs faith in God, by his only-begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, as being their light and life, as well as their only way to the Father, and a mediator with the Father. That God created all things by his Son Jeſus Chriſt; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one Divine Being, inſeparable, one true living and eternal God, bleſſed for ever. That the Word, or Son of Man, in the fulneſs of time, took our nature upon him, and became a perfect man, according to the fleſh; was miraculouſly conceived by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin Mary; declared to be the Son of God, according to the ſpirit of ſanctification, by the reſurrection from the dead. That in this Word was life, and the ſame life was the light of men, the life and light within us; and that men are to believe in this light, Chriſt Jeſus.

That as man he died for our ſins, roſe again, and was raiſed up into glory; he having, by that one great univerſal offering, become a ſacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man. That Jeſus, who ſitteth on the right-hand of the Majeſty of Heaven, is our king, high-prieſt, and prophet, in his church, and by his ſpirit alſo maketh interceſſion in our hearts. That the goſpel of this grace ſhould be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, being one in power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, in the work of man's ſalvation, and that all our prayers are anſwered by the Father through the Son.

That Chriſt's body that was crucified was not the Godhead; yet, by the power of God, it was raiſed from the dead, changed into a more glorious condition, and aſcended into heaven.

Firm and living faith in Jeſus Chriſt the Son of the living God reſpects his being and fulneſs, and alſo his making himſelf known in the ſoul in every degree of his light, life, ſpirit, grace, and truth, the immediate cauſe, author, object, and ſtrength of our living faith; which light and life of the Son of God, when truly obſerved and followed, will bring us to the adoption of ſons.

It is true, we are not to undervalue the holy ſcriptures, nor ſlight the preaching of the word, as being outward helps and inſtruments in the hand of God for the converſion of ſinners; nor do we ſet them up in oppoſition to the light of the ſpirit of God or Chriſt within; for his faithful meſſengers are miniſters thereof to turn people to the ſame ſpirit and light within them.

It is certain, that great is the myſtery of godlineſs in itſelf, that God ſhould be manifeſted in the fleſh; and it is a great and precious myſtery of godlineſs and chriſtianity, that Chriſt ſhould be ſpiritually and effectually manifeſted in men's hearts. Chriſt is revealed to all true believers, freeing them from the bondage of ſin, in their wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption.

tion. This myſtery of godlineſs in it's own being and glory, hath been and muſt be teſtified, preached, and believed, where God is pleaſed to give commiſſion, and prepare people's hearts for the ſame.

As touching the reſurrection of the dead, we believe as the ſcripture teſtifies, "That if in this life we only have hope, we are of all men the moſt miſerable." That the ſoul or ſpirit of every man or woman ſhall be reſumed in it's own diſtinct and proper being, and every ſoul ſhall have it's proper body, as God is pleaſed to give it. A natural body is ſown, a ſpiritual body is raiſed; and though this corruptible ſhall put on incorruption, and this mortal ſhall put on immortality, the change ſhall be ſuch as fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, ſo we expect our bodies to be ſpiritual in the reſurrection, and that they ſhall far excel what our bodies are at preſent; but how the dead are raiſed, or with what body they come, we ſubmit to the wiſdom and pleaſure of Almighty God; for we cannot preſume to determine.

As to the doctrine of the final judgment, we believe, that God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and he is appointed to be both the judge of quick and dead, and of the ſtates and end of all mankind. That Jeſus Chriſt, who hath ſo deeply ſuffered, and endured ſo many indignities, ſhall in the laſt and great day manifeſtly appear in glory, attended with all his glorious and heavenly hoſt and retinue, to the terror and amazement of all who have denied him; but to the glory and triumph of the righteous, the faithful followers and friends of Chriſt. It is a righteous thing with God, that they who ſuffer with him, ſhall appear with him in glory and dignity, when he ſhall appear at laſt to judge the world and the princes thereof. Whilſt thoſe who now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and ſhut up the records or books thereof in their own conſciences; they ſhall be at laſt opened, and every thing judged of the things recorded therein, according to their works.

Theſe articles are generally approved of by moſt of thoſe chriſtians whom we call orthodox; but as a charge was brought againſt the Quakers for having embraced the notion of Socinus, in vindication of themſelves they added a few more articles to their creed. Theſe are as follow:

I. That Jeſus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Meſſiah, the Chriſt, the Son of God, to whom all the prophets are witneſs; and that we do highly value his death, ſufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption of mankind, with his laws, doctrines, and miniſtry.

II. That this very Chriſt of God, who is the Lamb of God that taketh away all the ſins of the world, was ſlain, was dead, and is alive for ever in his eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

III. That the holy ſcriptures are of Divine authority, as being given by the inſpiration of God.

IV. And that magiſtracy, or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well.

Theſe articles were added by one George Whitehead, a noted man among them; and here it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that theſe people pay very great regard to the ſcriptures, and to many other doctrines of the goſpel.

Baptiſm is not practiſed by theſe people. They ſay, that it is not outward waſhing with water that makes the heart clean, by which men are fitted for heaven. Mr. Barclay, in his Apology, endeavours to prove this propoſition in the following manner, viz. "As there is one Lord, and one faith, ſo there is one baptiſm, which is not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience before God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And this baptiſm is a pure and ſpiritual thing; that is, the baptiſm of the ſpirit, and by which we are buried with him; that being waſhed and buried from our ſins, we may walk in newneſs of life; of which the baptiſm of John was only a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever." Such are the ſentiments of this learned man concerning infant baptiſm, or in general all water baptiſm whatever. He adds further, that infant baptiſm is a mere human invention; for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in ſcripture.

Concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, he advances, "That the communion of the body and blood of Chriſt is inward and ſpiritual, which is the participation of his fleſh and blood, by which the infant man is daily nouriſhed in the hearts of thoſe in whom Chriſt dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Chriſt with his diſciples was a figure, which they even uſed in the church for a time, who had received the ſubſtance for the cauſe of the weak; even in abſtaining from things ſtrangled, and from blood; the waſhing of one another's feet, and the anointing of the ſick with oil; all which are commanded with leſs authority and ſolemnity than the former; yet ſeeing they are only the ſhadows of better things, ſo they ceaſe in ſuch as have obtained the ſubſtance."

It is not our buſineſs to inquire whether Mr. Barclay's ſentiments be true or not; his Apology, however, was ſoon after it's firſt publication tranſlated into Latin, which even led foreigners to read it; and the author has ſeen tranſlations of it into French, German, and Low Dutch.

Having thus far conſidered the principles of the Friends, commonly called Quakers, we ſhall proceed to give ſome account of the various parts of their diſcipline.

In 1667, George Fox recommended the ſetting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation, the friends having only had their quarterly meetings. "And the Lord appeared (ſays George) unto me, and bid me ſee what I muſt do, and how men and women's monthly and quarterly meetings ſhould be ordered and eſtabliſhed in England, and other nations, and that I ſhould write to them where I came not, to do the ſame. Accordingly, having recommended the ſetting up of two monthly meetings in London to take care of God's glory, and to admoniſh and exhort ſuch as walked diſorderly, and not according to the truth; then I paſſed forth into the counties again, and adviſed that monthly meetings ſhould be ſettled there alſo, for the ſame purpoſe, which was done according to the goſpel order, in and by the power of God; and in the year 1668, I went over for the ſame purpoſe to Ireland. From thence I went to Scotland, to Holland, to Barbadoes, and to many parts of America, adviſing friends to ſettle monthly meetings in thoſe countries; all which was accordingly done.

The good effects of theſe monthly meetings diſcovered themſelves in the reformation that took place among our friends, and they were acknowledged even by thoſe who did not join us." Theſe monthly meetings were more or leſs in number, as the caſe required, in every reſpective county; and three monthly meetings make a quarterly one in each county. Theſe meetings called quarterly, determined every thing too hard for the monthly ones, and prepared matters for the general yearly meetings. In all theſe meetings they are equal in power, they have no perſon to preſide over them, becauſe they acknowledge none but Chriſt for their head. They have no diſputes concerning differences, but endeavour to convince each other in the ſpirit of love and meekneſs. In theſe meetings they inquire into all the wants of their brethren.

In their proceedings againſt offenders, they are as follow: He is viſited by ſome of the friends, and the fact he is charged with is laid before him. They labour with much love and zeal to convince his conſcience that he has been out of the way of his duty. They keep in view the glory of God, the good of his ſoul, and the honour of their profeſſion. It commonly happens, that he is prevailed on to own his fault, and profeſs ſincere repentance; and then the thing is never mentioned to him afterwards.

The monthly meeting chuſe ſome of the graveſt of their friends to viſit ſuch as are abſent, to converſe with them, to take care that the poor be provided for, to promote piety, charity, and friendſhip in families, to take care that the children of the poor be inſtructed, clothed, and in all things provided for.

Although they ſupply the wants of all their own poor, yet this does not prevent them from being charitable to the poor of other religious denominations.

The firſt queſtions aſked by thoſe whom we have already mentioned as viſitors are the following.

I. How are miniſtering friends in love and unity with one another, and with faithful brethren in their own meetings?

II. Do none of them travel abroad in the works of the miniſtry, without a certificate from their own monthly meetings?

III. Do they give way to each other, and to ſtrangers?

IV. Do none overcharge themſelves with buſineſs to the hindrance of their ſervice?

V. Are they ſound in their miniſtry?

VI. Do any of them burden their hearers with words without life?

VII. Do they adorn their doctrine by a ſuitable conduct and converſation, as good example in all reſpects?

The ſenſible reader will acknowledge, that theſe are very important queſtions; but their diſcipline concerning marriage, merits the attention of Proteſtants of all denominations.

The man and woman preſent themſelves to the men and women at the monthly meetings where they reſide, and there deliver their intention of taking each other as huſband and wife, if the ſaid meeting have no material objections againſt it.

The principal conditions of their acceptance, are the following:

Firſt, It is an eſtabliſhed rule, that no man propoſe marriage to a woman, without the previous conſent of his own and her parents, or guardians; and if the unbridled affections of any ſhould have precipitated him into a breach of this rule, he is required to remove the offence, as is alſo the woman, and give ſatisfaction to ſuch parents and guardians, and to the meeting to which they belong, by a due and open acknowledgment of the offence, and condemnation of themſelves for it, and to get the conſent of their guardians before they can proceed with the marriage.

Secondly, That the parties be of the ſame opinion and judgment in matters of religion, and profeſſed members of this ſociety.

Thirdly, That none ſhall marry within ſuch degrees of conſanguinity or affinity, as are forbidden by the law of God.

Fourthly, If either of the parties has given offence to their friends formerly, by ſome act of ſcandal, they are to acknowledge it, which is generally done in writing.

If no objections are then made, notice of the intended marriage is publiſhed in the meetings, where the man or woman reſides, or did reſide, which muſt be done before the marriage is ſolemnized, in order that convenient time may be granted for ſatisfaction concerning their clearances of all ſcandal of previous contract, and every thing elſe.

The parties are required to give their attendance a ſecond time at the monthly meeting, which is uſually the next enſuing, when the parties appointed to make the inquiry, return and give the anſwer, which if proved ſatisfactory, the parties are at liberty to proceed to the accompliſhment of the marriage.

Theſe marriages are ſolemnized in the common ordinary meetings, which hath had this good effect, to make public, and ſtrongly recommend this decent and comely order to all ſober friends.

Here the man and woman take each other as huſband and wife, and promiſe, with God's aſſiſtance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death ſeparates them. Of all theſe proceedings, a narrative is kept in the manner of a certificate, to which the huſband and wife ſet their hands, thereby making it their own act and deed, and ſome of the perſons preſent do the ſame. This certificate is afterwards written into the record of the meeting.

As for ſecond marrying, they attend to the following things:

Firſt, If the man be a widower, or the woman a widow, and have children by a former huſband or wife, that proviſion be previouſly made for ſuch children, where it can conveniently be done.

Secondly, Friends ſhould not proceed to ſecond marriages, till at leaſt one year is elapſed from the death of the former wife, or huſband, and the practice accordingly has been ſuch; for to do otherwiſe would look indecent.

To their general meeting at London, which aſſembles at Whitſuntide, are admitted friends from all the churches they have in the world, to give an account of the ſtate of every particular church, which from ſome parts is done only by writing, and then a general epiſtle is ſent to all the churches.

Theſe epiſtles, from their general meetings in London, have ſomething in them of a very pious and moral tendency, of which we ſhall afterwards give a ſpecimen. In the mean time, we cannot help obſerving, that of all religious denominations, theſe people ſuffer more than others. They are obliged to pay all ſorts of taxes, and yet none of their poor become burthenſome to the pariſhes.

The Papiſts have had greater indulgencies ſhewn them than the Friends, and there are numbers of papiſts in the workhouſes in England. It is true, thoſe of the Quakers or Friends, muſt be likewiſe admitted, on condition of their applying for it; but we cannot ſay but it is rather cruel, to make men pay for the ſupport of the poor, ſeeing they ſupport all their own, and that in ſo decent a manner.

The following epiſtle was written by that great ornament of the literary world, Dr. John Fothergill, at the yearly meeting at London, May 29, 1779. It will ſerve to ſhew what were the ſentiments of thoſe peaceable people under the unhappy circumſtances of affairs at that time.

A LETTER,

From Dr. JOHN FOTHERGILL.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

IN the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the goſpel, which we have, with deep thankfulneſs of heart, in a good degree experienced to attend us, both in our meetings for worſhip, and thoſe for tranſacting the affairs of the church, we affectionately ſalute you; with fervent deſires that brotherly love, peace, and concord, may continue and increaſe amongſt us, and that a tender and chriſtian concern may come upon all, in their reſpective ſtations, for the maintenance of good order, and the promotion of truth and righteouſneſs upon earth.

By accounts received from the ſeveral quarterly meetings in England, and by epiſtles from Wales, North-Britain, Ireland, Holland, New-England, New-York, Pennſylvania, New-Jerſey, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, we are informed that love and unity are generally preſerved in the churches, to many of which divers have been joined through convincement; and that a conſiderable number of well-diſpoſed youth appears in various parts.

The ſufferings of our brethren in America have been great in many places, eſpecially in Pennſylvania, the Jerſeys, Long-Iſland, Rhode-Iſland, and Nantucket. Theſe ſufferings have principally ariſen from that confuſion and diſtreſs which are inſeparable from war, from the laws enacted for promoting military ſervices, and from acts inforcing declarations of allegiance to thoſe in power.

The friends who were baniſhed from Philadelphia have been permitted to return to their habitations, excepting two, who died in exile; and ſome of thoſe who were impriſoned have been ſet at liberty.

It is with ſatisfaction we underſtand, that their meetings for worſhip and diſcipline are duly kept up, and that notwithſtanding the difficulties and dangers that ſurround them, friends attend them with diligence, and many from remote places; their minds are often tendered therein, and united in love one to another, and in deep ſympathy with the ſufferers amongſt them. And it evidently appears, that the turning of the mighty hand of the Lord upon them hath not been in vain; but that, having learned by the things they have ſuffered, and from the apprehenſion of future probations, they are engaged to wait for that Divine help, protection, and ſupport, which alone can enable them to endure with patience and holy reſignation the trials that are permitted to attend them.

Our brethren in thoſe parts gratefully acknowledge the kindneſs and regard of friends in England and Ireland, in ſo early and liberally contributing to the relief of their diſtreſſes. Many, from eaſy circumſtances, have been reduced to great hardſhips and neceſſities, but have been meaſurably kept in a ſtate of contentment: theſe have ſhared the benevolence of thoſe who have been preſerved from the like ſufferings. It appears, that their afflictions, though grievous in divers places, have tended to awaken many to a proper ſenſe of their condition, and to increaſe a watchfulneſs and care, that they may walk anſwerable to the mercies received, and faithful in the teſtimonies committed to their charge, againſt wars and other anti-chriſtian practices.

May a deep ſympathy with our afflicted brethren affect every mind; and may we all watch unto prayer, that it may pleaſe the Divine Majeſty to ſhorten the day of their diſtreſs.

The ſufferings of friends brought in this year from England and Wales, being chiefly for tithes, and thoſe called church-rates, amount to 3763l. and thoſe from Ireland to 1254l.

Inaſmuch as we have ſufficient ground to believe that the true goſpel miniſtry is freely received from the Holy Head and unchangeable High-Prieſt of the chriſtian church, and by him commanded to be freely given; we cannot eſteem the laws of men, made in the apoſtatized ſtate of the profeſſing churches, as of any force to ſuperſede his divine law, or to warrant us to act in violation thereof; we therefore exhort you, brethren, to be true and ſtedfaſt in the faith once delivered to the ſaints, and deeply ſuffered for by divers of the proteſtant martyrs, as well as by our own faithful predeceſſors. However any amongſt us, to whom blindneſs in part hath happened, may ſwerve from the law, and from the teſtimony, ſuffer it not to fall as in the ſtreets, through your weakneſs, or the want of your example; leſt for your denial of Chriſt before men, he deny you before his Father, and the holy angels.

Let us alſo remind ſuch as may be remiſs in attention to the teachings of the grace of God in their own hearts, that the kingdom of Chriſt is a peaceable kingdom; and though his ſervants walk in the fleſh, they do not war after the fleſh. He commands them to love their enemies; and many who have followed him in the regeneration, and abode under his goverment, have found themſelves reſtrained from all wars and fightings; which are not of the ſpirit of the Saviour, but that of the deſtroyer of mankind. Believing this, we cannot conſiſtently take any part therein; nor be concerned as owners of armed veſſels, in letters of marque, or as purchaſers of prize goods; neither can we aſſiſt in the ſale of them: for whoever amongſt us ſo confederate with the captors, afford evident tokens that they either prefer the gain of a corrupt intereſt to the convictions of divine light in their own conſciences, or that they are become inſenſible of them; both which muſt tend to their condemnation.

Now, dear friends, ſeeing our time is ever ſilently upon the wing, and the opportunity afforded us for the important work of preparation daily ſhortening; knowing alſo, that the ſolemn period advances, wherein every individual, however occupied in this tranſient mode of being, muſt ſoon be called hence, and may, in a moment unexpected, be broken off from every temporal connection, by that awful command, "Give an account of thy ſtewardſhip; for thou mayeſt be no longer ſteward:" let us be vigilant, and in earneſt ſo to improve the precious time allotted us, that when his awakening call approaches, our conſciences may not accuſe us; but our faith may be firm, and an admittance granted us into that city which hath foundations, whoſe builder and maker is God!

"See that ye walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe, redeeming the time, becauſe the days are evil. Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Grace be to all them that love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity."

Eph. v. 15.—vi. 23.

Before we conclude the account of theſe people, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that as the Friends, commonly called Quakers, will not take an oath in a court of juſtice, ſo their affirmation is permitted in all civil affairs; but they cannot proſecute a criminal, becauſe in our courts of juſtice all evidence muſt be upon oath.

C H A P. II.

Containing an ACCOUNT *of the* WESTERN MARTYROLOGY, *or* BLOODY ASSIZES; *together with the* LIVES, TRIALS, *and* DYING SPEECHES, *of thoſe* EMINENT PROTESTANTS, *that* SUFFERED *in the* WEST *of* ENGLAND, *and elſewhere, from the* YEAR 1678, *to* 1685. *To which is added, the* LIFE *and* DEATH *of* GEORGE LORD JEFFREYS.

The MARTYRDOM *of* SIR EDMUND-BURY GODFREY.

THE cleareſt method for the deſcription of the martyrdom of this good man, will be firſt to inquire into the occaſion of it; and then the manner, circumſtances, and authors; and laſtly, the ſeveral endeavours that have been uſed to clear the papiſts of that indelible guilt, which ſticks upon them from ſo horrid a villainy.

For the occaſion of his martyrdom, what was ſaid in the ſumming up the evidence concerning him, but modeſtly and on ſuppoſition only, we may yet venture to affirm poſitively, This proteſtant magiſtrate was certainly murdered, becauſe he was a proteſtant.

But the particular and ſpecial reaſons were the following:

1. He had taken examinations about the popiſh plot, and thoſe not only (as the attorney-general ſaid in the trial of the aſſaſſins) perhaps, but undoubtedly more than are now extant. Mr. Oates addreſſed himſelf to him with his depoſitions: he had taken them, and inquired ſomething cloſely into the deſign, as his manner was in any thing which belonged to his office. This the papiſts very well knew, and therefore found it convenient to be rid of a troubleſome buſy man, who, now he was engaged in the buſineſs, was likely to pierce to the bottom of it; and he being once out of the way, the evidence might very eaſily have been diſpoſed of to their ſatisfaction.

But here thoſe, whoſe intereſt it is to get clear of ſuch a charge, object very pertly; What need, or what advantege. in taking off a juſtice, when the ſame things were depoſed in other places?

2. The ſecond reaſon or occaſion for this murder will

eaſily anſwer that objection. They not only bore him malice for what he had already done in Oates's caſe, and might probably be ignorant of thoſe ſecret paſſages tranſacted before king and council, in relation to Oates's depoſitions, but were ſenſible of a deeper reaſon than all this, and which brought them into more danger than the other.

Mr. Dugdale had received a letter the very night on which this gentleman was martyred (of which more anon) with theſe words in it, [This night ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is diſpatched.] This came from the papiſts to Ewers, a popiſh prieſt at my lord Aſton's, who, after he had read it, communicated the good news to Mr. Dugdale, telling him, One of their enemies was taken out of the way. He being deſirous to know how things went, aſked, What was the reaſon they took away his life? Ewers told him, There was a meſſage ſent to Mr. Coleman, when in Newgate, to deſire him that he would not reveal any thing of the plot; which meſſage came from the duke of York. To which Coleman replied, What was he the nearer, for he had been ſo fooliſh as to reveal all to ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey already? But upon the examination of Oates before ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, he was afraid he would come in as evidence againſt him, having ſhewn himſelf eager in the buſineſs. To which the duke of York ſent word again, If he would take care not to reveal, but conceal it, ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey ſhould not come in againſt him. And the next news was, that he was diſpatched.

Now this effectually takes off the former cavil; and this ſir Roger could not but be ſenſible of; and concluding ſo unanſwerably againſt what he built ſo much upon, even lets it fairly drop, and mentions not a ſyllable of it in all his book. Which evidence of Mr. Dugdale's, is beyond contradiction confirmed by ſeveral hints unluckily given in ſir Roger's own depoſitions, where Mr. Wynnel depoſes what ſir Edmund told him, Coleman muſt die, and mentioned conſults about a toleration; adding further, That he was maſter of a dangerous ſecret that would be fatal to him. Hence nothing can be more plain to any reaſonable man, than that ſir Edmund was acquainted with Mr. Coleman as well as Dr. Oates, and knew even the minute circumſtances in thoſe letters which afterwards were brought againſt him, and ſtood in fear of his life for that very reaſon, as for the ſame he afterwards loſt it.

For the manner of his death, thoſe who were accomplices therein ſhould beſt know it; and the objections againſt their evidence the reader may find cleared, if he will take the pains to look a little lower. After the poor gentleman had ſeveral days been dogged by the papiſts, as Dr. Oates, Mr. Prance, and Mr. Bedlow, unanimouſly ſwear, and which he as good as acknowledged to Mr. Robinſon, as appears on the trial of his murderers, they at laſt accompliſhed their wicked deſign, on Saturday, October 12, 1678, and under pretence of a quarrel, which they knew his care for the public peace would oblige him to prevent, about nine o'clock at night, as he was going home, got him into the Water-Gate at Somerſet-Houſe. When he was thus trepanned in, and got out of hearing from the ſtreet, toward the lower end of the yard, Green, one of the aſſaſſins, threw a twiſted handkerchief round his neck, and drew him behind the rails, which, notwithſtanding his age and weakneſs, are objected againſt it's probability; taking him thus at a ſurprize, and in the dark, it was eaſy for him to do, eſpecially three or four more of them immediately falling in to aſſiſt him, there they throttled him; and leſt that ſhould not be enough, punched and kicked him on the breaſt, as ſufficiently appeared when his body was found, by the marks upon it; and leſt he ſhould not be yet dead enough, another of them, Girald, or, as I find him called in other places, Fitzgerald, would have run him through, but was hindered by the reſt, leſt the blood ſhould have diſcovered them. But Green, to make ſure work, wrung his neck round, as it was found afterwards on the inſpection of the ſurgeons.

For the diſpoſal of the body, they all carried it up into a little chamber of Hill's, another of the murderers, who had been, or was Dr. Godwin's man, where it lay till Monday night, when they removed it into another room, and thence back again till Wedneſday, when they carried him out in a ſedan about twelve o'clock, and afterwards upon a horſe, with Hill behind him, to ſupport him, till they got to Primroſe-Hill, or, as ſome ſay it is called, Green-Bury-Hill, near a public houſe, called the White Houſe, and there threw him into a ditch, with his gloves and cane on a bank near him, and his own ſword run through him, on purpoſe to perſuade the world he had killed himſelf. Very politically making choice of a place to lay him where they might both think he would be ſome time concealed, and near where he had been ſeen walking the ſame day, if the affidavits to this purpoſe in ſir Roger's book may be relied upon.

All this Mr. Prance ſwears upon the trial of his murderers, with whom he acknowledges he had ſeveral conſultations before at the Plow alehouſe, and other places, concerning it; whoſe evidence is confirmed, not only by innumerable other circumſtances, but Mr. Bedlow's confeſſion, who was to have been preſent at the action, had not remorſe of conſcience hindered him, having been engaged by the conſpirators for a great reward, and was afterwards to have a conſiderable part of it for carrying off the body, which he ſwears he ſaw in the very room where Prance ſays it was removed on the Monday night. But even here too he failed them, ſo it was done without his aſſiſtance in the manner before deſcribed.

And very ſure, no doubt, the great plotters thought they had now made their buſineſs: for we are not to fancy theſe little villains attempted ſuch an action of their own impulſe; the great ſpring we had before in Dugdale's ſtory of Coleman, from whence thoſe large ſums muſt proceed which Bedlow mentions. Now, I ſay, they thought the buſineſs was as ſure as the Jews had made the ſepulchre, having ſealed all the mouths of the parties concerned, with oaths and ſacraments, ſolemnities commonly abuſed by their party to the fouleſt villainies. But neither that, nor the darkneſs of the night, nor the diſtance of places, could hinder the Divine Juſtice from looking through and diſcovering the villains concerned, and bringing them to puniſhments worthy their wickedneſs. It was accompliſhed in the following manner: His body being found by ſome who accidentally walked that way, and generally ſuſpected from his former diſcourſes, and many probabilities, that he was murdered by the papiſts, the king iſſued a proclamation with a promiſe of indemnity and 500l. reward to any who would diſcover it. On this Mr. Bedlow wrote a letter to the ſecretary from the country, concerning his knowledge of ſomething conſiderable in that matter; and being ſent for up to town, revealed whatever he knew of the buſineſs. And a little after, Prance being accidentally ſeized by a conſtable, then in the houſe of lords lobby, was known by Mr. Bedlow, having ſeen his face on that Monday night, when at the ſame time they ſaw the body; and who on examination diſcovered alſo what his ſhare was in the murder: and though he afterwards denied it, for fear of loſing his trade, and ſuch other motives, as he himſelf confeſſed, yet in a quarter of an hour he returned again to his firſt evidence.

But the moſt difficult taſk will be what yet remains, the clearing thoſe objections, and ſome of them plauſible ones, and which have led away too many well-meaning men, againſt the truth of this recited evidence; as well as ſome inſinuations ſpread abroad, and made the moſt of to perſuade the world this worthy gentleman was guilty of his own death.

But here it cannot be expected that a private perſon, who has not the advantages of ſir Roger, to have warrants for that purpoſe, and all perſons and papers before him relating to that buſineſs, and who had great wit, and honeſty little enough to pick out, and leave in, what was for his turn; that ſuch a one ſhould be able to go through ſo many hundred pages as his book conſiſts of, and anſwer every particular therein. It will be ſatisfaction enough to any rational man to touch ſome of the plots and fetches made uſe of from one time to another, to waſh the Blackamoor white, and clear the papiſts from this villainy: to anſwer the main objections againſt the evidence, and bring ſome corroborating circumſtances for the truth of it. And laſtly, To ſhew ſir Edmund could not murder himſelf in that place and manner as is pretended.

The firſt of the methods they uſed to ſham off this murder, was by early reports they ſpread about, even before his body was found, That he had killed himſelf. Now this, ſir Roger himſelf can ſcarce have face enough to affirm was done by the brothers to get the eſtate; ſince it was a very odd way, certainly, to do that, by letting the world openly know he was a ſelf-murderer. That ſuch reports were ſpread, we ſhall by and by prove, and that from ſir Roger's own book, without the trouble of conſulting the paper-office; and who got by it, who ſhould do it, whoſe intereſt was it to do it, but the papiſts, although the particular authors may be unknown?

Among the many evidences of his death, being known at ſo many diſtant places before it was made public here, there are two come up exactly to the matter in hand. The firſt, which was recited by the reverend dean of Bangor, ſince biſhop of St. Aſaph, in his funeral ſermon, and which, it ſeems, he had of one Mr. Angus, who, the ſame day ſir Edmund was found about five o'clock on Primroſe-Hill, being in Mr. Chiſwell's ſhop, in St. Paul's Church-yard, about one or two, there was a perſon unknown to him paſſed by, and clapping him upon the ſhoulder, aſked him, If he heard the news that ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was found dead, with his own ſword run through him.

The ſecond is of Mr. Goldſborough, clerk of the houſe of commons, who being in a barber's ſhop on Tueſday morning, while he was miſſing, a perſon came in open-mouthed, That ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was found; and being aſked where, replied, He had killed himſelf upon Primroſe-Hill; where upon the Thurſday following in the evening, the body was indeed diſcovered.

The ſecond conſiderable attempt made the ſame way, was by one Magrath, an Iriſhman, the famous Celiers, who told the ſame ſtory to the prince of Wales, and to a great many more beſides him; the Jeſuits in Newgate, and others, who pretended to prove that ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey hanged himſelf, and his clerk, Moor, cut him down. But being examined at the council-board, it proved only a malicious and falſe contrivance.

It will be well to remark, that Mrs. Mary Gibbons was one of the perſons deeply engaged in this deſign, among ſo much other good company: and that Mrs. Mary Gibbons is one of the principal evidences ſir Roger makes uſe of in his book. Though this ſham was then ſo thin laid, and this perſon ſo well known, that even Farewell and Pain were aſhamed to make uſe of either in their letters to Prance on this ſubject, but proteſt very ſolemnly, That none of thoſe, neither Celiers, the Newgate prieſts, nor Mrs. Mary Gibbons, or other papiſts, or popiſhly affected, knew any thing of the matter, but were all ſtrangers to it.

When this contrivance was found out by all the world to be nothing but a ſham as to Celiers's being with child in Newgate, or ſomebody elſe in another place, yet was not the indefatigable zeal of that party diſcouraged; but Mr. Farewell, a perſon intruſted in managing the eſtates and lands of the Jeſuits; and Pain, brother to the famous Pain, who wrote St. Coleman's elegy, ſet a new project on foot to the ſame purpoſe in ſome letters ſent to Prance, and printed by N. Thomſon; which indeed, if we look cloſe into them, will appear to be ſir Roger in little, there being the ſelf-ſame expreſſions in one as the other, and his myſtery ſeeming to be hardly more than their letters ſpread a little thinner. The blood guſhing out of the wound—Bedlow's and Prance's eaſt and weſt contradictions—The wax dropped on his cloaths after he was found, and ſeveral other things, the ſelf-ſame in both of them. And I remember, at that very time, it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected and rumoured about town, that the ſame perſon lay behind the curtain, and thruſt their cats-feet into the fire, who has ſince appeared publicly in proſecution of the ſame cauſe.

Before their trial, they reckoned their witneſſes by the hundred, pretending to make his ſelf-murder as clear as the ſun. When they came to it, and had all the fair play imaginable, Pain's heart failed him, and he pleaded guilty. Farewell made ſo poor a defence, and the matter was ſo clearly proved againſt them, that Farewell and Thomſon were both fined by the court, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, with the following inſcription over them: For libelling the juſtice of the nation, by making the world believe that ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey murdered himſelf. Where how abundantly they were honoured by the ſpectators, all who know any thing of the ſtory cannot but remember.

Thus it lay for ſome time, and no perſon was ſo hardy to make any farther attempts that way, while there was any poſſibility of having juſtice againſt them: but when the ſheriffs, juries, nay, king and all were changed; when that paſt, which poor Oates and all the world have cauſe to remember; when, if Prance would not unconfeſs, he knew he muſt tread the ſame dolorous way that Oates had done before him, and had now done all that could be deſired; then ſir Roger took up the cudgels, and publiſhed his book, called, The Myſtery of ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's death unfolded; or, which would have been a fitter title, The ſecond edition, with additions, of Farewell's and Pain's letters. The main of what he advances there, will be anſwered in clearing, as was propoſed, the objections againſt the evidence relating to that matter.

If the ill character of the perſons who gave it be urged to invalidate their teſtimony, as this does not reach all of them, ſo it has been often anſwered, Who but ſuch were fit for ſuch villainies? If their ſeeming diſagreement in ſome part of their evidence, what greater argument that it was no combination? If Prance retracted, we are told by ſir Roger himſelf, That he was a white-livered man, and ſo might be frighted out of truth as well as into it. And indeed on that very reaſon it was long before ſuſpected, that if ever he ſhould be bore hard upon, he would not be able to ſtand it.

But the papiſts would never kill him, becauſe he had obliged them. As if gratitude was a popiſh virtue, or charity, any more than faith, were to be kept with heretics: thoſe that think ſo, let them look back, and ſee if the laſt reign be enough to convince them.

It may be urged on, here are ſeveral teſtimonies in the trial of the murderers, and ſince, that invalidate the evidence there given, Warner and his wife and maid about Green, That he was at home all that evening when he was accuſed for committing it. It would be enough to oppoſe to this, their confeſſion to captain Richardſon, that they could do him no good. But beſides this, Mr. juſtice Dolbin's obſervation on the trial clears it effectually. They ſwore to the Saturday fortnight after Michaelmas-day, which was, ſays the juſtice, the 19th of October, not the 12th, on which the murder was committed.

If Broadſtreet and others teſtify they were in the room where the body was laid, and Hill's wife ſo rubs up her memory, that after ſo many years ſhe remembers what ſhe could not upon his trial, That ſhe, and he, and their child lay in the room all that very time when the body was ſaid to be there; it would not be a ſhift, but an anſwer, That they were papiſts that ſwore it, who can ſwear any thing. But beſides, Broadſtreet acknowledged before the duke of Monmouth, That Hill was gone from his lodgings before this time, as was proved on the trial. Mrs. Tilden ſays, There was but one key to their door. Mrs. Broadſtreet at the ſame time, with what ſhe owned about Hill, That there were ſix or ſeven: contradictions in others, we ſee, as well as the king's evidence; and theſe being much homer, and more irreconcileable than their's, muſt of neceſſity deſtroy the belief of what elſe they teſtify.

But the home-thruſt is—The centinels ſaw no ſeda carried out. This the printed trial eaſily ſets righ The centinels were Trollop and Wright. Trollop ſtai till ten, and ſaw a ſedan go in, but none out again Wright ſtaid till one, but ſaw none go out. It muſt b in Trollop's time, being, as Prance ſays, about twelve the centinels being then at Bury's lodge ſmoking an drinking. Trollop ſays on the trial, he was never th the lodge, but ſo does not Wright, as any one may ſee by conſulting it, he being never aſked the queſtion.

It will give a great light into this deed of darkneſs in the next place, to conſider ſeveral circumſtantial evidences, which would, of themſelves, go very far to prove that ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was murdered by the papiſts, and that in the very place and manner which has been already deſcribed.

The firſt of theſe from ſir Edmund's own mouth, which has been already hinted, but ſhall here be farther cleared.

It was indeed ſo notorious, that ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey had boding thoughts, and a ſort of a prophetical intimation of his death, and that by the papiſts; and diſcourſed of it ſo publicly and generally, that ſir Roger could not deny all the matter of fact, but endeavours to avoid the force of it; when he ſays, as is witneſſed by ſeveral, On my conſcience I ſhall be the firſt martyr. This he interprets, I doubt I ſhall not live long. Sure, though he ſays in one place, The man was no fool, yet he muſt be ſuppoſed to be no better, any more than all the readers, if neither he nor they made any difference between being hanged and martyred. But the very reaſon of this interpretation was for what ſir Roger dearly loved, that he might have opportunity for a reflection on the parliament. He feared, ſays he, that the parliament would call him to account, and that nothing would ſatisfy them but his life, for not diſcovering it ſooner. In oppoſition to this, any impartial man need but conſider what follows. 'Squire Robinſon, on the trial of the murderers, witneſſes that he had a diſcourſe with ſir Edmund a little while before his death about the plot then newly talked on. Says Robinſon, I wiſh the depth of the matter be found out. Sir Edmond anſwers, I am afraid it is not. Upon my conſcience I believe I ſhall be the firſt martyr. He acknowledged he had taken ſeveral examinations about it, but thought he ſhould have little thanks for his pains. Robinſon aſked him, Are you afraid? No, ſaid he, I do not fear them, if they come fairly; and I ſhall not part with my life tamely. Well, ſir Roger, is all this the parliament? Was he afraid the parliament would ſend a party to dog him, and ſet upon him? And that he did not fear the parliament, but if they came fairly, would not part with his life tamely? No; any man that has but half an eye, unleſs that too blinded with prejudice, may ſee the meaning of it; and that he apprehended danger only from the papiſts, againſt whom he had taken ſeveral examinations.

The next is, of John Wilſon, the ſadler, who ſwears, ſir Edmund talking with one Mr. Harris, then told this informant, That he was in danger for what he acted for the diſcovering the late plot againſt his majeſty. See how ingeniouſly this is anſwered; His apprehenſion was from the parliament, not the papiſts; and for concealing, not diſcovering the plot. Theſe very words ſir Roger has in his book. Now whether this is not a direct *Statuimus*, i. e. *Abrogamus*, what ſir Edmund calls Diſcovering, for ſir Roger, who knows his mind better, now he is dead, than he himſelf did while alive, to tell us he means Concealing, which is quite contrary; and how fair a way of anſwer it is, let any of his beſt friends be judges.

It would be tedious to bring any more, when this does effectually, as to his own judgment. Only it is remarkable, that theſe very things are ſworn upon the trial by Mr. Oates, That ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey had told him, he had received affronts from great perſons, for being ſo zealous in the buſineſs; that he had been threatened; that he went in fear of his life from the popiſh party; and that he had been dogged ſeveral days, but feared them not if they came fairly to work.

For other evidences of his murder by the papiſts, that which indeed made the greateſt noiſe, was his death being heard of ſo far off, and in ſo many different places, before it was known in London. This, ſir Roger tells us, was ſpread on purpoſe by the brothers to throw it on the papiſts. But here is this in oppoſition: Dugdale, againſt whom he makes no objection, but allows his evidence, makes oath in my lord Stafford's trial, and other places, That this news was brought to one Ewers, a prieſt, in a letter which he ſhewed him, dated the very night it was done, which had theſe words in it: This very night, ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey is diſpatched. Now I would fain aſk, Had theſe brothers correſpondence with the prieſt? Would they uſe ſuch a word as that, [diſpatched?] Did they write to Ewers too, and bid him tell Dugdale, That this ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey was a buſy man, and proper to be taken out of the way? As Dugdale ſwears he did. Could Dugdale conſpire with Oates ſo long before they knew one another, and while he was himſelf a priſoner in Staffordſhire? And were all theſe perjured, who witneſs that Mr. Dugdale did report this before it could be known by any but the very conſpirators?

That it was done in that very place, at Somerſet-Houſe, Providence has left ſtrange confirmation.

The firſt is, Bury the porter's refuſing to admit any perſons into the gates about that time, the 12th, 13th, 14th of October. Nay, that he had denied the prince (prince Rupert, I ſuppoſe, it muſt be) himſelf admittance, and pretended he had orders for ſo doing. But theſe orders he never produced. And more, like a true papiſt, denied matter of fact when charged with it; and though he had acknowledged to the council he had never ſuch orders before, when ſir Thomas Stringer came to witneſs it, poſitively denied it.

Two more very remarkable affidavits there are, which give mighty ſtrength to all the former; one of Spence (captain Spence he is called in ſome copies), and the other of John Okeley. Spence was a tall, black man, much like ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, as was witneſſed by thoſe who knew him; to all which ſir Roger only anſwers, He has been told otherwiſe. This Spence paſſing by the ſame water-gate at Somerſet-Houſe, two days before ſir Edmund's murder, was dragged in thither, being ſeized by five or ſix men; but one of them, when they had him in, cried out, This is not he, on which they immediately let him go. Here is a plain evidence of their intentions, and a confirmation of what Bedlow, Oates, and Prance ſwore of ſir Edmund's being dogged ſo long before. All that is anſwered to it, is, That there was a ſuit of law depending between this Spence and Mr. Broadſtreet, and therefore forſooth, he muſt forſwear himſelf, and wilfully damn his ſoul only for a circumſtantial evidence and reflection on Hill himſelf, three or four years after he was hanged, and ſo on his maſter, Dr. Godden, and thence again on Mrs. Broadſtreet; and all this when it had no influence at all on the ſuit of law, or them who ſued him. But enough of this. Let us now take notice of the next. It was one John Okeley, who that very night, October 12, going by Somerſet-Houſe, at the water-gate, about nine o'clock ſaw there ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, whom he knew very well, living in the ſame lane with him; he paſt cloſe by him, pulled off his hat to him, as ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did to him again; when paſt him, he turned about, and looked on him. And this he told to ſeveral perſons, which witneſs the ſame. To this, the main of what ſir Roger objects is, It was dark, and how ſhould he know him? Certainly, any one that knows London, cannot be ignorant that we have lights in the ſtreets at nine at night: and it was morally impoſſible, that one who knew him ſo well, who looked upon him, who put off his hat to him, and he to him again, and who after all this looked back upon him, that ſuch a one ſhould be miſtaken in the perſon.

The laſt thing to be proved is, That ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey did not, nor could he murder himſelf in that place, as is pretended by his enemies. He was firſt miſſing on Saturday, and therefore according to their account, his body muſt have been in the place where it was found till that Thurſday night. But had it been there on Tueſday or Wedneſday, the pack of hounds which hunted there, both of thoſe days, muſt have found him. Sir Roger tells us, They might have been on the other ſide of the ditch, or beat the place careleſsly without finding it. But Mr. Faucet's depoſition is, That he beat that very place, which ſurely he was capable of knowing, having been himſelf there to ſee it after the body was found. He repeats it, and ſays twice, It was in that very place, and Harwood ſays as much, who hunted the day after. One circumſtance there is, which makes this evidence yet more concluſive. It was depoſed in the trial of Farewell, and ſeveral other places, that the body ſtunk extremely when it was found, which was but the next day after. Now I will aſk any unprejudiced man, Whether it was ſo much as poſſible, that this very place ſhould be beat two days one after another, and the hounds not ſcent the body, even though the hunters might perhaps overlook it?

But beſides this, there was yet a narrower ſearch made on another occaſion in that ſame field. The ſtory is given in a paper, called, An account of the murder, publiſhed by Thompſon himſelf, who, with G. Larkin, another printer, was preſent, and vouched the matter of fact on their own knowledge. It is this, That while the body lay at the White-houſe, and the jury were about it, one of the jury-men themſelves declared, That a ſervant of his mother, a butcher, and two boys, made a very ſtrict and narrow ſearch in all parts of the ground for a calf that was loſt there, and this both on Monday and Tueſday, and at that time there lay no dead body, belt, gloves, or any thing elſe there. But were all theſe too on the wrong ſide of the hedge? Or where did they look for this calf, in the middle of the field, or in the ditches and hedges, where it was impoſſible they could have miſſed of the body, had it been there?

There is one great objection, which ſir Roger makes very much of in this matter, though not quite ſo ſtrong now, as it was ſome years ſince; and that is, There was no popiſh plot at all, therefore no popiſh murder, which he expreſſes in his own peculiar way. They hang both upon the ſame ſtring, and whoever overthrows the one, trips up the heels of the other. Nor indeed is he ſingular in his opinion, as to a great part of it. For my lord chief juſtice Pemberton ſays, on the trial of Farewell, I think it was, If they could have made it out that he had killed himſelf, all of them would have cried out, the popiſh plot was a ſham raiſed by the proteſtants againſt the papiſts, and all the plot muſt have gone for nothing. But now to retort the objection. If there was a popiſh plot, it is a terrible argument that there was too a popiſh murder. But that there was one, we muſt be forced to believe, till we find theſe things among many others anſwered.

1. Coleman's letters, and that expreſſion, The extirpation of the northern hereſy.

2. The letter produced in Harcourt's trial, wherein the very conſult of April 24 is mentioned, and a deſign then on foot among them, which they were to manage with all imaginable ſecrecy.

3. The poſitive oaths of ſo many men. Some of them of a fair character, and blameleſs converſation: others no more able to invent ſuch a plot, than their enemies to diſprove it.

4. The endeavours of the papiſts to aſſaſſinate, diſgrace, buy off, or any way divert the evidence againſt them; which they were not ſuch fools as to do for nothing.

5. The behaviour of the witneſſes ever ſince. One of them teſtifying at his death, after the ſacrament; another by his life, their malice reaching to his barbarous murder. A third with his blood, and ſo much as would have perhaps coſt any two or three other men their lives, to the truth of their depoſitions.

And laſtly, What tranſactions we have felt and ſeen ſince king James came to the throne, till his departure, are no great evidence that all that plot was a forgery.

From theſe things it is plain there was a popiſh plot: from theſe, and what went before, that this was a popiſh murder.

An Account of Mr. ARNOLD.

MR. ARNOLD had been a vigorous proſecutor of the prieſts and jeſuits which ſculked about in his own country of Wales. This was a crime not to be forgiven, nor any ways attoned for, by leſs than his deſtruction. In order to which he was aſſaulted by ſeveral villains, fit for ſuch buſineſs, in a little dark lane near the Temple, as he was paſſing through it pretty late in the evening; and had no doubt diſpatched him; and either found ſome way to make the world believe he had done it himſelf, as they would have done in the former inſtance, or ſtarted ſome other ſham to have removed the odium from their own party: but the gentleman, having had apprehenſion of ſome ſuch accident, made better uſe of it than ſir Edmund did before him; and having luckily a ſuit of private armour on, received ſeveral ſtabs, which the villains gave him, upon that, and ſo ſaved his life. But they finding their attempts that way unſucceſsful, were reſolved to take another courſe with him, and having got him down, with ſome deſperate weapon fit for the purpoſe, made ſeveral attempts to cut his throat, and gave him ſome dangerous wounds about that part; which while he was ſtruggling with to prevent, a boy providentially goes by with a light, which their deeds of darkneſs not being able to endure, they all ran away, and left Mr. Arnold weltering in his blood, who yet, by God's providence, recovered again, and lived to ſee juſtice done to one of the villains that uſed him in that barbarous manner: his name was Giles, and was diſcovered by a wound in his leg, which one of his accomplices ran through in the ſcuffle, as he was making a ſtab at Mr. Arnold. He was tried for the action, found guilty of it, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory for the ſame, which was accordingly executed, with a liberal contribution over and above from the enraged rabble, who ſufficiently made up for the gentleneſs of his ſentence, though as ſevere a one as our mild laws could inflict upon ſuch offenders.

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. COLLEDGE.

MR. COLLEDGE being a man of courage, induſtry, and ſharpneſs, he made it much of his buſineſs to ſerve his country, as far as poſſible, in ſearching after prieſts and jeſuits, and hunting theſe vermin out of their lurking holes, in which he was very ſerviceable and ſucceſsful, and for which, no doubt, they did not fail to remember him. The firſt time we meet with him in public, is, I think, in Stafford's trial, where he is brought in for Mr. Dugdale, as a collateral evidence. By that time the wind was upon the turn, and the tide of popular averſion not quite ſo ſtrong againſt popery, being by the cunning of our common enemy diverted into little ſtreams, and private factions; and arbitrary power driving on, as the beſt way to proſecute the deſigns of Rome; to which the city of London in particular made a vigorous reſiſtance; which diſpleaſing the grand agitators, no wonder they endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to do it a miſchief; their kindneſs to it having been ſufficiently experienced in 1666, and ever ſince. In order to which the king was pleaſed, by the advice of his ſpiritual brother, to alter the common and almoſt conſtant courſe of parliaments, and call one at Oxford inſtead of London. Many of the members whereof, and eſpecially thoſe of London, were apprehenſive of ſome deſign upon them there, having formerly in the gun-powder treaſon, and ever ſince, ſufficiently found the love of the papiſts to proteſtant parliaments, and knowing well what they were to expect from their kindneſs, if they ſhould be attacked by them and found defenceleſs. And more ground of ſuſpicion they had, becauſe, as Colledge proteſts in his ſpeech, there had been affidavits judiciouſly made of a formed deſign againſt them, being beſides removed away from the city of London, which had always ſo much of the Engliſh blood in it, as heartily to love parliaments, and for that reaſon would have ventured all for their defence. From theſe and ſuch like reaſons, it was, that ſeveral of the parliament men went accompanied with ſome of their friends, well armed and accoutred, to Oxford: of which number this Mr. Colledge was one, he waiting on my lord Clare, Paget, and Huntingdon to Oxford; where the parliament, forſeeing what has ſince happened, would have gone on where they left off in the former ſeſſions, which cauſing great heats, every body knows how abruptly they were diſſolved, not long after their meeting. It was now grown the entertainment of every coffee-houſe, and the ſubject of every buffoon's pamphlets, to expoſe and vilify parliaments as much as poſſible, and the very name of it was grown as odious to ſome men, as that of proteſtant. Mr. Colledge had, beſides all his other before-mentioned crimes, been, as he declares in his ſpeech, a great ſupporter of that auguſt aſſembly, and had been in former ſeſſions engaged by ſome of the honourable members to ſearch the places adjoining the parliament-houſe, leſt there ſhould be another gun-powder treaſon hatching for them; from whence, as he ſays himſelf, he believes he got that popular name of Proteſtant Joiner.

All theſe reaſons together were more than enough to get him taken out of the way; and for the performance thereof, Heins, and Macnamarra, and one or two of the apoſtate evidence of the popiſh plot, informed againſt him. Nor is it a wonder that after ſo many attempts, ſome of theſe men ſhould be prevailed with to prove falſe; but rather, that under ſo many temptations any of them reſiſted, or were not ſooner villains. Theſe perſons ſwore ſuch mad things againſt him, of taking Whitehall, and pulling the king out of it, and ſuch other odd wild ſtories, that partly from the ill-character of the perſons who witneſſed, the jury here in London refuſed to find the bill, but returned it *Ignoramus*. On which, contrary to all juſtice and precedent, law, and common reaſon, which forbids a man ſhould be twice in danger of his life for the ſame offence; the buſineſs was removed to Oxford, where the little civility or common juſtice he met with in his trial, was then notorious to all the world: a perſon being checked, for giving him but aſſiſtance and notes in the way of his calling, to make his defence when his life was engaged: yet though even thoſe notes were denied him, none that heard the trial, or ſo much as read it, but muſt grant, that he made a very extraordinary defence, and much more than could have been expected from a man of more learning. But he might have ſpared all his labour; the buſineſs was, no doubt, reſolved upon before, and he was found guilty, ſentenced, and executed according to order. To look back once more, and inquire a little deeper into the original of the matter: that there was a deſign laid to bring in moſt of the worthy patriots of England into a ſham plot, under the odious, ſcare-crow name of preſbyterians, not only the meal-tub attempt, and ſeveral others of the ſame batch, makes ſufficiently appear, but the late eſſay of Fitz-Harris above all the reſt, was enough to ſatisfy the moſt prejudiced perſons. He had conſpired with ſome others to write a ſcandalous libel againſt the king, which was to be laid on ſuch as they called preſbyterians, and this to be ſent to their houſes, or conveyed into their pockets, and there to be ſeized, and the perſons proſecuted thereupon. This buſineſs the Oxford parliament had before them, and began to ſmell out who ſet it on foot; and being reſolved to find the bottom of it, and leſt he ſhould be hanged up on the ſudden to prevent his confeſſion, (he now beginning to melt a little) as Hubert, who fired London formerly, was, they impeached him, to keep the examination of that matter to themſelves. It is too long to run over the proceedings againſt him, and the court party's ſubtle contrivance, to hang, draw, and quarter him, and ſo to hinder effectually his telling any more tales. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that this deſign was proſecuted for ſeveral years after, and poor Colledge was to bear the brunt, as has been already declared.

If we reflect yet further on the manner of his trial, and not look on any others, one would be apt to think it was impoſſible a man could be deſtroyed with more injuſtice and barbarity than he was; or that twelve men, who look like chriſtians, could be found out, who would hang a man upon ſuch evidence as was given againſt him.

When a criminal ſhall be kept cloſe priſoner in the Tower, without having ſufficient means to make his defence, till he come to his trial: when, as has been ſaid, he ſhall be rifled of his notes, by which only he could ſave his life, on which he depended, and that juſt before he came to his trial; though aſſiſted therein by that very council aſſigned by the court for him: when he ſhall in vain demand them again, and call heaven and earth to witneſs, that he is merely cheated of his life for want of them: when all his redreſs is ſuch a frivolous excuſe, as not only a judge, but any honeſt man, would be aſhamed to make uſe of; nay, ſuch a ſort of a one as is commonly made before the judges, but ſeldom by them, that it was ſomebody elſe did it, that the court, the chief juſtice had them not, nor did take them from him: when the very perſon ſtood by who robbed him of them; and yet he could have no reparation: when the king's council muſt whiſper the chief juſtice on the bench, and the court muſt be adjourned, on purpoſe to examine thoſe minutes which the poor man had got together to ſave his life, and even from them get an opportunity to take it away, altering the manner of their proſecution, ſtrengthening and bolſtering their evidence againſt him, were not only ſuch as an honeſt London jury would not believe, though a country one directed by the king's council, could make a ſhift to do it; but were every one of them, who witneſſed any thing material, confounded by ſuch home evidence, as, if any thing in the world could do it, did certainly invalidate and annul their teſtimonies: when one of them ſwears horridly, He cared not what he ſwore, nor whom he ſwore againſt, for it was his trade to get money by ſwearing; that the parliament was a company of rogues for not giving the king money, but he would help him to money out of the fanatics' eſtates, which is explained by what Smith ſays, That if the parliament would not give the king money, but ſtood on the bill of excluſion, it was pretence enough to ſwear a deſign to ſeize the king at Oxford: when this ſame Heins very pleaſantly ſays, It was a judgment upon the king and the people, and the Iriſhmen's ſwearing againſt them was juſtly fallen on them, for ouſting the Iriſh of their eſtates: when others of them ſwear, That ſince the citizens deſerted them, they would not ſtarve; that they would have Colledge's blood; that though they had gone againſt their conſciences, it was becauſe they had been perſuaded to it, and could get no money elſe: and when they had ſaid before, they believed Colledge had no more hand in any conſpiracy againſt his majeſty, than the child unborn: when they would have hired others to ſwear more into the ſame plot: when the bench was ſuch juſt and kind council for the priſoner, as to tell the jury, the king's witneſſes were on their oaths, the priſoner's not, and ſo one to be credited before the other; in which caſe it is impoſſible for any man living to make a defence againſt a perjured villain: laſtly, when the priſoner himſelf very weightily objected, That there was no proof of any perſon being concerned with him in the deſign of ſeizing the king; and it was wiſely anſwered, That he might be ſo vain to deſign it alone; a thouſand times a more romantic improbability, than an army's lying concealed at Knight's-bridge, and of the ſame ſtamp with Drawcanſirs killing all on both ſides: taking all theſe things together, hardly ever was a man at this rate bantered out of his life, before any judicature in the world, in any place or age that hiſtory has left us.

Nor ought the great ſervice he did to the nation in general to be ever forgotten; ſince notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages he was under, the public ſtream running ſo violently againſt him and his witneſſes, and the ſurpriſe which ſuch ſtrange treatment, when he was on his life, might caſt him into, he yet made ſo ſtrong a defence, by ſhewing what ſort of witneſſes were brought againſt him, hindering them ever after from being believed, and thereby certainly ſaved many others' lives, though he could not his own.

Nor can the undaunted courage, and firm honeſty of the man be hardly ever enough admired. Since, beſides what he ſhewed in his defence, after he was condemned, as he himſelf ſaid, as good as without a trial, he boldly aſked, When he was to be executed? without any the leaſt ſeeming concern. And though he had conſiderable time before his execution to conſider of it, refuſed to ſave his life ſo meanly, as to make other innocent men's the price of his own; without which deſign they had hardly been ſo kind as to have given him ſo long a reprieve.

As for his behaviour at his execution, it was ſuch as convinced more than a few of his greateſt enemies, and made them entertain a much better opinion of him than before. From his laſt ſpeech we ſhall remark ſeveral paſſages, as another argument of his innocence. But before we proceed any further in them, it will be needful to fix one aſſertion, which we may preſume few modeſt unprejudiced perſons will deny, and which we ſhall have occaſion to make further uſe of. It is, That a proteſtant, who believes an heaven and hell, and is not a man of no principles, or debauched and atheiſtical, would not go out of the world, into the preſence of that God who muſt judge him, with a lie in his mouth. This none will deny, but thoſe who have a very great kindneſs for the papiſts; and yet of all men in the world ſuch as theſe muſt not offer to do it, ſince it was the very argument they made uſe of for the innocence of the jeſuits, and other traitors. Though on that ſide we know there are unanſwerable arguments not to believe them; their religion recommending perjury, and all ſorts of villainies to them as meritorious, when holy church is concerned. Their church beſides allowing them diſpenſations before, and abſolution after, and purgatory at the worſt, whence a few maſſes would fetch them out again. Things being thus, what can any man of modeſty ſay to Mr. Colledge's proteſtations over and over, both in priſon, and at his death, That he was perfectly innocent of what he died for? I did deny it then, ſays he, that is, before the council, and do deny it upon my death: I never was in any kind of plot in my days; and if I had any ſuch deſign as theſe have ſworn againſt me, I take God to witneſs, as I am a dying man, and on the terms of my ſalvation, I know not one man upon the face of the earth which would have ſtood by me. And lower, I knew not of any part of what they ſwore againſt me, till I heard it ſworn at the bar. Again, All the arms we had were for our defence, in caſe the papiſts ſhould have made any attempt by way of maſſacre, &c. God is my witneſs, this is all I know. And in this ſolemn prayer, and ſome of his almoſt very laſt words: It is thee, O God, I truſt in. I diſown all diſpenſations, and will not go out of the world with a lie in my mouth. And juſt after to the people, he ſaid, From the ſincerity of my heart, I declare again, that theſe are the very ſentiments of my ſoul, as God ſhall have mercy upon me.

Now upon the whole, I would aſk any ſober man, what he would anſwer to this, and how he can forbear, without the greateſt violation to all principles of good nature and ingenuity, to pronounce this perſon innocent?

Thus died Mr. Colledge, whoſe blood, as he himſelf deſired it might, ſufficiently ſpoke the juſtice of his cauſe, who ſeemed in his ſpeech to have ſome prophetic intimations, that his blood would not be the laſt, as indeed it was not, but rather a prelude to that which followed, the edge of the laws being now turned againſt all thoſe who dared defend them.

The MARTYRDOM *of* ARTHUR, EARL *of* ESSEX.

THAT party, and thoſe perſons who were engaged to manage the deſigns before mentioned, were now entered on the moſt compendious way of introducing what they deſired, as well as avoiding what their own conſciences, and all the world knew they deſerved. Having thoſe in their own hands, who had the executive part of the government in their's; and finding, no doubt, a ſort of malicious pleaſure, as well as advantage, in deſtroying people by thoſe laws which were made to preſerve them; a villainy to be compared with nothing but the treaſon of that monſter of a prieſt, who gave the emperor poiſon in the bleſſed ſacrament: having wrought up the nation, and all parties therein to a high ferment, making one ſide mad for ſlavery, as if they had all been at Conſtantinople as well as their ſheriff, and learnt the doctrine of the bow-ſtring; ſome of them treated, others cajoled, others frightened, and ſome few reaſoned into the belief of abſolute authority in kings, and active obedience as well as what is called paſſive, to be paid to all their commands. Some honeſt, ſeveral learned, more witty men joining in with all their power, to advance the tranſactions at that time on the wheel. And on the other ſide, exaſperating that party who were more tenacious of their liberties, as much as poſſible againſt the conſtitution which they ſaw ſo horridly abuſed both in church and ſtate, perſuading them all that the clergy were for making them ſlaves, and themſelves and the court great to ride upon them; whereas really it was only a party, though too large, who made more noiſe, though they had neither more ſenſe nor number than thoſe who differed from them; and by this means rendering many of the trading part of the nation eſpecially, ſo diſſatisfied with them, and eager againſt them, that they had reaſon to fear as bad effects thereof, as they had experienced in the laſt age, and ſo ſided more cloſely with that party whence they expected protection. When things were in this poſture, and a great many perſons either taken off from their natural love to a lawful liberty, which is ſo much of the nature of an Engliſhman; the managers of the great intrigue which was to accompliſh our ruin, reſolved, after they had begun with Colledge, to riſe higher, and fly at a nobler game, and take off all thoſe whom they could not win over, or againſt whom intereſt or revenge had more keenly engaged them, and who were moſt likely to make the moſt vigorous oppoſition againſt their attempts. But finding the London juries immoveably honeſt, and no way to accompliſh their deſigns on theſe perſons, while their witneſſes would not be believed, and no way to get juries fit for their purpoſe, but by having ſheriffs of the ſame ſtamp; and finding the party they had gotten, after all their tricks, which many of thoſe who then knew, are now aſhamed of, viſibly and fairly out-numbered by thoſe who were not yet ripe for ſlavery, they bethought themſelves of one way to rid themſelves of that inconveniency, which was by a *quo warranto* againſt the city of London, that they might more effectually, and with leſs noiſe, have what ſheriffs they pleaſed; or in effect, hang whomſoever they thought their enemies, and not be forced almoſt to bluſh at thoſe viſible and ſenſible illegalities with which they had forced thoſe officers upon the city.

This they had accompliſhed in the year 1683, when judgment was given againſt the charter of London, whoſe liberties had been confirmed to them by William the Conqueror, and delivered down before from immemorial ages, and this by two judges only in Weſtminſter-Hall, though the greateſt cauſe, one may venture to ſay, that ever was legally tried therein.

Now by this time they had, after ſo many fruitleſs endeavours, brought ſomething of a plot to bear; and with this advantage above all their former, that there was really ſomething in it, although as Bays ſays in another caſe, That truth, which was notoriouſly blended with lies and perjuries. The occaſion of it we may beſt meet with in Holloway's moſt ingenious acknowledgment; "By arbitrary and illegal ways, and force of arms, they had got ſheriffs to their mind; witneſſes they had before, but wanted jurors to believe them. Now they have got ſheriffs, who will find jurors to believe any evidence againſt a proteſtant, and ſo hang up all the king's friends by degrees. None being ſuffered to come near the king, but thoſe who have been declared enemies to the king and kingdom, who, to ſave themſelves, do endeavour to keep all things from the king's knowledge, and perſuade him againſt parliaments," &c.

Thus much for the occaſion. The deſign ſeems to be the ſame with what was intended at firſt, by many of thoſe great and eminent perſons, both clergy and laity, in their late appearance in arms; though by the providence of God, for the ſecurity of the nation, and reaſon of ſtate, it has ſince been carried farther than their's was ever to have been. Seeing fair means, ſays Holloway, would not do, but all things on the proteſtants ſide miſrepreſented to the king by ſuch great criminals, and none more in favour than thoſe; to take the king from his evil council, and that (as the late wonderful turn was tranſacted, and as it is impoſſible to be otherwiſe in buſineſs of ſo large a concern) by a general inſurrection in ſeveral parts of England at once. All thoſe who have had any ſhare in the preſent tranſactions, which are upon the matter, all the nation have ſhewn themſelves plainly of the ſame mind with thoſe who were engaged in this, on which the diſpute runs, as to the reaſon of the thing, and the principles on which they proceeded; and their only difference is about matter of fact, whether things were then at that heighth as to need deſperate remedies. If it be objected, That ſuch attempts are only gloſſy pretences, veiled under the ſpecious name of the public good; the anſwer is as ready as the objection, Is there any difference between reaſon and no reaſon, truth and falſhood? There is a right, and a wrong, and if ever liberties were invaded, and the ends of government vacated and annulled, never were the foundations of ſuch a deſign plainer than on this occaſion: ſo that it was indeed, what was of it, a counter-plot, rather than a plot againſt the government and laws of England, and that when no other remedy could without a miracle be expected.

That this was the height and utmoſt of the then deſign, and that no brave good man need to be aſhamed of it, I think all, or moſt men are by this time pretty well ſatisfied. But alas! this would not ſerve the turn of the managers; even this might not, nor perhaps could be, as certainly it was not, fairly proved againſt ſeveral, who ſuffered for it; this was a thing ſo neceſſary and defenſible, that there was occaſion of laying fouler colours upon it, to fright and amuſe the world, and let them ſtand by patiently, and ſee their beſt and braveſt patriots ſink, with much ſuch prudence and wiſdom as the ſheep in the fable ſuffered thoſe bloody maſtiffs to be deſtroyed, who ſo often broke the peace between them and the harmleſs wolves; and were afterwards in their turns handſomely worried, and juſtly eaten up for their reward. It was convenient to make ſomewhat more of it; there muſt be an aſſaſſination grafted on this inſurrection, or elſe all would not be worth an halter; it was the buſineſs and intereſt of the popiſh party, to render their enemies as odious as poſſible to the people, of whom for their ſteady zeal and love to their religion and liberties, they had long been the darlings. To accompliſh this, it was very neceſſary to get ſome perſons to inſinuate into their counſels, to inflame things higher, to make odious propoſals of all aſſaſſinations, and murders, and ſuch bloody villanies as alarm the good nature of an Engliſhman with the very mention of them; which yet ſome of the honeſter and wiſer looking upon as mad hot words only, or if any more intended, having it in their power to prevent ſuch wickedneſs another way, would not yet turn informers, nor ruin thoſe perſons, who in all probability were only trepanners to ruin them. In all the papers relating to this matter, we ſhall find all diſcourſes of this nature centered in Weſt and Rumſey. Weſt was very much for lopping buſineſs, for killing them in their calling, and was full and eager for it. Though Walcot, Holloway, and all whoever heard it propoſed, received it ſtill with the greateſt deteſtation imaginable, as a moſt baſe and bloody action, which they never would have their own hands imbrued in, nor their poſterity ſtained with. That all the great perſons of birth and honour, were abſolutely againſt ſo foul an action, and abhorred it from their ſouls, we may find, even without the forced confeſſion of their worſt enemies, by the lord Ruſſel's concern when ſuch a thing was muttered, and the duke of Monmouth's anſwer, God ſo—kill the king! I will never ſuffer it. The account we have of it, is from him who ſhould beſt know, and that is Weſt, who in his diſcourſe with Holloway on this occaſion, tells him of the Newmarket and Rye-houſe deſign, that the king and duke were to be killed as they came by, for which they had provided arms for fifty men, and were promiſed Rumbald's houſe, which lay in the road. When aſked, Who was to act it, who were to fire theſe arms for theſe men, piſtols, carbines, and blunderbuſſes? He could name but two men, Rumbald and his brother; who certainly muſt have been very dexterous to have diſcharged all thoſe dreadful weapons themſelves without aſſiſtance, and is much ſuch a likely ſtory as Colledge's being ſo vain to attempt ſeizing the king by himſelf, without any aſſiſtance.

But if even theſe two brothers, who very likely were picked out by the evidence for the king-killers, merely for their hard names, the very ſound of which would be as ſhrewd an argument of their guilt to women and children, and with as much juſtice, as ſome of the odd names of the poor people in the weſt were made, at leaſt a ſtrong preſumption againſt them, and almoſt as mortal as an innuendo. If even theſe two were innocent of this horrid buſineſs, who were the only perſons engaged therein, pray, what then becomes of the aſſaſſination? And will not Rumbald's blunderbuſs bear laughing at full as well as Pickering's carbine or ſcrew-gun, and chawed bullets? But if there be any thing ſolid in that obſervation in Colledge's caſe, That a chriſtian, and a proteſtant, will not forſwear himſelf when he is juſt going out of the world; if this fair ſuppoſition may but be granted me, as I ſee not how it can be avoided, the matter will be clear enough; Rumbald himſelf in his ſpeech at his execution in Scotland, abſolutely diſclaiming and denying any hand in any ſuch deſign. See his ſpeech and anſwer to his indictment: He deſired all preſent to believe the words of a dying man; as for having deſigned the king's death, he never directly, nor indirectly, intended ſuch a villainy; that he abhorred the very thoughts of it; and that he bleſſed God he had that reputation in the world, that he knew none had the impudence to aſk him the queſtion; and he deteſted the thoughts of the action, and hoped all good people would believe him; which was the only way he had to clear himſelf; and he was ſure that this truth ſhould one day be manifeſted to all men. So at his execution: I think it neceſſary to clear myſelf of ſome aſperſions laid on my name; and firſt, that I ſhould have had ſo horrid an intention of deſtroying the king and his brother. Where he repeated what he had ſaid to the jury on the ſame ſubject.

The ſum is, If any aſſaſſination, it muſt have been from the Rumbalds: if not by them, as has been proved, then not at all. If no aſſaſſination in this plot, then nothing is left of malignity in it, but a lawful and laudable oppoſition to the breach and ruin of our good laws and government; and even that, as will be proved, not proved againſt moſt of thoſe that by the iniquity of the times ſuffered for the ſame.

We have been forced to give this fair and impartial ſcheme or idea of that deſign, which was at that time repreſented ſo formidable and dreadful, before we could handſomely proceed to the death of this noble lord, or thoſe others that followed him; and that as well from the order of the hiſtory, as for his vindication. And as has been remarked, it was neceſſary for that party who managed our ruin, that the fore-mentioned buſineſs of the aſſaſſination ſhould be believed, and nothing like a real one actually performed, to gain credit to a feigned one only pretended: for what could be a greater argument that there was ſome black wickedneſs at the bottom, ſome ſin of an extraordinary ſtain, like the murder of princes, bearing too hard on his conſcience, that could poſſibly induce ſo great a man to ſo unchriſtian an attempt on his own perſon? Hence they might, and no doubt did argue; hence the very rabble may eaſily reaſon; certainly there was more in it than only juſt conſultations, and neceſſary meaſures taken for the public ſafety by the peers of the realm, by the king and kingdom's beſt friends, to deliver his majeſty from thoſe familiars that haunted him. There was more than this, and this lord was conſcious of it, or elſe certainly he had never acted what he has. Now this would effectually excite that averſion which muſt neceſſarily follow from all honeſt men, to a party who could be guilty of ſuch horrid deſigns. This muſt of neceſſity, as in effect it did, ſway much with thoſe juries who were to ſit upon the lives of any accuſed or concerned in the ſame buſineſs, had there not been more weighty reaſons to be produced below, towards the finding them guilty. Although, it is certain by their own confeſſion, the beſt excuſe they could make for innocent blood, particularly in Ruſſel's caſe, was that confirmation they had to the evidence ſworn againſt them by Eſſex's murder. Beſides, there might be a barbarous kind of pleaſure, in opening this plot with a ſcene ſo like that which began the popiſh one; and that in all probability, by the ſame actors whoſe hands where deep in the others.

There was a gentleman killed, which contributed very much towards the credit of that plot, though in another way. Here muſt be one to undergo the ſame fate for the ſame reaſon. And both of them too pretendedly to kill themſelves, juſt one as much as another.

Theſe preliminaries being cleared, it will be now time to come to the perſon of this noble lord, his family, and former manner of life.

Every one knows he was of the illuſtrious family of the Capels, whoſe father died for a family, whence he deſerved better treatment for his ſake, and had received it, had he not fell into the hands of popiſh gratitude and mercy; which his enemies knowing too well, and doubting the ſweetneſs of temper, which all the world ever acknowledged in king Charles the Second, would not give him over to their public revenge: in all probability, reſolved to take a ſhorter courſe with him. He had been ſome years before in the higheſt place under the king in Ireland, and there behaved himſelf with that wiſdom and candour, inſeparable from all the actions of his life, and lived above blame, though not above envy: being recalled thence unexpectedly, and dealt with not very handſomely; which yet he bore with a ſpirit like a brave man, and a chriſtian.

My lord of Eſſex was a perſon, whom it was no doubt the higheſt intereſt of the popiſh faction to have gotten out of the way, even though there had been no ſuch extraordinary reaſon as has been mentioned. He had a large intereſt, a plentiful eſtate, a great deal of courage, underſtood the world, and the principles and practices of the papiſts, as well as any man, having been of ſeveral ſecret committees in the examination of the plot, for which very reaſon there was as much neceſſity for his dying as ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey. He was, beſides all this, they very well knew, of inflexible honeſty, and ſo true a greatneſs of mind, they could no more expect to gain him, than heaven itſelf, to be on their ſide.

As for the immediate ſubject of his death, the manner and circumſtances thereof; it muſt firſt be granted, and a very reaſonable demand it is, that for the preſent only ſuppoſing he was murdered only by the papiſts, they would, we may be ſure, make it their buſineſs to render the manner of it as dark as the hell in which it was contrived. Murders, eſpecially of that magnitude, are not uſed to be committed in the face of all the world, and at noon-day. When power is engaged in any villainy; when the ſame power is ſtill continued or increaſed, and can be eaſily exerciſed in taking out of the way the traitors, though it loves the treaſon; and when ſo many years have intervened ſince the fact; it is no wonder at all if things are more in the dark, than they would have been, had, at that very inſtant, liberty been given to have enquired into it, which was ſo loudly and paſſionately demanded. But this we are yet certain of, though no more is yet publickly known in this matter, than what has formerly been printed; and there may be ſeveral reaſons both of ſtate and decency, which may perhaps make it convenient that things ſhould always be as they are; yet there are already ſuch violent probabilities, both that he was murdered, and murdered by papiſts; and of the other ſide, ſuch at leaſt next to impoſſibilities, in his acting it himſelf, that as long as the world ſtands, no modeſt man will be able either to get by them, or over them; nor the moſt impudent or cunning, to out-face, or give them an anſwer.

For the probability that he was murdered by popiſh contrivement, beſides thoſe already named, why they ſhould do it? here are theſe following arguments, that they did it: Their principles too openly known to be denied: their practices in all ages, and this preſent; ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey, the very prototype of Eſſex, Arnold, all the pretended legal murders, and all that has ſince happened. But if it is ſaid, ſome papiſts are better and braver than others; let us come nearer. Would thoſe that formerly burned London; thoſe who have ſince broke all the obligations of gratitude and good-nature, nay, public faith, and the moſt ſolemn oaths which it is poſſible for a man to take; who if the teſtimonies of ſuch as have confirmed it with their dying breaths, and laſt drop of blood, may be credited, who have encouraged, hired, paid men for attempts to be made on the lives of their neareſt, and too tender relations; would ſuch as theſe ſtick at a ſingle murder, a ſmall venial villainy, to advance their cauſe, and merit heaven into the bargain? When pretence of juſtice, neceſſity of affairs, reaſon of ſtate, and ſo many more ſuch weights might be thrown into the ſcales. More than all this—When ſuch perſons as theſe were actually in the place were this murder was committed, at the very inſtant it was done? All theſe together, with what is yet to follow, amount to as ſtrong arguments and pregnant circumſtances as the nature of the thing will bear, and mark out the murderers as plainly and viſibly, as if they had come out of his chamber with white ſleeves, and a long knife in their hands, bloody all over.

And indeed there ſeems need of little more than relating bare, ſimple, indubitable matter of fact, and ſuch as hardly any body will deny, to ſatisfy any cool rational man in the buſineſs.

The earl of Eſſex's throat was cut in the Tower the 13th of July, about eight or nine in the morning, at which time the duke of York, a bigotted papiſt, his known and bitter enemy, was there preſent. This was reported at Andover, 60 miles from London, the 11th of July, the firſt day of his impriſonment, and as common town-talk in every body's mouth, as ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's at the time of his murder, and told a perſon travelling on the road near the ſame place, which was witneſſed before even a Jeffreys, in a public court of judicature. A deputy coroner preſent at the inqueſt, inſtead of a legal one; none of the relations to attend the inqueſt. The body removed from the place where it was firſt laid, ſtripped, the clothes taken away, the body and rooms waſhed from the blood, the clothes denied the view of the jury. The principal witneſſes examined only Bomeny his man, and Ruſſel his warder, who might be ſo juſtly ſuſpected of being privy to, if not actors in it. That the jury haſtened and hurried the verdict, when ſo great a man, a peer of the realm, and ſuch a peer was concerned, who was the king's priſoner. When ſir Thomas Overbury had been before murdered in the Tower, and his jury brought in an unrighteous verdict; when even ſir Edmund-Bury Godfrey's jury, ſo much cried out againſt for their ill-management, adjourned their verdict, and ſtaid conſiderably before they brought it in. This at a time when the lord Ruſſel was to be tried for a ſhare in the plot, in which the earl was alſo accuſed of being concerned. One branch of which conſpiracy, and which it was ſo much the papiſts intereſt to have the belief fixed on it, was a barbarous murder of the duke and king; when nothing could ſo immediately and critically tend to that noble gentleman's ruin; when the news was inſtantly, with ſo much diligence, conveyed from the Tower to the Seſſions-Houſe, Bench, Bar, and Jury, and harped upon by the lord Howard juſt then, and by others in after-trials, as more than a thouſand witneſſes, and the very finger of God. After this, the very centinel, who that day ſtood near the place, was found dead in the Tower-ditch, and captain Hawley barbarouſly murdered down at Rocheſter; and ill methods uſed to prevent the truth of all from coming to light. Mr. Braddon was harraſſed, proſecuted, impriſoned, and fined for ſtirring in it. On the fair and impartial conſideration of theſe things, hardly one of which is but notorious matter of fact, granted by all ſides; what can a man conclude from the whole, but whether he will or no—That this noble lord was certainly murdered by the popiſh party?

But there is yet more evidence: If he could not murder himſelf in that manner, who then ſhould do it but thoſe on whom the guilt of it has been juſtly charged? And this from the manner of it. His throat was cut from one jugular to the other, and by the *Aſpera Arteria* and wind-pipe to the *Vertebræ* of the neck, both the jugulars being thoroughly divided. How often has it been aſked, and how impoſſible it ſhould ever receive an anſwer: How could any living man, after the prodigious flux of blood which muſt neceſſarily follow on the dividing one jugular, as well as all thoſe ſtrong muſcles which lie in the way, how could he ever have ſtrength to go through, all round, and come to the other, without fainting; One could as ſoon believe the ſtory of the pirate, who after his head was cut off, ran the whole length of his ſhip; or that of St. Dennis, which was, no doubt, grafted on the other.

Nor is it rendered leſs impoſſible from the inſtrument with which thoſe who did it would perſuade the world it was performed by himſelf. A little French razor. Had Bomeny held to the penknife, it had been much more likely. But here was nothing to bear or reſt upon in the cutting, it having no tongue to hold it up in the haft. And as it is obſerved in the prints on that ſubject, he muſt therefore, ſuppoſing he had done it himſelf, have held his hand pretty far, upon the very blade, and ſo with about two inches and a half of it, whittle out a wound of four inches deep, and all round his neck, as if he had intended to have been his own headſman, as well as executioner, out of remorſe of conſcience for his treaſon.

Laſtly, His character makes it morally impoſſible he ſhould be guilty of ſo mean and little an action. It is for women, and eunuchs, and lovers, and romantic heroes, to kill themſelves; not men of known virtue, temper, wiſdom, piety, and gravity; who had formerly digeſted as great affronts as could be put upon a man, with a candour and calmneſs ſo worthy a man and a chriſtian, who had been ſo far from defending ſo barbarous and unmanly a thing as ſelf-murder, as is ſuggeſted, that he had rather expreſſed himſelf with deteſtation concerning it.

And as he ought not, and could not be hurried into ſo fatal an action by a falſe miſtaken greatneſs of mind; as no ſuch thing, or ſo much as the leaſt footſteps of it appeared in the whole courſe of his life; ſo from all his actions in the Tower before his death, we may fairly deduce the quite contrary to what his enemies have aſſerted; and by obſerving his conduct there, diſcover plainly that no ſuch black intention ever entered into his mind. This appears from ordering his people to have his own plate ſent for out of the country to dreſs his meat, as well as a conſiderable parcel of wines bought and brought into the Tower for his drinking, that he might not ſtand to the courteſy of his enemies, and this ſufficient to laſt him till he could be delivered by due courſe of law.

I can forſee but one thing that can with the leaſt plauſibility be objected to this conſiderable paſſage; and it is, That this was when he was firſt committed, before he fell melancholy, which he more eminently did, when he heard my lord Ruſſel was to be tried, as being grieved and deſperate for having brought ſo brave a gentleman into ſuch unhappy circumſtances, as Bomeny ſomewhere or other pretends to, on diſcourſing with him on that particular.

But there are two anſwers which cut all the ſinews of this objection: Firſt, That this was the very day before he was murdered, that he ſent both for his wine and ſilver veſſels. Now, Bomeny lays the foundation of his melancholy, and the intention to be his own deſtroyer, on the very firſt day he came into the Tower. For he ſays in his depoſition in Braddon's trial, That he had ordered his ſervant two days before to provide a penknife for him, on pretence of cutting his nails, but with an intent of committing that fatal and tragical act. The 13th of July was the day of his martyrdom, two days before then muſt be the 11th, the day of his commitment: but it was the intervening day, the 12th of that month, on which he took ſuch care to eat and drink ſafely: whereas, had there been any ſuch deſign in his head, he would never have taken ſuch meaſures; and if he had had an intention to amuſe his people, that no ſuch thing might have been ſuſpected, he might have taken other ways, leſs troubleſome and chargeable.

But what yet clears all the remaining ſcruple, is his ordering his gentleman to take notes at my lord Ruſſel's trial, appointing him how to manage himſelf for the effecting it, ſo calmly and orderly, that he cannot be ſuppoſed either diſturbed, or deſperate on account of his own guilt, or Ruſſel's unhappineſs; or to have taken this courſe with himſelf, as Jeffreys ſays in Braddon's trial, to prevent juſtice, though others did it with him, to prevent mercy.

One great argument more; that, which indeed, when it happened, did much alarm all thinking men, and make them ſhrewdly ſuſpect foul play had been offered, was the ill-treatment thoſe met with who dared but pry into thoſe *Arcana Imperii*, and deſire but in a legal way that the buſineſs might be reviewed, and ſearched to the bottom. This was granted in the caſe of poor ſir Edmund, many years after his death, and commiſſion given to inquire into it, to L'Eſtrange. But it is confeſſed there was a great deal of difference. One, as it was managed, tending to root up all belief of a popiſh plot. The other, if it had been honeſtly examined, might have done as much in reality to a proteſtant one. The great tenderneſs of ſome perſons in this caſe, and their huge averſion and unwillingneſs to be touched thereabouts, made people more than ſuſpect, that there was ſome ſore or other in the caſe which would not endure it. Mr. Braddon had heard of a boy, who being playing before Eſſex's window that morning, ſaw a bloody razor thrown out of the window; he thought he ſhould do the king ſervice to make a diſcovery if any injury had been offered to one of his ſubjects, eſpecially ſo great and good a perſon. He brings the boy with him to my lord Sunderland, and for his reward is himſelf brought before the council, ſeverely reprimanded, and forced to give 2000l. bail to anſwer an information for ſuborning the boy to ſay what he did. Upon which, after a great many worſe vexations, which beſides the charge and trouble, hindered alſo his proſecution of the buſineſs while it was yet freſh and warm; he was at laſt tried: the very words in the indictment running thus, For his procuring and ſuborning falſe witneſſes to prove that the earl of Eſſex was not a felon of himſelf, &c. Of which, according to Jeffreys's law, and the conſcience of the then juries, he was found guilty, and fined for the ſame; though not the leaſt ſyllable of practice or ſubornation proved againſt him; though the boy did himſelf acknowledge he had ſaid thoſe things, as well as ſeveral witneſſes proved it; though it was terribly ſuſpicious that ſome art had been afterwards uſed with the boy to make him deny it; though Jeffreys ſtormed and raved after his uſual manner, when Mr. Wallop did put ſuch a queſtion, and would by no means have it be anſwered.

But whatever this courageous honeſt gentleman ſuffered from their ſpite and malice, he bore all with handſome, and truly Engliſh reſolution. As he before his impriſonment, and ſince, was indefatigably diligent in getting at the bottom of this foul buſineſs; all Engliſhmen muſt own, he has deſerved the love and honour of his country, who was not diſcouraged from acting even in the worſt of times, againſt a whole enraged faction, where he had ſuch firm and pregnant circumſtances on which to ground his attempt; though he could not but be ſenſible he muſt undergo all cenſures of his friends, as forward and imprudent; as well as all the hate and malice of his own and his country's enemies. He deſerves a much fairer commendation than here can be given him; but however, this was a juſt debt due to his courage and honeſty, when he alone durſt undertake what all the world elſe was afraid of; durſt ſtill continue firm to honour and conſcience, and his firſt reſolution, in ſpite of fines and impriſonments, and has outlived them all, to carry on his firſt undertakings; whoſe deſign therein is, no doubt, juſt and generous, whatever the event proves; and although ſo much duſt may have, ſince it happened, been purpoſely thrown on the action, that it may be now more difficult, and perhaps unſucceſsful to trace it, than it was before.

The MARTYRDOM *of* WILLIAM LORD RUSSEL.

THE next who fell under their cruelty, and to whoſe death Eſſex's was but a prologue, was lord Ruſſel; without all diſpute one of the fineſt gentlemen, that ever England bred; and whoſe pious life and virtue is as much treaſon againſt the court, by affronting them with what was ſo much hated there, as any thing elſe that was ſworn againſt him. His family was ancient, though not raiſed to the honours it at preſent enjoys, till king Edward's time, when John Ruſſel, a Dorſetſhire gentleman, who had done many ſervices, and received many favours from the crown, both in Henry the Seventh, and Henry the Eighth's time, being by the latter made lord high admiral, and at his death lord high ſteward of England, for the ſolemnity of the coronation; obtained ſuch a victory for his young maſter againſt the rebels, as was rewarded with the title of the earl of Bedford. The occaſion of it was thus: Idolatry and ſuperſtition being now rooting out by the public authority, and images every where pulling down, the loyal papiſts mutinied, and one of their prieſts ſtabbed a commander of the king's, who was obeying his orders, and 10,000 of the deluded rabble roſe in the defence of that barbarous action, and their old maſs and holy water. Againſt whom this fortunate lord was ſent with an army, who routed them all, relieved Exeter, which they had beſieged, and took their gods, banners, crucifixes, and all the reſt of their trumpery, wherein the deluded creatures truſted for victory. Thus the family of the Ruſſels were early enemies to the Romiſh ſuperſtition, though this brave gentleman only paid the ſcores of all his anceſtors. The ſon and heir of this John, was Francis, ſecond earl of Bedford, who was as faithful to his crown as his father, an enemy and terror to the French, and a friend to the proteſtant religion, as may appear by the learned books of Wickliff, which he collected, and at his death bequeathed to a great man, who he knew would make good uſe of them. His eldeſt ſon, William lord Ruſſel, the late duke of Bedford, is ſufficiently known to every true Engliſhman, and his perſon and memory will be honoured by them as long as the world laſts. But it is neceſſary good men ſhould not be immortal; if they were, we ſhould almoſt loſe their examples, it looking ſo like flattery. But to do them juſtice while they are living, with more ſafety and leſs cenſure, we may diſcourſe of that noble gentleman, his ſon and name-ſake William lord Ruſſel, who made ſo great a figure in our courts and parliaments, before he was ſacrificed to the cruelty and revenge of his popiſh enemies. If we could find his firſt offence, which lay behind the ſcene, and was indeed the cauſe of his death, though other colours were neceſſary to amuſe the public, we muſt look ſome years backwards, as he himſelf does in his laſt ſpeech, wherein he tells the world, He cannot but think his earneſtneſs in the matter of the excluſion, had no ſmall influence on his preſent ſufferings; being choſen knight of the ſhire for Bedfordſhire, where the evenneſs and ſweetneſs of his behaviour, and his virtuous life, made him ſo well beloved, that he will never be forgotten. He began ſooner than moſt others to ſee into that danger we were in from popery, and all thoſe fatal conſequences which have ſince happened; and deſcribed them as plainly as if he had more than the ordinary inſpection of a prudent man into futurities.

Being marked out, and, among others, appointed for the ſlaughter, he was taken up and impriſoned for that end and purpoſe in the Tower, and brought to his trial above all the days in the year, on Eſſex's day, the 13th of July, 1683. He was brought to the Old Bailey, and the ſame morning tried for high treaſon. He earneſtly deſired he might have reſpite, and might not be tried that day, ſince he had ſome witneſſes that could not be in town till the night; nay, they were in ſuch poſt haſte, and ſo hot a ſcent for his blood, that on his earneſt deſire, they would not ſtay ſo much as till the afternoon, pretending it was againſt precedent, and they could not do it without the attorney general's conſent; though it is notorious, that both Plunket, the titular Iriſh primate, and Fitz-Harris, before ſpoken of, were both of them tried the term after they were arraigned; though in both caſes the attorney oppoſed it; and even here in the caſe of treaſon, at the Old Bailey too, Whitebread's trial was put off to another ſeſſions. If it is pleaded, the caſe is different, and that there was reaſon for the one, but not for the other; it will be readily granted, though my lord's evidence were not ready, their's was; they had concerted buſineſs better, and juſt at that time news was brought hot into the houſe, that my lord of Eſſex had this morning prevented juſtice, as has been before remarked in the ſtory of Eſſex; as alſo, that ſeveral of the jury had ſaid, They had never found Ruſſel guilty, had it not been for that accident. And indeed, were that all in the caſe, there would be ſtill room for a great deal of charity: for though there was no proper evidence againſt the priſoner, yet very few perſons in the world, perhaps, could have been found, whoſe minds would have been ſo firm, and reaſon ſo clear, as not to be, whether they would or no, hinged and biaſſed by ſuch a ſudden report as this brought in among them, when they had no time to conſider calmly of the matter; and this, no doubt, was very well known by thoſe who ordered things in the manner before noted. But I ſay, it were to be wiſhed, for the honour of the Engliſh nation, that this had been all the foul play in the caſe, and that there had not been ſo many thouſand guineas employed in this and other trials, as the great agitators thereof have lately confeſſed to have been. The names of his jury, as I find them, are as follows:

John Martayn,
William Rouſe,
Jervas Seaton,
William Faſhion,
Thomas Short,
George Toriano,
William Butler,
James Pickering,
Thomas Jeve,
Hugh Noden,
Robert Brough,
Thomas Omeby.

When he found he muſt expect neither favour nor juſtice, as to the delaying of his trial, he excepted againſt the foreman of the jury, becauſe not a freeholder; which for divers and ſundry reaſons, almoſt, if not all the judges, having the happineſs to light on different ones, and ſcarce any two of the ſame, was overruled, and given againſt him; though that ſame practice ſince declared and acknowledged one of the great grievances of the nation. His indictment ran in theſe words, He did conſpire and compaſs our lord the king, his ſupreme lord, not only of his kingly ſtate, title, power, and government of this his kingdom of England, to deprive and throw down; but alſo our ſaid ſovereign lord the king to kill, and to death to bring and put, and the ancient government of this kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly ſubvert, and a miſerable ſlaughter among the ſubjects of our ſaid lord the king through his whole kingdom of England to cauſe and procure, an inſurrection and rebellion againſt our ſaid lord the king to move, procure, and ſtir up within this kingdom of England. And lower, He and divers others did conſult, agree, and conclude inſurrection and rebellion againſt our ſovereign lord the king to move and ſtir up, and the guards for the preſervation of the perſon of our ſaid ſovereign lord the king to ſeize and deſtroy.

Now that all this was not intended as a matter of form only, we may ſee by the king's council's opening the evidence. The firſt ſays, He was indicted for no leſs than conſpiring the death of the king's majeſty; and that in order to the ſame, he and others did meet and conſpire together, to bring our ſovereign lord the king to death, to raiſe war and rebellion againſt him, and to maſſacre his ſubjects; and in order to compaſs theſe wicked deſigns, being aſſembled, did conſpire to ſeize the king's guards, and his majeſty's perſon: and this (he tells the jury) is the charge againſt him.

The attorney general melts it a little lower, and tells them the meaning of all theſe tragical words, were a conſult about a riſing, about ſeizing the guards, and receiving meſſages from the earl of Shaftſbury concerning an inſurrection.

Yet the proof againſt him does not come up ſo high even as this, though all care was uſed for that purpoſe, and kind queſtions put very frequently to lead and drive the evidence; only one of them witneſſing to any one point in particular.

Colonel Rumſey, the firſt of theſe, ſwears, That he was ſent with a letter from Shaftſbury, who lay concealed at Wapping, to meet lord Ruſſel, Ferguſon, &c. at Shepherd's, to know of them what reſolution they were come to concerning the riſing deſigned at Taunton. That when he came thither, the anſwer made was, Mr. Trenchard had failed them, and no more would be done in that buſineſs at that time. That Mr. Ferguſon ſpoke the moſt part of that anſwer; but my lord Ruſſel was preſent, and that he did ſpeak about the riſing of Taunton, and conſented to it. That the company was diſcourſing alſo of viewing the guards, in order to ſurpriſe them, if the riſing had gone on; and that ſome undertook to view them; and that the lord Ruſſel was by, when this was undertaken. But this being the main hinge of the buſineſs, and this witneſs not yet coming up to the purpoſe, they thought it convenient to give him a jog, to refreſh his memory, aſking him, Whether he found my lord Ruſſel averſe, or agreeing to it? Who, no doubt, anſwered, Agreeing. But being afterwards on the trial aſked, Whether he could ſwear poſitively, that my lord Ruſſel heard the meſſage, and gave any anſwer to it? All that he ſays is this, That when he came in, they were at the fire-ſide, but that they all came from the fire-ſide to hearken to his words.

The chief that Shepherd witneſſes, is, That my lord Ruſſel, &c. being at his houſe, there was a diſcourſe of ſurpriſing the king's guards; and ſir Thomas Armſtrong having viewed them when he came thither another time, ſaid, They were remiſs, and the thing was ſeizable, if there were ſtrength to do it, and that upon being queſtioned too, as Rumſey before him, Whether my lord Ruſſel was there? He ſays, he was, at the time they diſcourſed of ſeizing the guards.

The florid lord Howard was the next witneſs, who very artificially begins low, being, forſooth, ſo terribly ſurpriſed with my lord of Eſſex's death, that his voice failed him, till the lord chief juſtice told him, the jury could not hear him; in which very moment his voice returned again, and he told the reaſon why he ſpoke no louder. After a long harangue of tropes and fine words, and diſmal general ſtories, by which, as my lord complains, the jury were prepoſſeſſed againſt him; he at laſt makes his evidence bear directly upon the point for which he came thither, and ſwears, That after my lord Shaftſbury went away, their party reſolved ſtill to carry on the deſign of the inſurrection without him; for the better management whereof they erected a little cabal among themſelves, which did conſiſt of ſix perſons, whereof my lord Ruſſel and himſelf were two: that they met for that purpoſe at Mr. Hambden's houſe, and there adjuſted the place and manner of the intended inſurrection: that about ten days after they had another meeting on the ſame buſineſs at my lord Ruſſel's, where they reſolved to ſend ſome perſons to engage Argyle and the Scots in the deſign, and (being aſked too) that he was ſure my lord Ruſſel was there. Being aſked whether he ſaid any thing, he anſwered, That every one knew him to be a perſon of great judgment, and not very laviſh of diſcourſe. Being again goaded on by Jeffreys, with a—But did he conſent? We did, ſays he, put it to the vote, it went without contradiction, and I took it that all there gave their conſent accordingly.

The next witneſs Weſt ſwears, That Ferguſon and colonel Rumſey told him, That my lord Ruſſel intended to go down and take his poſt in the Weſt, when Mr. Trenchard had failed them. Whoſe hear-ſay evidence being not encouraged, Jeffreys ends very prettily, telling the court, they would not uſe any thing of garniture, but leave it entirely as it was.

Now as to colonel Rumſey the firſt witneſs: my lord Cavendiſh proved on the trial, that my lord Ruſſel had a very ill opinion of him, and therefore it was not likely he would intruſt him with a ſecret of ſuch importance.

Then as to his evidence, ſqueezed out of him, as it was, in both branches of the deſign, ſeizing the guards, and the riſing of Taunton, he ſays in groſs and general, That he was agreeing to one, and ſpoke about, and conſented to the other. For his agreeing to the ſeizing the guards, he might think, as the lord Howard does after, that ſilence gives conſent; for it appears not, nor does he ſwear, that my lord ſpoke one word about it. But he himſelf, in his laſt ſpeech, which was not a Jeſuit's, and which we have all the reaſon in the world to believe exactly true, ſince, as he himſelf ſays in it, He always deteſted lying, though ever ſo much for his advantage; and hoped none would be ſo unjuſt, or uncharitable, to think he would venture on it in theſe his laſt words, for which he was ſoon going to give an account to the great God, the ſearcher of hearts, and judge of all things. In this laſt ſpeech he proteſts, that at this time of which Rumſey ſwears, there was no undertaking of ſecuring and ſeizing the guards, nor none appointed to view or examine them, only ſome diſcourſe there was of the practicability of it; he heard it mentioned as a thing which might eaſily be done, but never conſented to it as a thing fit to be done. Now I would aſk any man of ſenſe and honour, who did but know my lord Ruſſel, let them be ever ſo much his enemy (if there were any ſuch) which of theſe two they really judge more worthy to be believed? There is but one againſt one. Rumſey, who either ſwore upon liking, for ſaving his life, or was a trepan, that he was conſenting to the ſeizing the guards, or my lord Ruſſel on his death and ſalvation ſolemnly affirming, That he was ſo far from conſenting to any ſuch thing, that there was not ſo much as any ſuch undertaking mentioned in the company while he was with them. Eſpecially when it is obſervable, that Rumſey never inſtances in the terms in which he gave his conſent; the ſame is to be ſaid of the other branch of his evidence, as to the meſſage of the inſurrection, which, he ſays, he brought into the room, found my lord Ruſſel and the reſt by the fire; whence they all came to him, and heard his meſſage, and the lord Ruſſel diſcourſed on the ſubject of it, and conſented to it. To all which let us again oppoſe not only what he anſwered on his trial, wherein he ſays, That he would ſwear he never heard, or knew of that meſſage, which Rumſey ſays he brought to them; but alſo what he ſays in confirmation thereof in his ſpeech, I ſhall aver, that what I ſaid of my not hearing colonel Rumſey deliver any meſſage from my lord Shaftſbury, was true. And a little before, when I came into the room, I ſaw Mr. Rumſey by the chimney, though he ſwears he came in after that.

There is one thing more obſervable, That when Weſt came to give in his garniture evidence, he runs in a length further than Rumſey, and remembers Rumſey had told him, what it ſeems he himſelf had forgot, That on Mr. Trenchard's failing them, my lord Ruſſel was to go in his place, and take up his poſts along in the Weſt. And indeed had not Weſt miſſed his cue, and by imitating my lord Howard's example, begun firſt with hear-ſay, he had made as ſtabbing an evidence as ever did any one of the others; or had they but let him run to the end of his ſtory, and taken things methodically, as his lordſhip had done before him.

As to Shepherd, all muſt grant he ſays not a ſyllable to the purpoſe, or any thing which affects my lord. He can hardly tell whether he was there when there was the diſcourſe of ſeizing the guards, but ſpeaks not a word of my lord's hearing, or in the leaſt wiſe conſenting to the ſame.

Now as for my lord Howard's evidence, we may, without *ſcandalum magnatum*, affirm, that every lord is not fit to make a privy counſellor; no, nor every witty lord neither, eſpecially in a buſineſs of ſuch a concern. He does very well to ſay, the council of ſix all choſe themſelves; for had not he given his own vote for himſelf, hardly any body elſe would have done it, ſince his character is ſo notoriouſly different from that which he himſelf gives of my lord Ruſſel, whom, he ſays, every one knew to be a perſon of great judgment and not very laviſh of diſcourſe. For his evidence, he too is ſo happy to have a better memory than Rumſey, as well as Weſt had; and ſays, that the duke of Monmouth told him, Rumſey had conveyed my lord Ruſſel to Shaftſbury, on whoſe perſuaſion the inſurrection was put off a fortnight longer. Of this Rumſey himſelf ſays not a ſingle word.

His lordſhip ſays further, that when they had inquired how matters ſtood in the country, and the duke of Monmouth had found Trenchard and the weſt country failed them, on this it was put off again, and this about the 17th or 18th of October. Now this ſame action Rumſey ſpeaks of, but takes a larger ſcope as to the time, the end of October, or the beginning of November, far enough from the 17th or 18th of the month before. Rumſey ſays, on this diſappointment of the Taunton men and Trenchard, Shaftſbury reſolved to be gone. Lord Howard, that he was ſo far from it, that he and his party reſolved to do it without the lords, and had ſet one time and the other, and at laſt the 17th of November, which alſo not taking effect, then Shaftſbury went off. As to his evidence, which was cloſer; the ſtory of the council of ſix, beſides the former improbability, that he among all the men in England ſhould be choſen one of them; it is remarkable, that in their former greater conſults at Shepherd's, which he and Rumſey mention, the lord Howard was never preſent, nor ſo much as touches on it in his evidence; though here, if any where, the grand affair of ſeizing the guards, and the anſwer to Shaftſbury about Taunton was concerted. All that appears of truth in the matter, ſeems to be what my lord Ruſſel acknowledges, That thoſe perſons named, met very often; that there was no formed deſign, but only looſe talk about thoſe concerns. That there was no debate of any ſuch thing as was ſworn, nor putting any thing in a method; but my lord Howard being a man of a voluble tongue, and one who talks very well, they were all delighted to hear his oratory.

Indeed my lord Howard does not poſitively ſwear, even ſuppoſing this formed conſult to be true, that my lord Ruſſel actually conſented to it. Only, that he was there, and that he took it, and that he did give his approbation.

Doubtleſs it is a very ill cauſe that needs either a lie or a cheat to defend it. My lord Ruſſel himſelf being ſo ingenuous to acknowledge whatever of truth, any that knew him will believe to be in his part of the deſign, it would be an injury to his memory to do otherwiſe. It appears then from his own acknowledgment, that Howard, Armſtrong, and ſuch others, had ſometimes diſcourſed of ill deſigns and matters in his company: and as he ſays in his ſpeech, What the heats, wickedneſs, paſſions, and vanities of other men had occaſioned, he ought not to be anſwerable for, nor could he repreſs them. Nay more, he did ſufficiently diſapprove thoſe things which he heard diſcourſed of with more heat than judgment. But for himſelf, he declares ſolemnly again and again, That he was never in any deſign againſt the king's life, or any man's whatever; nor ever in any contrivance of altering the government. If ſo, what then becomes of all the ſtory of the council of ſix? And is it not to be thrown among the ſame lumber with the old famous Nag's-Head-Tavern buſineſs? It will be ſtill ſaid he was an ill man, by being guilty by this very confeſſion of miſpriſion of treaſon. Suppoſing this true; that was not death, and he died, as he ſays, innocent of the crime he ſtood condemned for. And beſides, every lord has not brow hard enough, nor tongue long enough, nor ſoul little enough, to make an informer againſt others to ſave his own life? I hope, ſays he, nobody will imagine that ſo mean a thought could enter into me, as to go about to ſave my life by accuſing others. The part that ſome have acted lately of that kind has not been ſuch as to invite me to love life at a rate ſo dear!

However, all this does not depend on his naked word, ſince the evidence who ſwore againſt him being ſuch as were neither credible, nor indeed ſo much as legal witneſſes, the accuſation of itſelf muſt fall to the ground. If legal they were not credible, becauſe as my lord Delamere obſerves in this caſe, they had no pardons, but hunted, as the cormorant does, with ſtrings about their necks, which Weſt, in his anſwer to Walcot's letter, ingenuouſly acknowledges, and ſays, It is through God and the king's mercy, he was not at the apparent point of death. That is, in a fair conſtruction, was not juſt turning over, but was upon trial, to ſee whether he would do buſineſs, and deſerve to eſcape hanging. Much ſuch an honourable way of getting pardon, as the fellow who ſaved his own neck by turning hangman, and doing his own father the good office.

No more indeed was the great witneſs, the honourable lord who caſt this noble perſon, a legal, as well as a credible witneſs. No man alive has any way to clear himſelf from the moſt perjured villain's malice, if he ſwears againſt him point blank, but either by circumſtance of time, or invalidating his very evidence. Let any think of another way if they can. The firſt of theſe was precluded; it was that which had before been made uſe of to ſham off a truer plot, and much more valid evidence. But here Rumſey and the reſt came to no determinate time, but only about ſuch a time; about the end of October, or beginning of November: and others cloud the preciſe time in ſo many words, that it is impoſſible to find it. All then that could be done, was as to the perſon. Now what thing can be invented, which can more invalidate the evidence any perſon gives, than his ſolemn, repeated, voluntary oath, indubitably proved againſt him, that ſuch a perſon is innocent of that very crime of which he afterwards accuſes him? If this be the caſe or no here, let any one read the following depoſitions, and make an indifferent judgment. My lord Angleſey witneſſes, He was at the earl of Bedford's, after his ſon was impriſoned, where came in my lord Howard, and began to comfort him, ſaying, He was happy in ſo wiſe a ſon, and worthy a perſon; and who could never be in ſuch a plot as that. That he knew nothing againſt him, or any body elſe, of ſuch a barbarous deſign. But this was not upon oath, and only related to the aſſaſſination, as he ſays for himſelf in his paring diſtinction. Look then a little lower to Dr. Burnet, whom the lord Howard was with the night after the plot broke out, and then, as well as once before, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, did ſay, He knew nothing of any plot, nor believed any. Here is the moſt ſolemn oath, as he himſelf confeſſes voluntarily, nay, unneceſſarily; though perhaps in my lord Bedford's caſe, good nature might work upon him. Here is the paring of his apple broke all to pieces. No ſhadow, no room left for his diſtinction between the inſurrection and aſſaſſination; but without any guard or mitigation at all, he ſolemnly ſwears, he knew not of any plot, nor believed any exiſted.

However, it was no great matter, for the jury were reſolved to know and believe it, whether he did or no. There is but little ſubterfuge more, and the caſe is clear. All this perjury, all theſe ſolemn aſſeverations he tells us were only to brazen out the plot, and to outface the thing for himſelf and party. This he fairly acknowledges; and let all the world be the jury, whether they would deſtroy one of the braveſt men in it, on the evidence of ſuch a perſon? But there is yet further anſwer. His couſin, Mr. Howard, who was my lord's intimate friend, who ſecured him in his houſe, to whom he might open his ſoul, and to whom it ſeems he did, he having made application to the miniſters of ſtate in his name, that he was willing to ſerve the king, and give him ſatisfaction; to him, I ſay, with whom he had ſecret negotiations, and that of ſuch a nature; will any believe that he would outface the thing here too? That he would perjure himſelf for nothing, where no danger, no good came on it? No certainly, his lordſhip had more wit, and conſcience, and honour; he ought to be vindicated from ſuch an imputation, even for the credit of his main evidence; for my lord Grey, he tells us, was left out of their councils for his immoralities; and had he himſelf been ſuch a ſort of a man, thoſe piercing heads in the council would have certainly found him out before, and never admitted him among them. As for the very thing, Mr. Howard tells it as generouſly, and with as much honeſt indignation as poſſible, in ſpite of the checks the court gave him. He took it, ſays he, upon his honour, his faith, and as much as if he had taken an oath before a magiſtrate, that he knew nothing of any man concerned in this buſineſs, and particularly of the lord Ruſſel; of whom, he added, that he thought he did unjuſtly ſuffer. So that if he had the ſame ſoul on Monday, that he had on Sunday (the very day before) this could not be true that he ſwore againſt the lord Ruſſel. My lord Ruſſel's ſuffering was impriſonment, and that for the ſame matter on which he was tried, the inſurrection, not the aſſaſſination. If my lord Howard knew him guilty of that for which he was committed, though not the other, how could he then ſay, he ſuffered unjuſtly?

It would after all this, be almoſt ſuperſluous to go any further, or inſert the evidence given by Dr. Tillotſon, Burnet, Cox, and others, not only of his virtuous and honourable behaviour, but eſpecially of his judgment about any ſtirs, or popular inſurrections, that he was abſolutely againſt them, that it was folly and madneſs till things came to be regulated in a parliamentary way, and thought it would ruin the beſt cauſe in the world to take any ſuch ways towards its preſervation.

But all this and more would not do, die he muſt, the duke ordered it, the witneſſes ſwore it, the judges directed it, the jury found it; and when the ſentence came to be paſſed, the judge aſked, as is uſual, What he had to ſay why it ſhould not be pronounced? He anſwered, That whereas he had been charged in the indictment which was then read to him, with conſpiring the death of the king, which he had not taken notice of before, he appealed to the judge and court, whether he were guilty within the ſtatute on which he was tried, the witneſſes having ſworn an intention of levying war, but not of killing the king, of which there was no proof by any one witneſs. The recorder told him, That was an exception proper, and as he thought, his lordſhip did make it before the verdict. Whether the evidence did amount to prove the charge, was to be obſerved by the jury; for if the evidence came ſhort of the indictment, they could not find it to be a true charge; but when once they had found it, their verdict did paſs for truth, and the court was bound by it, as well as his lordſhip, and they were to go according to what the jury had found, not their evidence. Now I would fain know, what is the reaſon of the priſoner's being aſked that queſtion, What he has to ſay for himſelf? Is it only formality, or banter? He makes an exception, which the judge himſelf confeſſes proper. But who was counſel for the priſoner! Is not the bench? Or, does it not pretend to be ſo? And why is not this obſerved by them in their direction to the jury! The recorder ſeems to grant it fairly, that the evidence did not prove the charge, and ſays, The court was to go, not according to the evidence. Well, evidence, or none, the truth is, was not the queſtion: for being found guilty, ſentence paſt upon him; whence he was removed to Newgate. While he was there, the importunity of his friends, as he handſomely ſays in his ſpeech, leſt they ſhould think him ſullen or ſtubborn, prevailed with him to ſign petitions, and make an addreſs for his life, though it was not without difficulty that he did any thing that was begging to ſave it. But with how much ſucceſs, it may eaſily be gueſſed by any who knew the duke's temper; nor is it forgotten how barbarouſly his lady and children were repulſed, and the king's good nature not ſuffered to ſave one of the beſt men in his kingdom. Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon were with him much of the time between his ſentence and death; where to the laſt, he owned that doctrine, which other good men, who were then of another judgment, have ſince been forced into, namely, The lawfulneſs of reſiſtance againſt unlawful violence, from whomſoever it proceeds.

Now, after fruitleſs applications for his pardon; after a farewell and adieu in this world, to one of the beſt of women, who ſtood by him, and aſſiſted him in his trial, and did not leave his preſence, till at laſt on Saturday the 21ſt of July, he went into his own coach about nine o'clock with Dr. Tillotſon and Dr. Burnet; whence he was carried to Great-Lincoln's-Inn-Field to the ſcaffold prepared for him, where, among all the numerous ſpectators, he was one of the moſt unconcerned perſons there: and very few rejoiced at ſo doleful a ſpectacle, but the Papiſts, who indeed had ſufficient reaſon; my lord Powis's people expreſſing, as it is ſaid, a great deal of pleaſure and ſatisfaction. There, after he had again ſolemnly proteſted his innocency, and that he was far from any deſign againſt the king's perſon, or of altering the government; nay, that he did upon the words of a dying man profeſs, that he knew of no plot againſt the king's life or government; and delivering one of the fineſt ſpeeches in the world to the ſheriff, he prayed by himſelf, and with Dr. Tillotſon's aſſiſtance; and embracing him and Dr. Burnet, he ſubmitted to the fatal ſtrokes, for the executioner took no leſs than three before he could ſever his head, which when it was held up, as uſual, there was ſo far from being any ſhout, that a conſiderable groan was heard round the ſcaffold. His body was given to his friends, and conveyed to Cheneys in Buckinghamſhire, where it was buried among his anceſtors. During the day of his martyrdom there was a great ſtorm, and many loud claps of thunder.

The MARTYRDOM *of Captain* WALCOT, HONE, *and* ROUSE, *with a full Account of their Behaviour and Execution.*

CAPTAIN WALCOT and his fellow-ſufferers, in order of time, ſhould have gone firſt, he being convicted before my lord Ruſſel, and executed the Friday, as he was on Saturday. But my lord Ruſſel's fate having ſo immediate a dependence on the earl of Eſſex's, and all the plot hanging on him; eſpecially they two making the greaſt figure of any who ſuffered on this occaſion; it looked more proper and natural to begin with them, and reſerve the other to this place.

Captain Walcot was a gentleman of a conſiderable eſtate in Ireland, but more remarkable for the rare happineſs of having eight children all at once living, and moſt of all, for his love to his country, which coſt him his life, as our readers will perceive.

The ſuppoſed crime for which Walcot ſuffered, and which Weſt and others witneſs againſt him, was conſulting the death of the king, and charging the guards, at his return from Newmarket, while the dreadful blunderbuſs was to be fired into the coach by Rumbald, or ſome others. His privacy to diſcourſes about the king's death was but miſpriſion. For his acting in it, they could not have pitched on a more unlikely man to command a party in ſo deſperate an attempt as charging the guards, than one that was ſick and bed-ridden of the gout, as about this time, and often beſides, the captain was. Nor ſeems Weſt's pretence more likely, that he refuſed to be actual in the aſſaſſination, becauſe of the baſeneſs of it, but offered to charge the guards, while others did it; much as wiſely and tenderly, as if he had denied to cut a man's throat, but conſented to hold his hands while others did it. This he denies with indignation in his ſpeech, and appeals to all that knew him, whether they thought him ſuch an ideot, that he ſhould not underſtand it was the ſame thing to engage the king's guards, whilſt others killed him; or to kill him with his own hands? Here then, it is plain, lies the pinch of the matter; Weſt, Rumſey, &c. had been frequently diſcourſing at that bloody, villanous rate; Weſt was moſt impatiently eager of having it done; he propoſed the lopping them at a play, which would be in their own calling he ſaid.

Colonel Rumſey and Weſt were the main pillars, and almoſt the only witneſſes on which the credit of that action depended, who appear all through the great and almoſt ſole managers thereof, and who accuſe others for being concerned in it. What and how much their credit weighs, we have already hinted, but ſhall yet confront it with further teſtimonies relating to this matter, and that of dying men, who could expect no pardon in this world, nor the other, for a falſehood. Beſides Rumbald's ſolemn proteſtation; ſee Walcot's ſpeech and paper, wherein he as deeply affirms, as a man can do, that Weſt bought arms for this villanous deſign (which cannot be expreſſed with deteſtation enough) without any direction of his, nay, without any direction, knowledge, or privity of his. Weſt ſays in his anſwer to this, as well as in his evidence, that Walcot joined in the direction about the nature and ſize of thoſe arms; that he was very intimate and familiar with this Rumbald, who was to be the principal actor in the aſſaſſination. But Rumbald's death before recited, clears himſelf and Walcot, and ſhews us what Weſt is. In another place he affirms, that Walcot told him Ferguſon had the chief management of the intended aſſaſſination. Rumbald's hard name, as has been ſaid already, Ferguſon's ill name, and the abſence of them both, brought them in all probability into the buſineſs; and Walcot's being paſt anſwering for himſelf or them, made it very adviſeable to charge ſo much on him. So in the ſame nature Ferguſon was the author of that expreſſion Walcot had from Weſt; Ferguſon undertook for the duke of Monmouth; Ferguſon propoſed to ſee for an opportunity between Windſor and Hampton-Court. The men to commit the aſſaſſination were all provided by Ferguſon, Rumbald, &c. And I remember another of them, or he himſelf, talks of fifty men engaged for the very action. Now as mere good nature, and the love I have to my countrymen, will never ſuffer me to believe there could be ſo many Engliſhmen found, and Proteſtants too, who would conſent to kill their king; never any one having acknowledged ſuch a deſign beſides poor Hone, who was ſo ſtupid, he could not give one ſenſible anſwer to what Cartwright aſked him at his death: ſo plain a teſtimony, and dint of fact and reaſon, forces me to conclude theſe perſons here charged were not guilty. See what Rouſe ſays of it; he was told, they did not intend to ſpill ſo much as one drop of blood. But moſt particularly Holloway; he could not perceive Ferguſon knew any thing of the Newmarket deſign, but Rumſey and Weſt were deep in it. Again, Holloway aſked Weſt who was to act the aſſaſſination? To which he could give but a ſlender anſwer, and could, or would name but two men, Rumbald and his brother. Juſt ſuch probable ſtuff as Colledge's ſeizing the king by himſelf at Oxford, ſo that (he goes on) we found they had but few men, if more than two, and no horſes, only a parcel of arms he ſhewed at a gunſmith's. And lower, at another time, Weſt only named Rumſey and Richard Goodenough as concerned in the aſſaſſination: Weſt again propoſed the aſſaſſination, but none ſeconded him: Rumſey was for the old ſtrain of killing the king, to which not one conſented: he could never find above five concerned in it. He heard Walcot ſpeak againſt it; I knew Ferguſon to be againſt any ſuch intention.

To ſum up the whole, the world is left to it's liberty to believe, at leaſt three dying men's aſſeverations, againſt thoſe who ſo plainly ſwore others necks into the halter, to get their own out, that Weſt himſelf is not aſhamed to own in his forementioned anſwer, that he was ſtill in danger of death, though not ſo eminent as it had been; nor at the apparent point of death. And at the cloſe of this paper, if it ſhall pleaſe the king to ſpare my life for my confeſſion, it is a great happineſs, &c. which part of his evidence every body will eaſily credit.

All this duly conſidered, a fair ſuppoſition lies of the innocency of this captain, and others, of what they were accuſed, found guilty, ſentenced, and died for; it being on Weſt's evidence, and ſuch as his, that he and others were arraigned and condemned; the captain's defence being much the ſame with what he ſays in his ſpeech. It is well known, that the witneſſes againſt captain Walcot ſwore for their own lives with halters about their necks; and it is as true that moſt of the witneſſes had talked at a mad rate, in the hearing of ſome of thoſe whom they deſtroyed; but mark what captain Walcot in a moſt ſolemn manner with his laſt breath declared.

Firſt of all he denied any deſign of killing the king, or of engaging the guards, whilſt others killed him; and ſaid, that the witneſſes invited him to meetings, where ſome things were diſcourſed of, in order to the aſſerting our liberties and properties; which we looked upon to be violated and invaded: That they importuned and perpetually ſolicited him, and then delivered him up to be hanged: That they combined together to ſwear him out of his life, to ſave their own; and that they might do it effectually, they contrived an untruth. That he forgave them, though guilty of his blood; but withal, earneſtly begged, that they might be obſerved, that remarks might be ſet upon them, whether their end be peace; and he concluded (with what made ſir Roger L'Eſtrange a great deal of ſport, but yet heaven has made it good) That when God hath a work to do, he will not want inſtruments.

Rouſe, who was tried with the captain, was charged with ſuch a parcel of mad romance, as was ſcarce ever heard of; and one would wonder how perjury and malice, which uſe to be ſober ſins, could ever be ſo extravagant as to think of it. He was to ſeize the Tower, pay the rabble, uncaſe the aldermen, to be pay-maſter and flea-maſter-general, and a great deal more to the ſame tune. In his defence he ſays no great matter, but yet what looks a thouſand times more like truth than his accuſation; that the Tower buſineſs was only diſcourſe of the feazibleneſs of the thing (as Ruſſel's about the guards) but without the leaſt intent of bringing it to action; that all he was concerned in any real deſign, he had from Lee, and was getting more out of him, with an intention to make a diſcovery. But it ſeems Lee got the whip-hand of him; they were both at a kind of halter combat; Rouſe's foot ſlipt, and Lee turned him over, and ſaved his own neck by ſo doing.

One Hone was likewiſe accuſed, and owns himſelf guilty of a deſign to kill the king and the duke of York, or one, or neither, for it is impoſſible to make any ſenſe of him. When they came to ſuffer, Walcot read a paper, in which was a good rational confeſſion of his faith; then comes to the occaſion of his death; for which, he ſays, he neither blames the judges, jury, nor council, but only ſome men, that in reality were deeper concerned than he, who combined together to ſwear him out of his life to ſave their own, and that they might do it effectually, contrived an untruth, &c. He forgives the world and the witneſſes; gives his friends advice to be more prudent than he had been; prays that his may be the laſt blood ſpilled on that account; wiſhes the king would be merciful to others; ſays he knew nothing of Ireland; and concludes, with praying God to have mercy on him. He had then ſome diſcourſe with Cartwright, wherein he tells him, that he was not for contriving the death of the king, nor to have had a hand in it; and being urged with ſome matters of controverſy, tells him, he did not come thither to diſpute about religion, but religiouſly to ſuffer.

Now though dying be a ſerious buſineſs, yet it is almoſt impoſſible to read Hone's diſcourſe with the dean, without as violent temptations to laughter as compaſſion. Never was ſo exact an imitation of the ſcene of the Fiſherman and Kings in the Rehearſal, when he tells them prince Prettyman killed prince Prettyman. One would think him very near in the ſame caſe with Bateman, who came after him. His replies are ſo incongruous, that there is hardly either ſenſe or Engliſh to be made out of them. But the poor fellow talks of ſnares and circumſtances, and nobody knows what, and ſays in one line, he was to meet the king and duke of York, but he did not know when, where, nor for what. In the next, he was for killing the king, and ſaving the duke; and when aſked the reaſon, anſwers, the only ſenſible thing he ſaid all through, that he knew no reaſon, that he did not know what to ſay to it. And when the dean charges him with the murderous deſign, that he knew as little of it, as any poor ſilly man ever did.

Next Rouſe comes, gives an account of his faith, profeſſing to die of the church of England, tells his former employment and manner of life, acknowledges he heard of clubs and deſigns, but was never at them, and a perfect ſtranger to any thing of that nature. Gives a relation of what paſſed between him and his majeſty on his apprehenſion. Talks ſomewhat of ſir Thomas Player, the earl of Shaftſbury, and accommodating the king's ſon, as he calls it, though not while the king reigned. Then falls upon Lee, and the diſcourſe they had together, who, as he ſays, ſwore againſt him on the trial thoſe very words he himſelf had uſed in preſſing him to undertake the deſign. Speaks of a ſilver ball which he propoſed to be thrown up on Black-Heath, and after ſome diſcourſe with the ordinary, gives the ſpectators ſome good counſel. Then they all three ſingly prayed; and underwent their execution at Tower-Hill.

The Martyrdom *of* Colonel ALGERNON SIDNEY.

COLONEL Algernon Sidney, was the next victim to popiſh cruelty and malice; he was of the ancient and noble name and family of the Sidneys, deſervedly famous to the utmoſt bounds of Europe; who, as the ingenious Mr. Hawles obſerves, was merely talked to death, under the notion of a commonwealth's man, and found guilty by a jury who were not much more proper judges of the caſe, than they would have been had he wrote in Greek or Arabic. He was arraigned for a branch of this plot at Weſtminſter, the 17th of November 1683; where, though it cannot be ſaid the grand jury knew not what they did, when they found the bill againſt him, ſince, no doubt, they were well inſtructed what to do; yet it appears, that they found it almoſt before they knew what it was, being ſo well reſolved on the caſe, and agreed on their verdict, that had he been indicted for breaking open an houſe, or robbing on the highway, it was doomed to have been *billa vera*, as much as it was now. For though the indictment was never preſented to them before they came into the hall, yet they immediately found it: the ſubſtance whereof was, for a conſpiracy to depoſe the king, and ſtirring up rebellion, and writing a libel for that purpoſe. The moſt part of the evidence brought againſt him, was only hear-ſay, as againſt my lord Ruſſel; nay, Weſt, whoſe evidence was then refuſed, now was admitted to tell a long ſtory of what he had from one and the other. Rumſey's was much of the ſame nature. In the rear came that never-failing evidence, the lord Howard, who witneſſes he was one of the council of ſix, and engaged one of the deepeſt in their conſults. And more than this, exerciſes his own faculty very handſomely, in an account of two ſpeeches Mr. Hambden made on the occaſion, which indeed were ſuch fine things, that ſome might think it worth the while to ſwear againſt a man, only to have the reputation of reciting them; and let any man judge whom they are moſt like, Mr. Hambden, or my lord's own witty ſelf.

A paper was the next evidence ſaid to be of the priſoner's writing, which was found in his ſtudy. The ſubſtance of which was an inquiry into the forms of government, and reaſons of their decays: the rights of the people, and the bounds of ſovereignty, and original of power. In which were thoſe heinous, treaſonable expreſſions, the king is ſubject to the law of God as a man, to the people who made him ſuch, as a king, &c. And examples of evil kings and tyrants, whom ſometimes a popular fury had deſtroyed; at others, the *Ordines Regni* either reduced, or ſet them aſide, when their government was a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing to their people. Well, what treaſon in all this, and a great deal more? Nothing but a Jeſuit's enchanted teleſcope could have found any in it. If there were any miſtakes, as he ſays in his ſpeech, they ought to have been confuted by law, reaſon, and ſcripture, not ſcaffolds and axes. Firſt, It was not proved to be his writing, nor did he confeſs it; treaſon and life are critical things: one ought to be as fairly proved, as the other to be cautiouſly proceeded againſt. Though he might write it, he had the liberty of an Engliſhman, not to accuſe himſelf: the very ſame thing which was afterwards put in practice by thoſe reverend perſons, who, later than he, and cheaper too, defended their country's liberty with only the loſs of their own. But owning he wrote it, how very few, if any things therein, are not now generally and almoſt univerſally believed, and are the foundation of the practice, and ſatisfaction of the conſcience of every man, though then confuted with the ſingle brand of commonwealth principles, being indeed ſuch as all the world muſt, whether they will or no, be forced into the belief of, as ſoon as oppreſſion and tyranny bears hard upon them, and becomes really unſupportable? But ſuppoſing they were now as wicked principles as they were called then; yet what was that to the then preſent governors? He anſwered Filmer for his own ſatisfaction, or rather began to do it, many years before the makers of this plot dreamed of that, or bringing him into it; kept it private in his own ſtudy, where it might have lain till doom's-day, had not they fetched it out to make ſomewhat of it. It was ſuggeſted, and innuendoed, that this book was written to ſcatter among the people, in order to diſpoſe them to rebel, as it is in the indictment. But how ridiculous that is, any one will ſee who conſiders the bulk of it, which was ſuch, that, as he ſays in his ſpeech, the fiftieth part of the book was not produced, nor the tenth of that read, though he deſired it, and it was uſual; and yet after all, as it had never been ſhewn to any man, ſo it was not finiſhed, nor could be in many years. Now is this a buſineſs likely to be calculated for a rebellion; when it could neither be finiſhed till ſeveral years after it was over; and beſides, if it had, the bulk made it ſo improper to be diſperſed for that purpoſe for which it was pretendedly deſigned? No, thoſe who are to poiſon a nation in that manner, know better things, and more likely ways. It is to be done in little pamphlets, and papers eaſily read over, underſtood, and remembered, as the declaration gentlemen the other day very well knew. But ſtill here being not a ſyllable in theſe papers of king Charles, any more than of the king of Bantam, or the great mogul, againſt whom they might as well have made it treaſon; it was all ſupplied by a fine knack, called the innuendo, that is in Engliſh, ſuch interpretation as they would pleaſe to affix on his words. Thus when he writes Tarquin, or Pepin, or Nero, they ſay, he meant king Charles; and ſo, ſcandalouſly of him, as well as wickedly of the gentleman, make a monſter and a raviſher of their king, and then take away another's life for doing it. There was a miniſter I have ſomewhere read of, who was accuſed for writing a libel againſt queen Elizabeth, and her government; and the fact there, it is true, lay, as this does upon innuendoes, though much more plain and pregnant. But all the puniſhment inflicted on him, though thought ſevere enough, reached not his head, the loſs of his hand being deemed ſufficient, while with that which was left, he pulled off his hat, and prayed God to bleſs the queen. But this was under a truly proteſtant government and a mild reign.

Such was my lord Howard's evidence, that had the jury been any but ſuch as they were, and Sidney deſcribes them, they would not have hanged a Jeſuit upon the credit of it; he having, one would think, that read the trials, taken a pride in damning himſelf deeper and deeper againſt every new appearance in public, on purpoſe to try the ſkill and face of the counſel in bringing him off again. To the evidence brought againſt him in my lord Ruſſel's caſe, he had taken care to add the following:

Firſt, the earl of Clare witneſſes, that he ſaid, after Sidney's impriſonment, if queſtioned again, he would never plead (had it not been a pleaſant thing for my lord Howard to have been preſſed to death for not ſpeaking?) and that he thought colonel Sidney as innocent as any man breathing: Mr. Ducas ſays the ſame, ſo does my lord Paget, Mr. Edward, Philip Howard, Tracy, Penwick, and Mr. Blake; that he ſaid he had not his pardon, and could not aſcribe it to any reaſon, but that he muſt not have it till the drudgery of ſwearing was completed.

Now, though there was no reaſonable anſwer could be given to all this; though Sidney pleaded the obligations my lord Howard had to him, and the great conveniency he might think there might be in his being hanged, ſince he was ſome hundreds of pounds in his debt, which would be the readieſt way of paying him; and had beſides, as it appeared, a great mind to have the colonel's plate ſecured at his own houſe; though never man in the world certainly ever talked ſtronger ſenſe, or better reaſon, or more evidently battered the judges, and left them nothing but railing; yet it was all a caſe with him, as well as the others; and the petty jury could as eaſily have found him guilty, without hearing his trial, as the grand jury did, as ſoon as ever they ſaw the bill. Never was any thing more baſe and barbarous, than the ſumming up the evidence and directions to the jury, who yet ſtood in no great need of them: nor more uncivil and ſaucy a reflection on the noble family and name of the Sidneys, than the judge's ſaying that he was born a traitor. Never any thing braver, or more manly, than his remonſtrance to the king for juſtice, and another trial: nor, laſtly, more Roman, and yet truly Chriſtian than his end. The brave old man came upon a ſcaffold, as unconcerned as if he had been going to fight, and as lively as if he had been a Ruſſel. In his laſt ſpeech he gives almoſt all the ſubſtance of all thoſe books which were lately written in the defence of the late tranſactions, and no diſgrace to them neither; ſince truth and reaſon are eternal, and one and the ſame from all pens and parties, and at all times; however there may be ſome times ſo bad, that they will not bear ſome reaſon, any more than ſome doctrine. He there ſays as much in a little as ever man did: That magiſtrates were ſet up for the good of nations, not to the contrary. If that be treaſon, King Charles I. is guilty of it againſt himſelf, who ſays the ſame thing, That the power of magiſtrates is what the laws of the country make it: that thoſe laws and oaths have the force of a contract, and if one part is broken, the other ceaſes. And other maxims of the ſame neceſſity and uſefulneſs. He, beſides this, gave a full account of the deſign of his book, of his trial, and the injuſtice done him therein; of the juries being picked, and important points of law over-ruled; and ends with a moſt compendious prayer, in which he deſires God would forgive his enemies, but keep them from doing any more miſchief; and then he laid down his head in eternal repoſe.

The Petition *of* Col. Algernon Sidney *to the* King.

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty: the humble Petition of Algernon Sidney, *Eſq.*

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner, after a long and cloſe impriſonment, was on the ſeventh day of this month, with a guard of ſoldiers brought into the Palace-Yard, upon a *Habeas Corpus* directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, before any indictment had been exhibited againſt him: but while he was there detained, a bill was exhibited and found; whereupon he was immediately carried to the King's-Bench, and there arraigned. In this ſurpriſe he deſired a copy of the indictment, and leave to make his exceptions, or to put in a ſpecial plea, and counſel to frame it; but all was denied him. He then offered a ſpecial plea ready engroſſed, which alſo was rejected without reading: and being threatened, that if he did not immediately plead guilty or not guilty, judgment of high treaſon ſhould be entered, he was forced, contrary to law (as he ſuppoſes) to come to a general iſſue in pleading not guilty.

November 21, he was brought to his trial, and the indictment being perplexed and confuſed, ſo that neither he nor any of his friends that heard it, could fully comprehend the ſcope of it, he was wholly unprovided of all the helps that the law allows to every man for his defence. Whereupon he did again deſire a copy, and produced an authentic copy of the ſtatute of 46 Ed. III. whereby it is enacted, That every man ſhall have a copy of any record that touches him in any manner, as well that which is for or againſt the king, as any other perſon; but could neither obtain a copy of his indictment, nor that the the ſtatute ſhould be read.

The jury by which he was tried, was not (as he is informed) ſummoned by the bailiffs of the ſeveral hundreds, in the uſual and legal manner; but names were agreed upon by Mr. Graham, and the under ſheriff, and directions given to the bailiff to ſummon them: and being all ſo choſen, a copy of the pannel was of no uſe to him. When they came to be called, he excepted againſt ſome for being your majeſty's ſervants, which he hoped ſhould not be returned, when he was proſecuted, at your majeſty's ſuit; many more for not being freeholders, which exceptions, he thinks, were good in law; and others were lewd and infamous perſons, not fit to be on any jury; but all was over-ruled by the lord chief juſtice, and your petitioner forced to challenge them peremptorily, whom he found to be picked out as moſt ſuitable to the intentions of thoſe who ſought his ruin; whereby he loſt the benefit allowed him by law of making his exceptions, and was forced to admit of mechanic perſons, utterly unable to judge of ſuch a matter as was to be brought before them. This jury being ſworn, no witneſs was produced who fixed any thing beyond hearſay upon your petitioner, except the lord Howard, and them that ſwore to ſome papers ſaid to be found in his houſe, and offered as a ſecond witneſs, and written in an hand like to that of your petitioner.

Your petitioner produced ten witneſſes, moſt of them of eminent quality, the others of unblemiſhed fame, to ſhew that lord Howard's teſtimony was inconſiſtent with what he had declared before (at the trial of the lord Ruſſel) under the ſame religious obligation of an oath, as if it had been legally adminiſtered.

Your petitioner did further endeavour to ſhew, That beſides the abſurdity and incongruity of his teſtimony, he being guilty of many crimes which he did not pretend your petitioner had any knowledge of, and having no other hope of pardon, than by the drudgery of ſwearing againſt him, he deſerved not to be believed. And ſimilitude of hands could be no evidence, as was declared by the lord chief juſtice Keiling, and the whole court, in the lady Carr's caſe; ſo that no evidence at all remained againſt him.

That whoſoever wrote thoſe papers, they were but a ſmall part of a polemical diſcourſe in anſwer to a book written about thirty years ago, upon general propoſitions, applied to no time, nor any particular caſe; that it was impoſſible to judge of any part of it, unleſs the whole did appear, which did not; that the ſenſe of ſuch parts of it as were produced, could not be comprehended, unleſs the whole had been read, which was denied; that the ink and paper ſheweth them to be written many years ago; that the lord Howard not knowing of them, they could have no concurrence with what your petitioner is ſaid to have deſigned with him and others; that the confuſion and errors in the writing ſhewed they had never been ſo much as reviewed, and being written in a hand that no man could well read, they were not fit for the preſs, nor could be in ſome years, though the writer had intended it, which did not appear. But they being only the preſent crude and private thoughts of a man, for the exerciſe of his own underſtanding in his ſtudies, and never ſhewed to any, or applied to any particular caſe, could not fall under the ſtatute of 25 Edw. III. which takes cognizance of no ſuch matter, and could not by conſtruction be brought under it; ſuch matters being thereby reſerved to the parliament, as is declared in the proviſo, which he deſired might be read, but was refuſed.

Several important points of law did hereupon emerge, upon which your petitioner, knowing his own weakneſs, did deſire that counſel might be heard, or they might be referred to be found ſpecially. But all was over-ruled by the violence of the lord chief juſtice, and your petitioner ſo frequently interrupted, that the whole method of his defence was broken, and he not ſuffered to ſay the tenth part of what he could have alleged in his defence. So the jury was hurried into a verdict they did not underſtand.

Now, foraſmuch as no man that is oppreſſed in England, can have relief, unleſs it be from your majeſty, your petitioner humbly prays, that the premiſes conſidered,

dered, your majeſty would be pleaſed to admit him into your preſence; and if he doth not ſhew, that it is for yor majeſty's intereſt and honour to preſerve him from the ſaid oppreſſion, he will not complain though he be left to be deſtroyed.

The following is an Abſtract of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, *Dec.* 7, 1683, *by* Algernon Sidney, *Eſq. previous to his Execution.*

HAVING firſt excuſed his not ſpeaking, as well becauſe it was an age that made truth paſs for treaſon, for the truth of which, he inſtances his trial and condemnation, and that the ears of ſome preſent were too tender to hear it, as becauſe of the rigour of the ſeaſon, and his infirmities, &c. then after a ſhort reflection upon the little ſaid againſt him by other witneſſes, and the little value that was to be put on the lord Howard's teſtimony, whom he charges with an infamous life, and many palpable perjuries, and to be biaſſed only by the promiſe of pardon, &c. and makes, even though he had been liable to no exceptions, to have been but a ſingle witneſs; he proceeds to anſwer the charge againſt him from the writings found in his cloſet by the king's officers, which were pretended, but not lawfully evidenced to be his, and pretends to prove, that had they been his, they contained no condemnable matter, but principles, more ſafe both to princes and people too, than the pretended high-flown plea for abſolute monarchy, compoſed by Filmer, againſt which they ſeemed to be levelled; and which, he ſays, all intelligent men thought, were founded on wicked principles, and ſuch as were deſtructive, both to magiſtrates, and people too. Which he attempts to make out after this manner.

Firſt, ſays he, if Filmer might publiſh to the world, that men were born under a neceſſary indiſpenſable ſubjection to an abſolute king, who could be reſtrained by no oath, &c. whether he came to it by creation, inheritance, &c. nay, or even by uſurpation; why might he not publiſh his opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any known law? Which opinion, he profeſſes, conſiſted in the following particulars.

1. That God hath left nations at the liberty of modelling their own governments.

2. That magiſtrates were inſtituted for nations, and not *è contra.*

3. That the right and power of magiſtrates was fixed by the ſtanding laws of each country.

4. That thoſe laws ſworn to on both ſides, were the matter of a contract between the magiſtrates and people, and could not be broken without the danger of diſſolving the whole government.

5. That uſurpation could give no right; and that kings had no greater enemies than thoſe who aſſerted that, or were for ſtretching their power beyond its limits.

6. That ſuch uſurpations commonly effecting the ſlaughter of the reigning perſon, &c. the worſt of crimes was thereby moſt glorioully rewarded.

7. That ſuch doctrines are more proper to ſtir up men to deſtroy princes, than all the paſſions that ever yet ſwayed the worſt of them, and that no prince could be ſafe, if his murderers may hope ſuch rewards; and that few men would be ſo gentle as to ſpare the beſt kings, if by their deſtruction a wild uſurper could become God's anointed, which he ſays was the ſcope of that whole treatiſe, and aſſerts to be the doctrine of the beſt authors of all nations, times, and religions, and of the ſcripture, and ſo owned by the beſt and wiſeſt princes, and particularly by Louis XIV. of France, in his declaration againſt Spain, anno 1667, and by King James, of England, in his ſpeech to the parliament, 1603; and adds, that if the writer had been miſtaken, he ſhould have been fairly refuted, but that no man was ever otherwiſe puniſhed for ſuch matters, or any ſuch things referred to a jury, &c. That the book was never finiſhed, &c. nor ever ſeen by them whom he was charged to have endeavoured by it to draw into a conſpiracy: that nothing in it was particularly or maliciouſly applied to time, place, or perſon, but diſtorted to ſuch a ſenſe by innuendoes, as the diſcourſes of the expulſion of Tarquin, &c. and particularly of the tranſlation made of the crown of France from one race to another, had been then applied by the then lawyers' innuendoes, to the then king of England; never conſidering, adds he, that if ſuch acts of ſtate be not allowed good, no prince in the world has any title to his crown, and having by a ſhort reflection ſhewn the ridiculouſneſs of deriving abſolute monarchy, from patriarchal power, he appeals to all the world, whether it would not be more advantageous to all kings, to own the derivation of their power to the conſent of willing nations, than to have no better title than force, &c. which may be over-powered.

Notwithſtanding the innocence and loyalty of that doctrine, he ſays, He was told he muſt die, or the plot muſt die; and complains, that in order to the deſtroying the beſt Proteſtants of England, the bench was filled with ſuch as had been blemiſhes to the bar; and inſtances how, againſt law, they had adviſed with the king's counſel about bringing him to death, ſuffered a jury to be picked by the king's ſolicitors, and the under ſheriff admitted non-freeholders jurymen, received evidence not valid; refuſed him a copy of his indictment, or to ſuffer the act of the 46th of Edw. III. to be read, that allows it hath over-ruled the moſt important points of law, without hearing, and aſſumed to themſelves a power to make conſtructions of treaſon, though againſt law, ſenſe, and reaſon, which by the ſtatute of the 25th of Edw. III. by which they pretended to try him, was reſerved only to the parliament; and ſo praying God to forgive them, and to avert the evils that threatened the nation, to ſanctify thoſe ſufferings to him, and though he fell a ſacrifice to idols, not to ſuffer idolatry to be eſtabliſhed in this land, &c. He concludes with a thankſgiving, That God had ſingled him out to be a witneſs of his truth, and for that good old cauſe, in which from his youth he had been engaged, &c. &c. &c.

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The Martyrdom of Mr. James Holloway, *at* Tyburn, *April* 30, 1684.

THIS gentleman was by trade a merchant; but his greateſt dealing lay in linen manufacture, which, as appears from his papers, he had brought to ſuch a height here in England, as, had it met with ſuitable encouragement, would, as he made it appear, have employed 80,000 poor people, and 40,000 acres of land, and be 200,000l. a year advantage to the public revenues of the kingdom. The return of the *Habeas Corpus* writ calls him, late of London, merchant, though he lived moſtly at Briſtol. He ſeems to be a perſon of ſenſe, courage, and vivacity of ſpirit, and a man of buſineſs. All we can have of him is from that public print, called his Narrative, concerning which it muſt be remembered, as before, that we have no very firm authority to aſſure us all therein contained was his own writing; and perhaps it might be thought convenient he ſhould die, for fear he might contradict ſome things publiſhed in his name. But on the other ſide, where he contradicts the other witneſſes, his evidence is ſtrong, ſince ſurely that was not the intereſt of the managers to invent of their own accord; though ſome truth they might utter, though diſpleaſing, to gain credit to the reſt. Taking things however as we find them, it will be convenient for method's ſake, to take notice firſt of the proceedings againſt him, then of ſome pretty plain footſteps of practice upon him, and ſhuffling dealing in his caſe; and laſtly, of ſeveral things conſiderable in his hiſtory.

Mr. Holloway was accuſed for the plot, as one who was acquainted with Weſt, Rumſey, and the reſt; and having been really preſent at their meetings and diſcourſes on that ſubject, abſconded when the public news concerning the diſcovery came into the country; though this, as he tells the king, more for fear, that if he was taken up, his creditors would never let him come out of gaol, than any thing elſe. After ſome time he got to ſea in a little veſſel, went over to France, and ſo to the Weſt-Indies, among the Caribbee-Iſlands, where much of his concern lay: but writing to his factor at Nevis, he was by him treacherouſly betrayed, and ſeized by the order of ſir William Stapleton, and thence brought priſoner to England, where after examination, and a confeſſion of at leaſt all that he knew, having been outlawed in his abſence on an indictment of treaſon, he was on the 21ſt of April 1684, brought to the King's-Bench, to ſhew cauſe why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him, as is uſual in that caſe; he oppoſed nothing againſt it, only ſaying, if an ingenuous confeſſion of truth could merit the king's pardon, he hoped he had done it. The attorney being called for, ordered the indictment to be read, and gave him the offer of a trial, waving the outlawry, which he refuſed, and threw himſelf on the king's mercy; on which execution was awarded, though the attorney, who had not ſo much law even as Jeffreys, was for having judgment firſt paſs againſt him, which is never done in ſuch caſes, according to which he was executed at Tyburn April the 30th.

Strange it ſeemed to all men, that a man of ſo much ſpirit, as Mr. Holloway appeared to be, ſhould ſo tamely die without making any manner of defence, when that liberty was granted him: it ſeemed as ſtrange, or yet ſtranger, that any Proteſtant ſhould have any thing that looked like mercy or favour from the perſons then at the helm. That they ſhould be ſo gracious to him as it is there called, to admit him to a trial, which looked ſo generouſly, and was ſo cried up; the attorney calling it, A mercy and a grace; and the lord chief juſtice ſaying, He could aſſure him it was a great mercy, and that it was exceeding well. Now all this blind or myſtery will be eaſily unriddled, by two or thee lines which Holloway ſpeaks juſt after: My lord, ſays he, I cannot undertake to defend myſelf, for I have confeſſed before his majeſty, that I am guilty of many things in that indictment. Which was immediately made uſe of as was deſigned; good Mr. Juſtice Withens crying out full-mouthed, I hope every body here will take notice of his open confeſſion, when he might try it if he would; ſurely none but will believe this conſpracey now, after what this man has owned. So there was an end of all the mercy. A man who had before confeſſed in order to be hanged, had gracious liberty given him to confeſs it again in public, becauſe they knew he had precluded all manner of defence before, and this public action would both get them the repute of clemency, and confirm the belief of the plot. Now that there had been practice uſed with him, and promiſes of pardon, if he had taken this method, and own himſelf guilty without pleading, is more than probable, both from other practices of the ſame nature uſed towards greater men, and from ſome expreſſions of his which look exceeding fair that way. Thus in his paper left behind him, I had, ſays he, ſome other reaſons why I did not plead, which at preſent I conceal, as alſo why I did not ſpeak what I intended. Other reaſons, beſides his confeſſion to his majeſty, and reaſons to be concealed. Now what ſhould thoſe be but threatenings and promiſes, to induce him to ſilence, and public acknowledgment of all? Which appears yet plainer from another paſſage: I am ſatisfied that all means which could be thought on, have been uſed to get as much out of me as poſſible. If all means, then without ſtraining, thoſe obſerved before.

If though he made ſo fair and large an acknowledgment, here is more myſtery ſtill; why was not his life ſpared? Let any one read his confeſſion and ſpeech, or theſe paſſages obſerved out of them, and he will no longer wonder at it. He was a little ſqueaſy-conſcienced, and would not ſtrain ſo far as others in accuſing men of thoſe black crimes whereof they were innocent; nay, as was before ſaid, vindicating them from thoſe aſperſions caſt upon them, and for which ſome of them, particularly my lord Ruſſel, ſuffered death. He ſays, The aſſaſſination was carried on but by three or four, and could never hear ſo much as the names of above five for it; that he and others had declared their abhorrence of any ſuch thing; that Ferguſon was not in it. And beſides, ſpeaks ſome things with the liberty of an Engliſhman; ſhews the very root of all thoſe heats which had been raiſed; ſays what was true enough, That the proteſtant gentry had a notion of a deviliſh deſign of the Papiſts to cut off the king's friends, and ſtirring men in both the laſt parliaments; that they long had witneſſes to ſwear them out of their lives, but no juries to believe them; that now the point about the ſheriffs was gained, that difficulty was over; that the king had bad council about him, who kept all things from his knowledge; that if things continued thus, the proteſtant gentry reſolved to get the king from his evil council, and then he would immediately be of their ſide, and ſuffer all popiſh offenders to be brought to juſtice. Hence it was plain, no aſſaſſination, no plot againſt the king and government intended; only treaſon againſt the duke of York and the Papiſts, who were themſelves traitors by law. But yet one bolder ſtroke than all this: he prays the king's eyes may be opened, to ſee his enemies from his friends, whom he had cauſe to look for nearer home. Was a man to expect pardon after this? No certainly, which he ſoon grew ſenſible of, and prepared for death, the council, as he ſays, taking it very heinouſly that he ſhould preſume to write about ſuch matters.

In reſpect to what ſheriff Daniel urges, That what he ſaid about the king were but gloſſy pretences; he anſwers him very well, that it was far otherwiſe. Here was plain matter of fact: the kingdom in imminent danger, the fit juſt coming on, which hath ſince ſo nearly ſhaken to pieces the whole frame of church and ſtate, which has ſo many years been riſing to this completeneſs: ordinary ways and uſual remedies could not prevail; theſe Proteſtants were forced to betake themſelves to extraordinary efforts, in defence of the government and laws, and not againſt them, any more than it would have been to have taken arms, and reſcued the king from a troop of banditti, who had got poſſeſſion of his perſon; the Papiſts who had him, being as viſibly and notoriouſly obnoxious to the government, and as dead men in law, moſt of them, as public thieves and robbers. Thus much of Mr. Holloway, the popiſh tender mercy towards him, his confeſſion, execution, &c.

Mr. Holloway declared, that Mr. Weſt propoſed the aſſaſſination, but none ſeconded him; that he could not perceive that Mr. Ferguſon knew any thing of it; and Holloway ſaid, It was our deſign to ſhed no blood; he being interrogated, by Mr. Ferguſon's friend, Mr. Sheriff Daniel, Whether he knew Ferguſon? He anſwered, That he did know him, but knew him to be againſt any deſign of killing his Majeſty.

The MARTYRDOM *of* SIR THOMAS ARMSTRONG.

THE next object however had not ſo fair play, becauſe they knew he would make better uſe of it. They had this lion in the toils, and did not intend to let him looſe again to make ſport, leaſt the hunters themſelves ſhould come off ill by it. He had been all his life a firm ſervant and friend to the royal family, in their exile and afterwards: he had been in priſon for them under Cromwell, and in danger both of execution and ſtarving; for all which they now rewarded him. He had a particular honour and devotion for the duke of Monmouth, and puſhed on his intereſt on all occaſions, being a man of as undaunted Engliſh courage, as ever our country produced. He was with the duke formerly in his actions in Flanders, and ſhared there in his danger and honour. His accuſation was, his being concerned in the general plot, and that too of killing the king; but he was indeed hanged for running away, and troubling them to ſend ſo far after him. The particulars pretended againſt him, were what the lord Howard witneſſed in Ruſſel's trial, of his going to kill the king when their firſt deſign failed. But this was there only a ſuppoſal, though advanced into a formed accuſation, and aggravated by the attorney, as the reaſon why he had a trial denied him, when Holloway had one offered, both of them being alike outlawed. On which outlawry ſir Thomas was kidnapped in Holland, and brought over hither in chains, and robbed by the way into the bargain. Being brought up, and aſked what he had to ſay, that ſentence ſhould not paſs upon him, he pleaded the 6th of Ed. VI. wherein it is provided, That if a perſon outlawed render himſelf in a year after the outlawry pronounced, and traverſe his indictment, and ſhall be acquitted on his trial, he ſhall be diſcharged of the outlawry. On which he accordingly then and there made a formal ſurrender of himſelf to the lord chief juſtice, and aſked the benefit of the ſtatute, and a fair trial for his life, the year not being yet expired. If ever any thing could appear plain to common ſenſe, it was his caſe. The ſtatute allows a twelvemonth, the year was not out, he ſurrendered himſelf, demands the benefit of it; and all the anſwer he could get, was the poſitive lord chief juſtice's, We don't think ſo, and we are of another opinion. He could not have ſo much juſtice as to have counſel allowed to plead it, though the point ſufficiently deſerved it, and here was the life of an old ſervant of the king's concerned in it. When he ſtill pleaded, That a little while before, one, meaning Holloway, had the benefit of a trial offered him, if he would accept it, and that was all he now wiſhed for.

But the lord chief juſtice anſwered, That was only the grace and mercy of the king. The attorney added, The king did indulge Holloway ſo far as to offer him a trial, and his majeſty perhaps might have had ſome reaſon for it: the very ſelf-ſame reaſon, no doubt of it, which Holloway ſaid he had for not pleading. But ſir Thomas (the attorney went on) deſerved no favour, becauſe he was one of the perſons that actually engaged to go, on the king's haſty coming from Newmarket, and deſtroy him by the way as he came to town; and that this appeared upon as full and clear an evidence, and as poſitively teſtified, as any thing could be, and this in the evidence given in of the late horrid conſpiracy. Now I would fain know who gave this clear and full evidence in the diſcovery of the conſpiracy? Howard's was mere ſuppoſition, and he was all who ſo much as mentioned a ſyllable of it, that ever could be found on ſearch of all the papers and trials relating to that affair. To this ſir Thomas anſwered in his ſpeech, that had he come to his trial, he could have proved my lord Howard's baſe reflections on him to be notorious falſehood, there being at leaſt ten gentlemen, beſides all the ſervants in the houſe, would have teſtified where that very day he dined.

Sir Thomas ſtill demanded the benefit of the law, and no more: to which Jeffreys anſwered, with one of his uſual barbarous inſults over the miſerable, that he ſhould have it by the grace of God; ordering, that execution be done on Friday next according to law. And added, that he ſhould have the full benefit of the law: repeating the jeſt, leſt it ſhould be loſt, as good as three times in one ſentence. Though had not his lordſhip ſlipt out of the world ſo ſlily, he had had as much benefit the ſame way, and much more juſtly than ſir Thomas.

The chief juſtice then proceeds, and tells him, we are ſatisfied that according to law we muſt award execution upon this outlawry: thereupon Mrs. Matthews, ſir Thomas's daughter, ſaid, My lord, I hope you will not murder my father: for which being brow beaten and checked, ſhe added, God Almighty's judgments light upon you.

He was brought to the place of execution the Friday after. Dr. Tenniſon being with him, and on his deſire, after he had given what he had to leave, in a paper, to the ſheriff, prayed a little while with him. He then prayed by himſelf; and after having thanked the doctor for his great care and pains with him, ſubmitted to the ſentence, and died more compoſedly, and full as reſolutely as he had lived. It is obſervable, that more cruelty was exerciſed on him than any who went before him, not only in the manner of his death, but the expoſing his limbs and body; a fair warning what particular gratitude a Proteſtant is to expect for having obliged a true Roman-Catholic.

There is another thing worth remembering, in all other caſes as well as this, though occaſion is here taken to do it, is, that whereas in Holloway's caſe, Jeffreys obſerved, that not one of all concerned in this conſpiracy had dared to deny it; and lower, to deny the truth of the fact abſolutely: it is ſo far from being true, that every one who ſuffered, did it as abſolutely as poſſible. They were tried or ſentenced for conſpiring againſt the king and government; that was their plot; but this they all deny, and abſolutely too; and ſafely might do it: for they conſulted for it, not conſpired againſt it, reſolving not to touch the king's perſon; nay, if poſſible, not to ſhed one drop of blood of any other, as Holloway and others ſay. For the king's life, ſir Thomas ſays as the lord Ruſſel, Never had any man the impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing to him. Ruſſel, and almoſt all beſides, ſay, they had never any deſign againſt the government. Sir Thomas here ſays the ſame, as he never had any deſign againſt the king's life, nor the life of any man, ſo he never had any deſign to alter the government.

According as he lived, he ſays, he died a ſincere Proteſtant, and in the communion of the church of England, though he heartily wiſhed he had more ſtrictly lived up to the religion he believed. And though he had but a ſhort time, he found himſelf prepared for death; and indeed, as all his life ſhewed him a man of courage, ſo his death, and all the reſt of his behaviour, did, a penitent man, a man of good ſenſe, and a good Chriſtian.

Sir Thomas Armſtrong at the place of execution deported himſelf with courage becoming a great man, and with the ſeriouſneſs and piety ſuitable to a very good Chriſtian. Sheriff Daniel told him, he had leave to ſay what he pleaſed, and ſhould not be interrupted, unleſs he upbraided the government; ſir Thomas thereupon told him that he ſhould not ſay any thing by way of ſpeech; but delivered him a paper, which he ſaid contained his mind; he then called for Dr. Tenniſon, who prayed with him, and then he prayed alone.

He thus expreſſed himſelf in his paper, that he thanked Almighty God he found himſelf prepared for death, his thoughts ſet upon another world, and weaned from this; yet he could not but give ſo much of his little time, as to anſwer ſome calumnies, and particularly what Mr. Attorney accuſed him of at the bar. Alſo that he prayed to be allowed a trial for his life according to the laws of the land, and urged the ſtatute of Edward the Sixth, which was expreſly for it; but it ſignified nothing, and he was with an extraordinary roughneſs condemned, and made a precedent; though Holloway had it offered him, and he could not but think all the world would conclude his caſe very different, elſe why refuſed to him. He added that Mr. Attorney charged him for being one of thoſe that were to kill the king; he took God to witneſs, that he never had a thought to take away the king's life, and that no man ever had the impudence to propoſe ſo baſe and barbarous a thing to him; and that he never was in any deſign to alter the government. He then concluded with obſerving that if he had been tried, he could have proved the lord Howard's baſe reflections upon him, to be notoriouſly falſe; he concluded, that he had lived, and now died of the reformed religion, a Proteſtant in the communion of the church of England, and heartily wiſhed he had lived more ſtrictly up to the religion he believed: that he had found the great comfort of the love and mercy of God, in and through his bleſſed Redeemer, in whom he only truſted, and verily hoped that he was going to partake of that fulneſs of joy which is in his preſence, the hopes whereof infinitely pleaſed him. He thanked God he had no repining, but cheerfully ſubmitted to the puniſhment of his ſins; he freely forgave all the world, even thoſe concerned in taking away his life, though he could not but think his ſentence very hard, he being denied the laws of his country.

The MARTYRDOM *of* ALDERMAN **CORNISH** *before his own Door near Guildhall.*

IN order to make an end of this plot altogether, it will be neceſſary once more to invert the order in which things happened, and though Mr. Corniſh ſuffered not till after the judges returned from the Weſt, as well as Bateman after him, yet we ſhall here treat of them both, and ſo conclude this buſineſs.

The alderman was ſeized in October 1685; and the Monday after his commitment, which was on Tueſday or Friday, arraigned for high treaſon, having no notice given him till Saturday noon. His charge was for conſpiring to kill the king, and promiſing to aſſiſt the duke of Monmouth, &c. in their treaſonable enterpriſes. He deſired his trial might be deferred, becauſe of his ſhort time for preparation; and that he had a conſiderable witneſs an hundred and forty miles off, and that the king had left it to the judges, whether it ſhould be put off or no. But it was denied him; the attorney telling him, He had not deſerved ſo well of the government as to have his trial delayed. That was in plain Engliſh, becauſe he had been a Proteſtant ſheriff, he ſhould not have juſtice done him.

Rumſey and Goodenough were the evidences againſt him. Rumſey ſwears, That when he was at the famous meeting at Mr. Shepherd's, Mr. Shepherd being called down, brought up Mr. Corniſh; and when he was come in, Ferguſon opened his boſom, and from under his ſtomacher pulled out a paper in the nature of a declaration of grievances, which Ferguſon read, and Shepherd held the candle while it was reading; that Mr. Corniſh liked it, and ſaid, What intereſt he had, he would join with it; and that out of compaſſion he had not before accuſed Mr. Corniſh.

Next Goodenough ſwears, That he talked with Corniſh of the deſign of ſeizing the Tower. Mr. Corniſh ſaid, He would do what good he could, or to that purpoſe.

Mr. Goſpright's evidence was oppoſed to Goodenough's, who teſtified Mr. Corniſh oppoſed his being under-ſheriff, ſaying, That he was an ill man, obnoxious to the government, and he would not truſt an hair of his head with him. And is it then probable that he would have ſuch diſcourſes with him as would endanger head and all? Mr. Love, Jekil, and ſir William Turner, witneſs to the ſame effect.

Now as to Rumſey's evidence, the perjury lies ſo full and ſtaring, that it is impoſſible to look into the trial with half an eye without meeting it. Compare what he ſays on Ruſſel's trial, and here, and this will be as viſible as the ſun. Being aſked there, whether there was any diſcourſe about a declaration, and how long he ſtaid; he ſays, He was there about a quarter of an hour, and that he was not certain whether he had heard ſomething about a declaration there, or whether he had heard Ferguſon report afterwards, that they had then debated it. Now turn to Corniſh's trial, he is there ſtrangely recovered in his memory, and having had the advantage, either of recollection, or better inſtruction, remembers that diſtinctly in October 1685, which he could not in July 1683, he had been there a quarter of an hour; the time he ſtates in the lord Ruſſel's trial, but lengthens it out, and improves it now, to ſo long time as Mr. Shepherd's going down, bringing Corniſh up, Ferguſon's pulling out the declaration, and reading it, and that, as Shepherd ſays in Ruſſel's trial, a long one too, as certainly it muſt be, if, as it was ſworn, it contained all the grievances of the nation, and yet all this ſtill in a quarter of an hour; thus contradicting himſelf both to time and ſubject.

He is of ſuch villanous credit, that his evidence is ſcarce fit to be taken even againſt himſelf. Let us ſee then how Shepherd does point-blank contradict, and abſolutely overthrow it in every particular, as expreſsly as it is poſſible to ruin any evidence. He ſays, at one meeting only Mr. Corniſh was at his houſe to ſpeak to one of the perſons there; that then he himſelf came up ſtairs, and went out again with Mr. Corniſh. That there was not one word read, nor any paper ſeen while Mr. Corniſh was there, and this he was poſitive of, for Mr. Corniſh was not one of the party.

Pray who ſhould know beſt, Rumſey what Shepherd did, or he what he did himſelf? Could a man hold the candle while a declaration was read, as Rumſey ſwears Shepherd did, and yet know nothing of it, nay, proteſt the quite contrary? What ſizes the conſciences of his jury were, let any Chriſtian, Turk, or Jew, be judge; and Providence has already viſibly done it on the foreman of it, who came to an untimely end, being beaten to pieces by the fall of ſome timber at a fire in Thames-Street.

The chief thing pretended to ſupport Rumſey's evidence, and hinder Shepherd's from ſaving the priſoner, was, that Shepherd ſtrengthened Rumſey, and proved Corniſh guilty of a lie. But if we inquire into the matter, we ſhall find one and the other equally true.

On his trial, Corniſh is ſaid to have denied his being at the meeting, and diſcourſing with the duke of Monmouth: which they would have us believe Shepherd ſwears he was, though not a ſyllable of it appears. He had been there ſeveral times, Shepherd ſays, but was not of their conſult, knew nothing of their buſineſs, nor can he be poſitive whether it was the duke of Monmouth he came to ſpeak to that evening. But ſuppoſing in two or three years time, and on ſo little recollection, Corniſh's memory had ſlipt in that circumſtance, what is that to Shepherd's evidence againſt the very root of Rumſey's, which hanged the priſoner?

He was found guilty in ſpite of all, and condemned, and even that Chriſtian ſerenity of mind and countenance, wherewith it was viſible he bore his ſentence, the bench turned to his reproach.

Mr. Corniſh continued in the ſame excellent temper whilſt in Newgate, and gave the world a glaring inſtance of the happineſs of ſuch perſons as live a pious life, when they come to make an end of it, let the way thereof be ever ſo violent. His carriage and behaviour at his leaving Newgate were as follow.

Approaching the preſs-yard, and ſeeing the halter in the officer's hand, he ſaid, Is this for me? The officer anſwered, Yes; he replied, Bleſſed be God, and kiſſed it; and after ſaid, O bleſſed be God for Newgate, I have enjoyed God ever ſince I came within theſe walls, and bleſſed be God who hath made me fit to die. I am now going to that God that will not be mocked, to that God that will not be impoſed upon, to that God that knows the innocency of his poor creature. And a little after he ſaid, Never did any poor creature come unto God with greater confidence in his mercy, and aſſurance of acceptance with him, through Jeſus Chriſt; for there is no other way of coming to God but by him, to find acceptance with him: there is no other name given under heaven whereby we can be ſaved, but the name of Jeſus. Then ſpeaking to the officers, he ſaid, Labour every one of you to be fit to die, for I tell you, you are not fit to die: I was not fit to die myſelf before I came hither; but oh! bleſſed be God, he hath made me fit to die, and hath made me willing to die! In a few moments I ſhall have the fruition of the bleſſed Jeſus, and that not for a day, but for ever. I am going to the kingdom of God, where I ſhall enjoy the preſence of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of God the Holy Spirit, and of all the holy angels: I am going to the general aſſembly of the firſt-born, and of the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect: O that God ſhould ever do ſo much for me! O that God ſhould concern himſelf ſo much for poor creatures, for their ſalvation, bleſſed be his name! for this was the deſign of God from all eternity, to give his only Son to die for poor miſerable ſinners. Then the officers going to tie his hands, he ſaid, What, muſt I be tied then? Well, a brown thread might have ſerved the turn; you need not tie me at all, I ſhall not ſtir from you, for thank God I am not afraid to die. As he was going out, he ſaid, Farewell, Newgate: farewell all my fellow priſoners here; the Lord comfort you, the Lord be with you all.

So much for his behaviour in the way to his martyrdom. The place of it was moſt ſpitefully and ignominiouſly ordered, almoſt before his own door, and near Guildhall, to ſcare any good citizen from appearing vigorouſly in the diſcharge of his duty for his country's ſervice, by his example. If any thing was wanting in his trial, from the haſte of it, for the clearing his innocence, he ſufficiently made it up in ſolemn aſſeverations thereof on the ſcaffold: God is my witneſs, ſaid he, the crimes laid to my charge were falſely and maliciouſly ſworn againſt me by the witneſſes; for I never was at any conſult or meeting where matters againſt the government were diſcourſed of. He adds, I never heard or read any declaration tending that way. Again, as for the crimes for which I ſuffer, upon the words of a dying man, I am altogether innocent. Lower he adds, he died as he had lived, in the communion of the church of England, in whoſe ordinances he had been often a partaker, and now felt the bleſſed effects thereof in theſe his laſt ſufferings.

Mr. Corniſh was obſerved by thoſe who ſtood near the ſledge, to have ſolemnly, ſeveral times, averred his abſolute innocence of any deſign againſt the government, and particularly that for which he died.

There were ſome perſons, ſufficiently known, who were preſent at, and expreſſed a great deal of barbarous joy at his death: though ſome of them then were ſo confounded with his conſtancy and cheerful bravery, as wickedly to report, that he was drunk or mad when he died.

His quarters were ſet up on Guildhall, *in terrorem*, and for the ſame reaſon, no doubt, before mentioned, for which he was executed ſo near it.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. CHARLES BATEMAN.

MR. Bateman, the ſurgeon, a man of good ſenſe, good courage, and good company, and a very large and generous temper, of conſiderable repute and practice in his calling, was the next and laſt. He was a great lover and vindicator of the liberties of the city and kingdom, and of more intereſt than moſt of his ſtation.

He was ſworn againſt by Rouſe, Lee, and Richard Goodenough, upon the old ſtories of ſeizing the Tower, city, and Savoy. We had had a much better defence, had he himſelf been able to have made it: but being kept cloſe priſoner in Newgate, the windows and rooms all dark, and little or no company, he being a free jolly man, and uſed formerly to converſation and diverſion, ſoon grew deeply melancholy; and when he came on his trial, appeared little leſs than perfectly diſtracted; on which the court very kindly gave his ſon liberty to make his defence; the firſt inſtance to be ſure of that nature; ſince he himſelf might probably, had he been in his ſenſes, have remembered and pleaded many things more, which would have invalidated their evidence againſt him. But had not the miſtaken piety of his ſon undertook his defence, certainly they could never have been ſuch cannibals to have tried one in his condition. Yet could but what he brought for him, been allowed it's weight and juſtice, he had eſcaped well enough. For as for Lee, one Baker witneſſed, He had been practiſed upon by him in the year 1683, and would have had him inſinuate into Bateman's company, and diſcourſe about ſtate affairs to trepan him, by which means he ſhould be made a great man. It was urged beſides, that there were three years between the fact pretended, and Lee's proſecution of him, which, though they had but one witneſs, could not have brought him to puniſhment, which would have been judged ſufficient by any, but thoſe who would be content with nothing but blood. For Goodenough, he was but one witneſs, and pardoned only ſo far, as to qualify him to do miſchief. However he was found guilty; and juſt before his execution very much recovered himſelf, dying as much like a Chriſtian, and with as great a preſence of mind as moſt of the others.

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A FULL ACCOUNT *of the* SUFFERINGS *and* MISERIES *of* Dr. *OATES*.

IT is now neceſſary for the thread of our hiſtory, to reſume a ſubject, which, it is not doubted, will be ungrateful enough to ſome perſons; and that is, the popiſh-plot; the belief of which, by the indefatigable induſtry of that party, and the weekly pains of their obſervator, and eſpecially this laſt pretended plot againſt the government, was now almoſt entirely obliterated out of the minds of the leſs thinking part of the nation. To accompliſh which more fully, it was thought neceſſary by the managers, either quite to take off, or expoſe to miſeries and diſgraces worſe than death, all thoſe few perſons who remained honeſt and firm to their firſt evidence: the generality of the world judging by outward appearance, and thinking it impoſſible but that one who ſtood in the pillory, and was whipped at the cart's tail, muſt be a perjured rogue without more ado. Mr. Bedloe was dead, and his teſtimony therefore would be eaſier forgotten; though at his laſt breath after the ſacrament, he ſolemnly and juridically confirmed every word of it before one of the judges, who was happily in Briſtol at the time of his death. Moſt of the under-evidences in the plot were threatened, or promiſed, or brought off from what they had witneſſed, or forced to leave the land for the ſecuring their perſons. None remains now beſides Oates and Dangerfield, with whom all means poſſible, fair and foul, had been uſed, to make them turn villains, and deny their evidence; but to their eternal praiſe, they ſtill continued firm to their firſt teſtimony, to the rage and confuſion of their enemies. They therefore went firſt to work with the doctor; and it will be worth while to conſider the reaſon of his firſt proſecution, by which men that are not very much prejudiced, may ſee the reaſon and juſtice of thoſe which follow, and it was for ſcandalizing the duke of York with that notorious truth, that he was reconciled to the church of Rome, adding, what every man knows, that it was high treaſon ſo to be. Would but the doctor's greateſt and moſt paſſionate enemies reflect on this beginning of his ſorrows, as well as calmly examine all that is to come, they muſt form a juſter judgment of his perſon and actions, than what ſeems too deeply fixed in them, ever to be rooted out; for which he was adjudged to pay that reaſonable little fine of 100,000l. which, till he paid, he was committed to the King's Bench, though there was no great haſte for his doing it.

Thus having him in priſon, they reſolved to ſtrike at the root with him, and therefore after new fruitleſs attempts to make him quit and revoke his evidence, they made the laſt effort on his conſtancy and honeſty; and indeed life itſelf, indicting him on the 8th and 9th of May 1685, for perjury in ſome branches of his evidence, given in ſome of it, almoſt ſeven years before. His firſt accuſation was, for ſwearing in Ireland's trial, he himſelf was here in London, whereas it was pretended he was at that very time at St. Omer's. The ſecond, that Ireland was at that time in town, when they would have it believed he was in Staffordſhire.

All the evidence for the firſt were lads of St. Omer's, who, though they blundered ill-favouredly in former attempts the ſame way, and were accordingly told ſo by the court on other trials, were now grown expert in the buſineſs, being all of a religion that makes perjury meritorious; all youths and boys, and under ſuch a diſcipline as obliges them to obey their ſuperiors, without any reſerve, or queſtioning the reaſon or juſtice of the thing; all, or moſt of them afterwards, rewarded with places of truſt and profit under king James, as, no doubt, promiſed them before for their good ſervice. They all ſwore point-blank, that Oates was at St. Omer's, when he ſwears he was here at the conſult. Not one of theſe witneſſes who had not been bred at St. Omer's, and but one who pretended to be a Proteſtant. For the ſecond indictment, of Ireland's not being in town in Auguſt, as Oates had ſworn him; they brought ſeveral witneſſes to prove it, and that he was at that time in Staffordſhire; moſt, if not all of which were ſtout Roman-Catholics.

Now in anſwer to theſe, let us firſt be perſuaded fairly to conſider what may be ſaid in his defence, and moſt part of his vindication is over: and firſt, theſe were moſt, or all of them, the ſelf-ſame witneſſes, who in the ſucceſſive trials, Whitebread's, Harcourt's, &c. and Mr. Langhorn's, could not find credit; and who had ſeveral witneſſes who ſwore point-blank contrary to what they affirmed, ſome of whom were dead before this laſt trial. Let us then conſider what defence Oates made for himſelf,

ſelf, which in ſpite of his own and Jeffreys's paſſions, ſeems ſtrenuous and incontrovertible.

The doctor had in the former trials produced no leſs than eight perſons who ſwore poſitively to his being in town at that very time, when the Jeſuits and their youngſters would ſo fain have had him been out of it, whoſe names were Mr. Walker, an ancient miniſter of the church of England, Sarah Ives, Mrs. Mayo, ſir Richard Barker, Mr. Page, Mr. Butler, William Smith, and Mr. Clay, a Romiſh prieſt, four of which, Mayo, Butler, Page, and Walker, he now produced again at his trial; the two firſt of whom poſitively ſwore the ſame they did before: the miniſter was too old to remember, and the laſt too fearful poſitively to affirm what they had done before.

Now as to the ſecond indictment, a crowd of witneſſes, ſuch as they were, came to teſtify Ireland was in Staffordſhire when Oates ſwore he was in London.

He had formerly anſwered to this ſame objection, and proved by the oaths of Mr. Bedloe, and Sarah Pain, and afterwards of Mr. Jenniſon, that Ireland was in town, when others witneſs he was in the country. But now at his trial, Bedloe and Pain being dead, and Jenniſon fled into Holland, he was abſolutely incapacitated of making any defence that way; and ſo was found guilty of both indictments.

Truly the judgment againſt him was juſt as merciful as could be expected from Papiſts, acting by a Jeffreys, part of which was, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on Wedneſday, and on the Friday following from Newgate to Tyburn, and ſtand in the pillory five times a year, and be priſoner during life. Which he bore with a great deal of ſtrength and courage; though had not Providence provided him a body and ſoul, made, one would think on purpoſe for it, it would have killed him, if he had had the ſtrength of twenty men. He had in all above 2000 laſhes, as ſome that were by reckoned them up; ſuch a thing as was never inflicted by any Jew, Turk, or Heathen, but Jeffreys; nay, the merciful Jews thought one leſs than God Almighty had appointed ſufficient, and never gave but 39 at a time; all St. Paul's three times not coming near the third part of the doctor's. Had they hanged him, they had been merciful; had they flead him alive, it is a queſtion whether it had been ſo much torture. How good and merciful thoſe perſons, who will vindicate this worſe than barbarous and inhuman action, are, let the world and future ages be judges; in the mean while we will ſafely defy all hiſtory to ſhew one parallel of it either on man or dog, from the creation of the world to this time.

Indeed there needs no more aggravation of it, or urging what is plain enough, that the thus dealing with him, even ſuppoſing his crime as great as they would have it, was yet the higheſt affront and indignity even to humanity itſelf. It will, beſides this, be an unanſwerable obſervation; that it had been impoſſible for a man to have held out the ſecond whipping, after the firſt was over, while the wounds were freſh about him, and every new ſtroke more than a double torment, either to have undergone this without confeſſion, or dropping down dead with extremity of pain, had he not both had truth on his ſide, and alſo a more than common ſupport and aſſiſtance from him who ſaw his innocency. This whipping of his being the greateſt confirmation to his evidence that was poſſible.

Now after his return to priſon, after all this uſage, yet if poſſible, more barbarous, tearing off the plaſters from his wounds, cruſhing him with irons, thruſting him into holes and dungeons, and endeavouring to render him as infamous to the nation, and all the world, as Cain or Judas; he bore up againſt all this, and more, with ſo ſtrange and almoſt miraculous a patience, that during his four years impriſonment, he was never once heard to ſigh, or manifeſt any impatience under his condition. He refuſed all the offers of the Jeſuits, who even after this had the impudence to propoſe to him his recanting his evidence. He had ſtill a ſtrong belief that he ſhould ſee better times, and get his freedom again, which he had in that general gaol delivery, granted all England, by the then prince of Orange's heroic undertaking. Since that, he has preſented his caſe and petition to the parliament; to the Houſe of Commons, as well as the Houſe of Lords; and though the honourable Houſe of Lords were offended at what they judged a ſlight of their juriſdiction, in his addreſſing to the Houſe of Commons, while his cauſe lay before them, and expreſſed their reſentment thereof accordingly; the commons have ſince that taken his caſe into conſideration, and, as well as four ſucceeding parliaments before them, owned his cauſe, and cenſured ſeverely the proceedings of Jeffreys againſt him.

The SUFFERINGS *of* Mr. JOHNSON *about the ſame Time.*

ABOUT the ſame time, the pious, reverend, and learned Mr. Johnſon met with much the ſame uſage. His great crimes were, being my lord Ruſſel's chaplain, writing the famous Julian the apoſtate, and endeavouring to perſuade the nation, not to let themſelves be made ſlaves and Papiſts, when ſo many others were doing their part to bring them to it. And it is a queſtion whether any man in the world, beſides his friend the reverend Dr. Burnet, did more ſervice with his pen, or more conduced to our great and happy revolution, both among the army, and in other places. For ſome of theſe good ſervices, he was accuſed, impriſoned, tried, and condemned to be diveſted of his canonical habit, and be whipped as far as Oates was before him; which was performed, and which he underwent, as he did, with courage and conſtancy above a man, and like a Chriſtian and a martyr. He remained ever after in the King's Bench, till delivered by the prince's arrival.

The SUFFERINGS *and* MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. DANGERFIELD, *who was cruelly aſſaſſinated.*

MR. Dangerfield's father was a gentleman, who lived in good faſhion at Waltham-Abbey, or thereabouts; had been a great ſufferer for king Charles I. and charged this his ſon on his death-bed, after his diſcovery of the plot, never to have any hand in any thing againſt the government; which he promiſed, and faithfully obſerved. He was a man of buſineſs and courage, and therefore employed by the Papiſts, while among them, in their deſperate and moſt dangerous concerns. He was then of a religion that excuſed and encouraged the worſt things he or any other man could be guilty of. The great thing which brought him on the ſtage, was Mrs. Celier's buſineſs, called the Meal-Tub plot. The Papiſts had deſigned to kill two birds with one ſtone, divert the laws and people from themſelves, and ruin their enemies; for which end they had amongſt them made a plot to bring in the beſt men, and patriots of the kingdom into a pretended deſign againſt the king and government, by a kind of an aſſociation, like that which afterwards took better effect. And for this tranſaction Mr. Dangerfield was made choice of, a liſt of their names, with the deſign, being by him, according to order, conveyed into one colonel Manſel's chamber. But he was diſcovered, and ſeized in the deſign, and acknowledged all the intrigue, giving ſo clear an account of it, that they had never to this very day the impudence to pretend any contradiction, or trip in his evidence, nor any other way but flat denial. But there was ſomewhat yet deeper in the caſe, which he afterwards revealed in his depoſitions before the parliament, that he was employed by the ſame party to kill the king, and encouraged and promiſed impunity and reward, and part of it given him by a great perſon for that purpoſe.

While the ſtream ran violently for Popery, he went over, for ſecurity, into Flanders, but continued not long there; and returning back, he was ſome time after ſeized, and carried before the council, where, before the king himſelf, perſiſting to a tittle, in all his former evidence,

dence, he was committed to Newgate; and after having lain there for ſome time, petitioned for a trial, which they could not do upon any account but *Scandalum Magnatum*, and that in a matter which lay only before the parliament to whom he had revealed it. Yet for that he was tried, and found guilty, as William Williams the ſpeaker afterwards for licenſing his narrative, by order of parliament. He was to undergo the ſame whipping Oates and Johnſon did. Before he went out, he had ſtrong bodings of his death, and choſe the following text for his funeral ſermon, "There the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and there the weary are at reſt;" ſaying, he was confident they had ſuch a particular malice againſt him, he ſhould never return alive: confirmed the truth of all his former evidence, and took a laſt farewell of his friends. After the ſentence was executed on him, in his return home, one Francis ſtabbed him in the eye with a ſort of a tuck in the end of his cane, which touching his brain, he was hardly ever ſenſible after, but died of the wound in a few hours, not without great ſuſpicion of poiſon, his body being ſwelled and black, and full of great blains all over. The murderer fled, but was purſued by the rabble, who had torn him to pieces, had not the officers reſcued him. He defended and juſtified the fact whilſt in Newgate, ſaying, he had the greateſt men in the kingdom to ſtand by him; to whom, after his trial, and being found guilty upon clear evidence, great applications were made, which had been ſucceſsful for his pardon, had not Jeffreys himſelf gone to Whitehall, and told the king, he muſt die, for the rabble were now thoroughly heated. Attempts were made to bribe Mr. Dangerfield's wife, that ſhe might conſent to the pardon of her huſband's murderer; but ſhe too well deſerved to be related to him, to ſell his blood; and had an appeal ready againſt him, had he been pardoned. So the poor ſtate martyr was hanged, as Coleman was before him. Mr. Dangerfield's body was conveyed to Waltham-Abbey, with ſeveral coaches attending him, and there handſomely interred.

The SUFFERINGS *of Mr.* NOISE.

OF the ſeveral gentlemen who ſuffered innocently for Lee's plot, Mr. Noiſe was one, though omitted in due place, who though he loſt not his life immediately by it, was yet put to ſuch extremities, as both injured his reaſon, and ruined his fortune. He was born of a good family not far from Reading in Berkſhire; and being a younger ſon, was bound apprentice to a linen draper in London. In which capacity he was a great promoter of the apprentices' addreſs, intended to be preſented to the king for redreſs of grievances, and further proſecution of the popiſh plot. A crime, which thoſe concerned could never pardon, and which was now looked on, both by himſelf, and all his friends, as the cauſe of theſe calamities.

The witneſs Lee ſwore againſt him that he was concerned in this plot, which he abſolutely denying, though no other witneſs came in againſt him, and he was never brought to a trial, he underwent a tedious and ſevere impriſonment, loaded with irons, and kept from his friends, ſo long till his trade was ruined before he was ſet free, and he himſelf then rendered ſo unfit for buſineſs, that he was forced entirely to leave it off, and betake himſelf to travel: where, never quite recovering himſelf, he in a little time after fell ſick and departed this life.

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The MARTYRDOM *of Meſſrs.* BENJAMIN *and* WILLIAM HEWLING, *at* Taunton *and* Lyme.

WHOEVER wiſh to ſee true pure popiſh mercy, let them look on theſe two gentlemen, the only ſons of their virtuous and ſorrowful parents; the comforts, props, and hopes of their name and family, carefully educated, virtuouſly diſpoſed both of them; after all repeated applications, if but for one of their lives, barbarouſly executed. A particular care was taken by their father in their education, forming their minds by his own example, and conſtant inſtructions and prayers, as well as other pains of ingenious maſters, to the ſtricteſt rules of piety and virtue. Nor was their pious and very tender mother leſs careful in that inſtance.

Mr. Benjamin Hewling the elder had tutors in the mathematics, and other parts of philoſophy; a courſe of which he went through ſucceſsfully enough, and ſo as to render him as complete in his mind, as nature had formed his body: after which he went to Holland, as did his brother, Mr. William Hewling, from whence this laſt returned with the duke: both of them had commands in the army; the elder had a troop of horſe, the younger was a lieutenant of foot; they diſcharged their places with much more conduct and bravery than could be expected from ſuch young ſoldiers, being entirely ſatisfied in the cauſe they fought for, ſince it was no leſs than the intereſt of all that was dear to them in this world or the other. The eldeſt had particularly ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and was ſent with a detachment of his own troops, and two more, to Minehead in Somerſetſhire, to bring cannon to the army, at the very inſtant the duke engaged the king's forces at fatal Sedgmore, and came not up till after the field was entirely loſt; to whoſe abſence, with ſo conſiderable a party of the duke's horſe, and the moſt reſolved men of all he had, the loſs of the day was principally owing. Finding all things in diſorder, and the rout beyond recovering, he was forced to diſperſe his troops, every one ſhifting as they could for themſelves. He and his brother kept together, where, what befell them after, their friends have given an exact account, and which is here accordingly inſerted.

A particular Account of the Behaviour *of Meſſrs.* WILLIAM *and* BENJAMIN HEWLING, *before and at their Execution, as communicated by their Friends.*

"THE gracious dealings of God, manifeſted to ſome in dying hours, have been of great advantage to thoſe living that heard the ſame, giving them an occaſion thereby to reflect on their own ſtate, and to look after the things of their peace, before they be hid from their eyes; as alſo a great encouragement to ſtrengthen the faith of thoſe that have experienced the grace of God to them.

"To that end, it is thought neceſſary, by parents eſpecially, to preſerve to their children that remain, thoſe bleſſed experiences that ſuch have had, which God hath taken to himſelf.

"Here therefore is preſented a true account of the admirable appearances of God towards two young men; Mr. Benjamin Hewling, who died when he was about 22 years of age, and Mr. William Hewling, who died before he arrived to 20 years: they engaged with the duke of Monmouth, as their own words were, for the Engliſh liberties, and the Proteſtant religion, and for which Mr. William Hewling was executed at Lyme the 12th of September 1685; and Mr. Benjamin Hewling at Taunton, the 30th of the ſame month; and however ſevere men were to them, yet the bleſſed diſpenſation of God towards them was ſuch, as hath made good his word, that out of the mouths of babes he hath ordained ſtrength, that he may ſtill the enemy and the avenger. Then, reader, would you ſee earthly angels, (men that are a little too low for heaven, and much too high for earth) would you ſee poor frail creatures trampling this world under their feet, and with an holy, ſerene countenance ſmiling at the threats of tyrants, who are the terrors of the mighty in the land of the living? Would you ſee ſhackled priſoners behave themſelves like judges, and judges ſtand like priſoners before them? Would you ſee ſome of the rare exploits of faith in it's higheſt elevation, immediately before it be ſwallowed up in the beatifical viſion? To conclude, would you ſee the heavenly Jeruſalem portraited on earth? Would you hear the melodious voice of aſcending ſaints in a raviſhing concert ready to join with the heavenly chorus in their delightful hallelujahs? Then draw near, come and ſee!

If thou be a man of an heavenly ſpirit, here is pleaſant and ſuitable entertainment for thee; and after thou haſt converſed a while with theſe excellent ſpirits, it may be thou wilt judge as I do, that dead ſaints are ſweeter companions (in ſome reſpects) for thee to converſe with, than thoſe that are living: and when thou ſhalt ſee the magnificent acts of their faith, their invincible patience, their flaming love to Chriſt, their ſtrange contempt and undervaluings of the world, their plainneſs and ſimplicity in the profeſſion of the goſpel, their fervent and brotherly-love to each other, their raviſhing proſpect (as it were on the top of mount Piſgah) of the heavenly Canaan, their ſwan-like ſongs and dying ſpeeches. And reader, you know the firſt liſpings of little children, and laſt farewells of dying ſaints are always moſt ſweet and charming: thoſe fore-taſtes of the river of pleaſure, the tranſporting glimpſes they had of the crown of glory; I ſay, when you ſee and read theſe exemplary truths, wonder not that the pious Hewlings longed ſo vehemently to be in a better world, though they were to paſs through a thouſand deaths, or the fiery trial to it.

"After the diſperſing of the duke's army, they fled and put to ſea, but were driven back again, and with the hazard of their lives got on ſhore, over dangerous rocks; where they ſaw the country filled with ſoldiers, and they being unwilling to fall into the hands of the rabble, and no way of defence or eſcape remaining to them, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners to a gentleman, whoſe houſe was near the place they landed at, and were from thence ſent to Exeter gaol, the 12th of July, where remaining ſome time, their behaviour was ſuch, that (being viſited by many) cauſed great reſpect towards them, even of thoſe that were enemies to the cauſe they engaged in; and being on the 27th of July put on board the Swan frigate, in order to their bringing up to London, their carriage was ſuch, as obtained great kindneſs from the commander, and all other officers in the ſhip; and being brought into the river, captain Richardſon came and took them into his cuſtody, and carried them to Newgate, putting great irons about them, and put them apart from each other, without giving liberty for the neareſt relation to ſee them, notwithſtanding all endeavours and entreaties uſed to obtain it, though in the preſence of a keeper; which though it did greatly increaſe the grief of their relations, God, who wiſely orders all things for good to thoſe he intends grace and mercy to, made this very reſtraint and hard uſage a bleſſed advantage to their ſouls, as may appear by their own words, when after great importunity and charge, ſome of their near relations had leave to ſpeak a few words to them before the keeper, to whom they replied, they were contented with the will of God, whatever it ſhould be. Having been in Newgate three weeks, there was order given to carry them down into the weſt, in order to their trial; which being told them, they anſwered, they were glad of it; and that morning they went out of Newgate, ſeveral that beheld them, ſeeing them ſo cheerful, ſaid, Surely they had received their pardon, elſe they could never carry it with that courage and cheerfulneſs. Although this muſt be obſerved, that from firſt to laſt, whatever hopes they received from friends, they ſtill thought the contrary, never being much affected with the hopes of it, nor caſt down, nor the leaſt diſcouraged at the worſt that man could do. In their journey to Dorcheſter, the keepers that went with them, ſaid their carriage was ſo grave, ſerious, and chriſtian-like, that it made them admire to ſee and hear what they did from ſuch young men."

A near relation that went into the Weſt, to ſee the iſſue of things, and to perform whatever ſhould be neceſſary for them, gives alſo an account as follows:

"At Saliſbury, the 30th of Aug. I had the firſt opportunity of converſing with them: I found them in a very excellent compoſure of mind, declaring their experience of the grace and goodneſs of God to them in all their ſufferings, in ſupporting and ſtrengthening, and providing for them, turning the hearts of all in whoſe hands they had been, both at Exon, and on ſhip-board, to ſhew pity and favour to them; although ſince they came to Newgate they were hardly uſed, and now on their journey loaded with heavy irons, and more inhumanly dealt with. They with great cheerfulneſs profeſſed, that they were better, and in a more happy condition than ever in their lives, from the ſenſe they had of the pardoning love of God in Jeſus Chriſt to their ſouls, wholly referring themſelves to their wiſe and gracious God to chuſe for them life or death; expreſſing themſelves thus: Any thing that pleaſes God, what he ſees beſt, ſo be it: we know he is able to deliver, but if not, bleſſed be his name, death is not terrible now, but deſirable. Mr. Benjamin Hewling particularly added, As for the world, there is nothing in it to make it worth while to live, except we may be ſerviceable to God therein. And afterwards ſaid, Oh! God is a ſtrong refuge, I have found him ſo indeed.

"The next opportunity I had was at Dorcheſter, where they both were carried, there remaining together four days: by reaſon of their ſtrait confinement our converſation was much interrupted; but this appeared, that they had ſtill the ſame preſence and ſupport from God, no way diſcouraged at the approach of their trial, nor of the event of it, whatever it ſhould be.

"The 6th of September, Mr. Benjamin Hewling was ordered to Taunton to be tried there: taking my leave of him, he ſaid, Oh! bleſſed be God for afflictions; I have found ſuch happy effects, that I would not have been without them for all this world.

"I remained ſtill at Dorcheſter to wait the iſſue of Mr. William Hewling, to whom, after trial, I had free acceſs, whoſe diſcourſe was much filled with admirings of the grace of God in Chriſt, that had been manifeſted towards him, in calling him out of his natural ſtate. He ſaid, God by his Holy Spirit did ſuddenly ſeize upon his heart, when he thought not of it in his retired mode in Holland, as it were ſecretly whiſpering in his heart, Seek ye my face, enabling him to anſwer his call, and to reflect upon his own ſoul, ſhewing him the evil of ſin, and neceſſity of Chriſt, from that time carrying him on, to a ſenſible adherence to Chriſt for juſtification and eternal life. He ſaid, hence he found a ſpring of joy and ſweetneſs, beyond the comforts of the whole earth. He further ſaid, he could not but admire the wonderful goodneſs of God, in ſo preparing him, for what he was bringing him to, which then he thought not of; giving him hope of eternal life, before he called him to look death in the face, ſo that he did cheerfully reſign his life to God before he came, having ſought his guidance in it; and that both then and now, the cauſe did appear to him very glorious, notwithſtanding all he had ſuffered in it, or what he further might. Although for our ſins God hath with-held theſe good things from us. But he ſaid, God had carried on his bleſſed work in his ſoul, in and by all his ſufferings; and whatever the will of God were, life or death, he knew it would be beſt for him.

"After he had received his ſentence, when he returned to priſon, he ſaid, methinks I find my ſpiritual comforts increaſing, ever ſince my ſentence. There is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, it is God that juſtifies, who ſhall condemn?

"When I came to him the next morning (when he had received news, that he muſt die the next day, and in order to it was to be carried to Lyme that day) I found him in a more excellent raiſed ſpiritual frame than before: he ſaid, he was ſatisfied God had choſen beſt for him; he knows what the temptations of life might have been; I might have lived and forgotten God, but now I am going where I ſhall ſin no more. Oh! it is a bleſſed thing to be free from ſin, and to be with Chriſt. Oh! the riches of the love of God in Chriſt to ſinners. Oh! how great were the ſufferings of Chriſt for me beyond all I can undergo! How great is that glory to which I am going! It will ſoon ſwallow up all our ſorrow here.

"When he was at dinner, juſt before his going to Lyme, he dropped many abrupt expreſſions of his inward joy, ſuch as theſe: Oh! the grace of God, the love of Chriſt; oh! that bleſſed ſupper of the Lamb, to be for ever with the Lord! He further ſaid, When I went to Holland, you knew not what ſnares, ſins, and miſeries I might fall into, or whether ever we ſhould meet again: but now you know whither I am going, and that we ſhall certainly have a moſt joyful meeting.

"He ſaid, pray give my particular recommendations to all my friends, with acknowledgements for all their kindneſs. I adviſe them all to make ſure of an intereſt in Chriſt, for he is the only comfort when we come to die.

"One of the priſoners ſeemed to be troubled at the manner of the death they were to die; to whom he replied, I bleſs God I am reconciled to it all.

"Juſt as he was going to Lyme, he wrote theſe few lines to a friend, being hardly ſuffered to ſtay ſo long:

"To *****,

"I am going to launch into eternity, and I hope and truſt into the arm of my bleſſed Redeemer, to whom I commit you and all my dear relations; my duty to my dear mother, and love to all my ſiſters, and the reſt of my friends.

William Hewling."

"When they paſſed through the town of Dorcheſter to Lyme, multitudes of people beheld them, with great lamentations, admiring his deportment at his parting with his ſiſter.

"When they paſſed upon the road between Lyme and Dorcheſter, his diſcourſe was exceeding ſpiritual (as thoſe declared who were preſent) taking occaſion from every thing to ſpeak of the glory they were going to. Looking out on the country as he paſſed, he ſaid, This is a glorious creation, but what then is the paradiſe of God to which we are going? It is but a few hours, and we ſhall be there, and for ever with the Lord.

"At Lyme, juſt before they went to die, reading John xiv. 18, he ſaid to one of his fellow-ſufferers, Here is a ſweet promiſe for us: I will not leave you comfortleſs, I will come unto you: Chriſt will be with us to the laſt. One taking leave of him, he ſaid, Farewell till we meet in heaven; preſently I ſhall be with Chriſt: Oh! I would not change conditions with any in this world; I would not ſtay behind for ten thouſand worlds.

"To another that aſked him how he did now, he ſaid, Very well, he bleſſed God. And further aſking him, if he could look death in the face with comfort now it approached ſo near? He ſaid, Yes, I bleſs God I can with great comfort; God has made this a good night to me, my comforts are much increaſed ſince I left Dorcheſter: then taking leave of him, ſaid, Farewell, I ſhall ſee you no more. To which he replied, How! ſee me no more? Yes, I hope to meet you in glory. To another that was by him to the laſt, he ſaid, pray remember my dear love to my brother and ſiſter, and tell them, I deſire they would comfort themſelves that I am gone to Chriſt, and we ſhall quickly meet in the glorious Mount Sion above.

"Afterwards he prayed for about three quarters of an hour with the greateſt fervency, exceedingly bleſſing God for Jeſus Chriſt, adoring the riches of his grace in him, in all the glorious fruits of it towards him, praying for the peace of the church of God, and of theſe nations in particular, all with ſuch eminent aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, as convinced, aſtoniſhed, and melted into pity the hearts of all preſent, even the moſt malicious adverſaries, forcing tears and expreſſions from them; ſome ſaying, they knew not what would become of them after death; but it was evident he was going to great happineſs.

"When he was juſt going out of the world, with a joyful countenance, he ſaid, Oh! now my joy and comfort is, that I have a Chriſt to go to, and ſo ſweetly reſigned his ſpirit to Chriſt, the 12th of September 1685.

"An officer who had ſhewed ſo malicious a ſpirit as to call the priſoners devils, when he was guarding them down, was now ſo convinced, that he after told a perſon of quality, that he was never ſo affected, as by his cheerful carriage and fervent prayer, ſuch, as he believed, was never heard, eſpecially from one ſo young; and ſaid, I believe, had the lord chief juſtice been there, he would not have let him die.

"The ſheriff having given his body to be buried, although it was brought from the place of execution without any notice given, yet very many of the town, to the number of 200, came to accompany him; and ſeveral young women of the beſt of the town, laid him in his grave in Lyme church-yard, the thirteenth day of September 1685.

"When I came to Taunton, to Mr. Benjamin Hewling, he had received the news of his brother's being gone to die with ſo much comfort and joy, and afterwards of the continued goodneſs of God increaſing it to the end. He expreſſed it to this effect, We have no cauſe to fear death, if the preſence of God be with us; there is no evil in it, the ſting being taken away; it is nothing but our ignorance of the glory that the ſaints paſs into by death, which makes it appear dark for ourſelves or relations; if in Chriſt, what is this world that we ſhould deſire an abode in it? It is all vain and unſatisfying, full of ſin and miſery: intimating alſo his own cheerful expectations ſoon to follow, diſcovering then, and all along, great ſeriouſneſs, and ſenſe of ſpiritual and eternal things, complaining of nothing in his preſent circumſtances, but the want of a place of retirement to converſe more uninterruptedly with God and his own ſoul, ſaying, That his lonely time in Newgate was the ſweeteſt in his whole life. He ſaid, God having ſome time before ſtruck his heart (when he thought of the hazard of his life) to ſome ſerious ſenſe of his paſt life, and the great conſequences of death and eternity, ſhewing him, that they were the only happy perſons that had ſecured their eternal ſtates; the folly and madneſs of the ways of ſin, and his own thraldom therein, with his utter inability to deliver himſelf; alſo the neceſſity of Chriſt for ſalvation: he ſaid it was not without terror and amazement for ſome time, the ſight of unpardoned ſin, with eternity before him. But God wonderfully opened to him the riches of his free grace in Chriſt Jeſus for poor ſinners to flee to, enabling them to look alone to a crucified Chriſt for ſalvation: he ſaid this bleſſed work was in ſome meaſure carried on upon his ſoul, under all his buſineſs and hurries in the army; but never ſprung forth ſo fully and ſweetly till his cloſe confinement in Newgate. There he ſaw Chriſt and all ſpiritual objects more clearly, and embraced them more ſtrongly; there he experienced the bleſſedneſs of a reconciled ſtate, the excellency of the ways of holineſs, the delightfulneſs of communion with God, which remained with very deep and apparent impreſſions on his ſoul, which he frequently expreſſed with admiration of the grace of God towards him. He ſaid, Perhaps my friends may think this ſummer the ſaddeſt time of my life; but I bleſs God it hath been the ſweeteſt and moſt happy of it all; nay, there is nothing elſe worth the name of happineſs. I have in vain ſought ſatiſfaction from the things of this world, but I never found it; but now I have found reſt for my ſoul in God alone.

"O how great is our blindneſs by nature, till God open our eyes, that we can ſee no excellency in ſpiritual things, but ſpend our precious time in purſuing ſhadows, and are deaf to all the invitations of grace, and glorious offers of the goſpel! How juſt is God in depriving us of that we ſo much ſlighted and abuſed! Oh! his infinite patience and goodneſs, that after all he ſhould yet ſanctify any methods to bring a poor ſinner to himſelf! Oh! electing love, diſtinguiſhing grace! what great cauſe have I to admire and adore it!

"He ſaid, What an amazing conſideration is the ſuffering of Chriſt for ſin, to bring us to God; his ſuffering from wicked men was exceeding great: but alas, what was that to the dolours of his ſoul, under the infinite wrath of God? This myſtery of grace and love is enough to ſwallow up our thoughts to all eternity.

"As to his own death, he would often ſay, He ſaw no reaſon to expect any other; I know God is infinitely able to deliver, and I am ſure will do it, if it be for his glory, and my good; in which, I bleſs God, I am fully ſatiſfied; it is all my deſire that he would chooſe for me, and then I am ſure it will be beſt, whatever it be; for truly, unleſs God have ſome work for me to do in the world for his ſervice and glory, I ſee nothing elſe to make life deſirable: in the preſent ſtate of affairs, there is nothing to caſt our eyes upon, but ſin, ſorrow, and miſery: and truly, were things ever ſo much according to our deſires, it is but the world ſtill, which will never be a reſting place. Heaven is the only ſtate of reſt and happineſs; there we ſhall be perfectly free from ſin and temptation, and enjoy God without interruption for ever.

"Speaking of the diſappointment of their expectations in the work they had undertaken, he ſaid with reference to the glory of God, the proſperity of the goſpel, and the delivery of the people of God, we have great cauſe to lament it; but for that outward proſperity that would have accompanied it, it is but of ſmall moment in itſelf; as it could not ſatisfy, ſo neither could it be abiding; for at length death would have put an end to it all: alſo adding, nay, perhaps we might have been ſo fooliſh, as to have been taken with that part of it, to the neglect of our eternal concerns; and then, I am ſure, our preſent circumſtances are incomparably better.

"He frequently expreſſed great concern for the glory of God, and affection to his people, ſaying, If my death may advance the glory of God, and haſten the deliverance of his people, it is enough; ſaying, It was a great comfort to him, to think of ſo great a privilege as an intereſt in all their prayers.

"In his converſation, particularly valuing and delighting in thoſe perſons, where he ſaw moſt holineſs ſhining; alſo great pity to the ſouls of others, ſaying, That the remembrance of our former vanity may well cauſe compaſſion to others in that ſtate. And in his converſe prompting others to ſeriouſneſs, telling them, Death and eternity are ſuch weighty concerns, that they deſerve the utmoſt attention of our minds; for the way to receive death cheerfully, is to prepare for it ſeriouſly; and if God ſhould pleaſe to ſpare our lives, ſurely we have the ſame reaſon to be ſerious, and ſpend our remaining days in his fear and ſevice.

"He alſo took great care that the worſhip of God, which they were in a capacity of maintaining there, might be duly performed; as reading, praying, and ſinging of pſalms, in which he evidently took great delight.

"For thoſe three or four days before their deaths, when there was a general report that no more ſhould die; he ſaid, I do not know what God hath done beyond our expectation; if he doth prolong my life, I am ſure it is all his own, and by his grace I will wholly devote it to him.

"But the 29th of September, about ten or eleven at night, we found the deceitfulneſs of this report, they being then told they muſt die the next morning, which was very unexpected, as to the ſuddenneſs of it; but herein God glorified his power, grace, and faithfulneſs, in giving ſuitable ſupport and comfort by his bleſſed preſence, which appeared upon my coming to him at that time, finding him greatly compoſed; he ſaid, Though men deſign to ſurpriſe, God doth and will perform his word, to be a very preſent help in trouble.

"The next morning when I ſaw him again, his cheerfulneſs and comfort were much increaſed, waiting for the ſheriff with the greateſt ſweetneſs and ſerenity of mind; ſaying, Now the will of God is determined, to whom I have referred it, and he hath choſen moſt certainly that which is beſt.

"Afterward with a ſmiling countenance he diſcourſed of the glory of heaven, remarking with much delight the third, fourth, and fifth verſes of the 22d of the Revelations, "And there ſhall be no more curſe; but the throne of God, and of the Lamb, ſhall be in it, and his ſervants ſhall ſerve him, and they ſhall ſee his face, and his name ſhall be in their foreheads, and there ſhall be no night there, and they ſhall need no candle nor light of the ſun, and they ſhall reign for ever and ever." Then he ſaid, Oh, what a happy ſtate is this! ſhall we be loth to go to enjoy this! Then he deſired to be read to him, 2 Cor. v. "For we know that if our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were diſſolved, we have a building of God, a houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;" to the tenth or eleventh verſes. In all, his comforts ſtill increaſing, expreſſing his ſweet hopes and good aſſurance of his intereſt in this glorious inheritance, and being now going to the poſſeſſion of it, ſeeing ſo much of this happy change, that he ſaid, Death was more deſirable than life; he had rather die than live any longer here. As to the manner of his death, he ſaid, When I have conſidered others under theſe circumſtances, I have thought it very dreadful, but now God hath called me to it, I bleſs God I have quite other apprehenſions of it; I can now cheerfully embrace it as an eaſy paſſage to glory: and though death ſeparates from the enjoyments of each other here, it will be but for a very ſhort time, and then we ſhall meet with ſuch enjoyments as now we cannot conceive, and for ever rejoice in each others happineſs. Then reading the ſcriptures, and muſing with himſelf, he intimated the great comfort God conveyed to his ſoul in it; ſaying, O what an invaluable treaſure is this bleſſed word of God; in all conditions here is a ſtore of ſtrong conſolation. One deſiring his Bible, he ſaid, No, this ſhall be my companion to the laſt moment of my life. Thus praying together, reading, meditating, and converſing of heavenly things, they waited for the ſheriff, who, when he came, void of all pity or civility, hurried them away, ſcarce ſuffering them to take leave of their friends. But notwithſtanding this, and the doleful mourning of all about them, the joyfulneſs of his countenance was increaſed. Thus he left his priſon, and thus he appeared on the ſledge, where they ſat about half an hour, before the officers could force the horſes to draw, at which they were greatly enraged, there being no viſible obſtruction from weight or way. But at laſt the mayor and ſheriff hauled them forward themſelves, Balaam-like, driving the horſes.

"When they came to the place of execution, which was ſurrounded with ſpectators, many that waited their coming with great ſorrow, ſaid, That when they ſaw him and them come with ſuch cheerfulneſs and joy, and evidence of the preſence of God with them, it made death appear with another aſpect.

"They firſt embraced each other with the greateſt affection; then two of the elder perſons praying audibly, they joined with great ſeriouſneſs. Then he deſired leave of the ſheriff to pray particularly, but he would not grant it, only aſked him if he would pray for the king? He anſwered, I pray for all men. He then requeſted they might ſing a pſalm; the ſheriff told him, It muſt be with the ropes about their necks; which they cheerfully accepted, and ſung with ſuch heavenly joy and ſweetneſs, that many preſent ſaid, It both broke and rejoiced their hearts.

"Thus in the experience of the delightfulneſs of praiſing God on earth, he willingly cloſed his eyes on a vain world, to paſs to that eternal employment, September 30, 1685.

"All preſent of all ſorts were exceedingly affected and amazed. Some officers that had before inſultingly ſaid, Surely theſe perſons have no thoughts of death, but will find themſelves ſurpriſed by it; after ſaid, that they now ſaw he and they had ſomething extraordinary within, that carried them through with ſuch joy. Others of them ſaid, that they were ſo convinced of their happineſs, that they would be glad to change conditions with them. All the ſoldiers in general, and others, lamented exceedingly, ſaying, That it was ſo ſad a thing, to ſee them ſo cut off, they ſcarce knew how to bear it.

"Some of the moſt malicious in the place, from whom nothing but railing was expected, ſaid (as they were carried to their grave in Taunton church, voluntarily accompanied by moſt of the town) that theſe perſons had left a ſufficient evidence, that they were now glorified ſaints in heaven.

"A great officer in the king's army has been often heard to ſay, That if you would learn to die, go to the young men of Taunton.

"Much more was uttered by them, which ſhewed the bleſſed and glorious frames of their hearts.

"Mr. Benjamin Hewling, about two hours before his death, writ the following letter, which ſhewed the great compoſure of his mind.

A LET-

A LETTER

From Mr. HEWLING *to his Mother; written two Hours before his Execution.*

Taunton, September 30, 1685.

"Honoured Mother,

"THAT news which I know you have a great while feared, and we expected, I muſt now acquaint you with, that notwithſtanding the hopes you gave in your two laſt letters, warrants are come down for my execution, and within theſe few hours I expect it to be performed. Bleſſed be the Almighty God, that gives comfort and ſupport in ſuch a day; how ought we to magnify his holy name for all his mercies, that when we were running in a courſe of ſin, he ſhould ſtop us in full career, and ſhew us that Chriſt whom we had pierced, and out of his free-grace enable us to look upon him with an eye of faith, believing him able to ſave to the utmoſt all ſuch as come to him. Oh admirable long-ſuffering patience of God, that when we were diſhonouring his name, he did not take that time to bring honour to himſelf by our deſtruction. But he delighteth not in the death of a ſinner, but had rather he ſhould turn to him and live; and he has many ways of bringing his own to himſelf. Bleſſed be his holy name, that through affliction he has taught my heart in ſome meaſure to be conformable to his will, which worketh patience, and patience worketh experience, and experience hope, which maketh not aſhamed. I bleſs God I am not aſhamed of the cauſe for which I lay down my life; and as I have engaged in it, and ſought for it, ſo now I am going to ſeal it with my blood. The Lord carry on the ſame cauſe which hath been long on foot; and though we die in it, and for it, I queſtion not but in his own good time he will raiſe up other inſtruments more worthy to carry it on to the glory of his name, and the advancement of his church and people.

"Honoured mother, I know there has been nothing left undone by you, or my friends, for the ſaving of my life, for which I return many hearty acknowledgments to yourſelf and them all; and it is my dying requeſt to you and them, to pardon all undutifulneſs and unkindneſs in every relation. Pray give my duty to my grandfather and grandmother, ſervice to my uncles and aunts, and my dear love to all my ſiſters; to every relation and friend a particular recommendation. Pray tell them all how precious an intereſt in Chriſt is when we come to die, and adviſe them never to reſt in a Chriſtleſs eſtate. For if we are his, it is no matter what the world do to us, they can but kill the body, and bleſſed be God the ſoul is out of their reach, for I queſtion not but their malice wiſhes the damnation of that, as well as the deſtruction of the body; which has too evidently appeared by their deceitful flattering promiſes. I commit you all to the care and protection of God, who has promiſed to be a father to the fatherleſs, and a huſband to the widow, and to ſupply the want of every relation. The Lord God of heaven be your comfort under thoſe ſorrows, and your refuge from thoſe miſeries we may eaſily foreſee coming upon poor England, and the poor diſtreſſed people of God in it. The Lord carry you through this vale of tears with a reſigning, ſubmiſſive ſpirit, and at laſt bring you to himſelf in glory; where I queſtion not but you will meet your dying ſon,

Benjamin Hewling."

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. CHRISTOPHER BATTISCOMB, *at* Lyme.

THIS was another young gentleman of a good family, and very great hopes, and of a fair eſtate, which lay in Dorſetſhire, ſomewhere between Dorcheſter and Lyme. He had ſtudied ſome time at the Temple, and having occaſions in the country about the time of my lord Ruſſel's buſineſs, he was there ſeized, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in it, and clapt into the county gaol at Dorcheſter, where he behaved himſelf with that prudence and winning ſweetneſs, and ſhewed ſo much wit, and innocent pleaſantry of temper, as extremely obliged both all his keepers and fellow-priſoners, and even perſons of the beſt quality in that town. It is indeed a genteel, well bred place, as almoſt any in England, at ſuch a diſtance from London. The ſtreets are fair and large, and buildings pretty regular; two ſweet, plentiful rivers running by it. It ſtands on a chalky hill, but wants not ſtore of good water. The market-houſe is a pleaſant little pile, that very much ſets off the town. There are three churches in it, and one in its adjoining pariſh. It is endowed with ſeveral alms houſes, a good grammar-ſchool well enough provided, which has had the happineſs of ingenious maſters, and by their care, produced no inconſiderable number of good ſcholars. There are two or three old Roman fortifications near the town, which Camden and Speed took notice of. The people of it are generally civil and gallant enough, if not a little on the extreme that way. They knew how to value ſuch a gentleman as Battiſcomb, and made him ſuch frequent viſits in the priſon, till the place itſelf was far from being ſcandalous, that there generally was all the converſation, and where you might be ſure to meet the beſt company in the town of both ſexes. Mr. Battiſcomb had the happineſs not to be diſpleaſing to the fair ſex, who had as much pity and friendſhip for him as conſiſted with the rules of decency and virtue; and perhaps their reſpect for him did not always ſtop at friendſhip, though it ſtill preſerved the other bounds inviolable. Pity is generally but a little way from love, eſpecially when the object of it is any thing extraordinary. But after he had been there ſome time, and nothing could be proved againſt him which could any ways affect him, he was at length, almoſt unwillingly, delivered from this ſort of happy ſlavery. And when the duke landed, appeared with him, and ſerved him with equal faith and valour, till the rout at Sedgmoor, when he fled with the reſt, and got up as far as Devonſhire, where he was ſeized in a diſguiſe, and brought to Dorcheſter, to his former confinement.

Mr. Battiſcomb behaved himſelf there the ſecond time in the ſame manner as he did at the firſt, though now he ſeemed more thoughtful, and in earneſt than before, as knowing nothing was to be expected but ſpeedy death; though his courage never drooped, but was ſtill the ſame, if it did not increaſe with his danger. At his trial Jeffreys railed at him with ſo much eagerneſs and barbarity, that he was obſerved almoſt to foam upon the bench. He was ſo angry with him, becauſe he was a lawyer, and could have been contented all ſuch as he ſhould be hanged up without any trial; and truly it was no great matter whether he or the reſt had had that formality or no. Mr. Battiſcomb was as undaunted at the bar, as in the field, or at his execution. How he demeaned himſelf in priſon before his death, take this following account verbatim, as it was written by his friends. Though what occurred moſt remarkable after his ſentence, muſt not be omitted. Several young ladies in the town went to Jeffreys to beg his life, who repulſed them at ſuch a brutiſh rate, as nobody with one ſpark of humanity would have been guilty of, and in a manner even too uncivil to be mentioned. The particulars may be ſeen in the petition of the widows and orphans of that country.

A particular Account *transferred by his Relations.*

"MR. BATTISCOMB was obſerved to be always ſerious and cheerful, ready to entertain ſpiritual diſcourſe, manifeſting affection to God's people and his ordinances; he ſeemed to be in a very calm indifference to life or death, referring himſelf to God to determine it, expreſſing his great ſatisfaction as to ſome opportunities of eſcape that were ſlipt, ſaying, That truly he ſometimes thought the cauſe was too good to flee from ſuffering in it, though he would uſe all lawful means for his life; but the providence of God having prevented this, he was ſure it was beſt for him, for, he ſaid, he bleſſed God he could look into eternity with comfort. He ſaid, with reſpect to his relations and friends, to whom his death would be afflictive, that he was willing to live, if God ſaw good; but for his own part, he thought death much more deſirable. He ſaid, I have enjoyed enough of this world, but I never found any thing but vanity in it, no reſt or ſatisfaction. God, who is an infinite ſpiritual being, is the only ſuitable object for the ſoul of man, which is ſpiritual in its nature, and too large to be made happy by all that this world can afford, which is but ſenſual. Therefore methinks, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould be unwilling to leave it by death, ſince our happineſs can never be perfected till then, till we leave this body, where we are ſo continually clogged with ſin and vanity, frivolous and fooliſh trifles. Death in itſelf is indeed terrible, and natural courage is too low to encounter it; nothing but an intereſt in Chriſt can be our comfort in it, he ſaid, which comfort I hope I have; intimating much advantage to his ſoul by his former impriſonment.

"When he went from Dorcheſter to Lyme, after he had received the news of his death the next day, he was in the ſame ſerious cheerfulneſs, declaring ſtill the ſame apprehenſion of the deſirableneſs of death, and the great ſupports of his mind under the thoughts of ſo ſuddenly paſſing through it, alone from the hope of the ſecurity of his intereſt in Chriſt; taking leave of his friends with this farewell, Though we part here we ſhall meet in heaven. Paſſing by his eſtate, going to Lyme, he ſaid, Farewell temporal inheritance, I am now going to my heavenly, eternal one. At Lyme, the morning that he died, it appeared that he had the ſame ſupports from God, meeting death with the ſame cheerfulneſs; and after he had prayed a while to himſelf, without any appearance of reluctancy, yielded up his ſpirit, September 12, 1685.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. WILLIAM JENKYN, *who was condemned at* Dorcheſter.

THIS gentleman's father was ſufficiently known, and his circumſtances hard enough, being ſeized only for his opinion, and clapped up cloſe in Newgate; where the inconvenience of the place, and want of the exerciſe he formerly enjoyed, quickly killed him, as he uſed to ſay before his confinement, it would certainly do if ever it happened. Thus was he requited by that very perſon, for whom with Mr. Love he ventured his life ſo deeply, and ſo hardly eſcaped with it. It was his inhuman treatment which edged and animated his ſon; and the revenge of his father's blood may be preſumed to have gone very far in puſhing him on to engage his life and fortune in this undertaking, he having given mourning rings for his father with this poeſy, William Jenkyn, murdered in Newgate. He was his father's only ſon, who had taken care to have him educated ſuitable to his birth, and ingenious inclinations; he improved ſufficiently in all uſeful learning, and was now about one or two and twenty. He and ſeveral young gentlemen rode down from London a little before the duke landed, and were taken on ſuſpicion, and laid up in Ilcheſter gaol, till the duke himſelf came and relieved them. He continued in his army till the rout, when, if I miſtake not, he got to ſea, and was forced back again with the Hewlings, or ſome others. He was condemned at Dorcheſter aſſizes.

To a friend diſcourſing with him at Dorcheſter about his pardon, and telling him the doubtfulneſs of obtaining it, he replied, Well, death is the worſt they can do, and I bleſs God, that will not ſurpriſe me, for I hope my great work is done. At Taunton, being adviſed to govern the airineſs of his temper, telling him, it made people apt to cenſure him, as inconſiderate of his condition, to which he anſwered, Truly, this is ſo much my natural temper, that I cannot tell how to alter it; but I bleſs God I have, and do think ſeriouſly of my eternal concerns; I do not allow myſelf to be vain, but I find cauſe to be cheerful, for my peace is made with God, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord; this is my only ground of comfort and cheerfulneſs, the ſecurity of my intereſt in Chriſt; for I expect nothing but death, and without this I am ſure death would be moſt dreadful; but having the good hope of this, I cannot be melancholy. When he heard of the triumphant death of thoſe that ſuffered at Lyme, he ſaid, This is a good encouragement to depend upon God. Then ſpeaking about the mangling of their bodies, he ſaid, Well, the reſurrection will reſtore all with great advantage; the fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians is comfort enough for all believers. Diſcourſing much of the certainty and felicity of the reſurrection at another time, he ſaid, I will (as I think I ought) uſe all lawful means for the ſaving of my life, and then if God pleaſe to forgive me my ſins, I hope I ſhall as cheerfully embrace death. Upon the deſign of attempting an eſcape, he ſaid, We uſe this means for the preſerving of our lives, but if God is not with us, it will not effect it; it is our buſineſs firſt to apply to him for direction and ſucceſs, if he ſees good, with reſigning our lives to him, and then his will be done. After the diſappointments, when there was no proſpect of any other opportunity, he ſpake much of the admirableneſs of God's providence in thoſe things that ſeem moſt againſt us, bringing the greateſt good out of them; for, ſaid he, we can ſee but a little way, God is only wiſe in all his diſpoſals of us; if we were left to chooſe for ourſelves, we ſhould chooſe our own miſery. Afterwards diſcourſing of the vanity and unſatiſfyingneſs of all things in this world, he ſaid, It is ſo in the enjoying, we never find our expectations anſwered by any thing in it, and when death comes it puts an end to all things we have been purſuing here; learning and knowledge (which are the beſt things in this world) will then avail nothing; nothing but an intereſt in Chriſt is then of any worth. One reading to his fellow-priſoners, Jer. xlii. 12. "I will ſhew mercy unto you, that he may have mercy upon you, and cauſe you to return to your own land;" he ſaid, Yes, we ſhall, but not in this world, I am perſuaded. September the 29th at night, after he heard he muſt die the next morning, he was exceedingly compoſed and cheerful, expreſſing his ſatisfaction in the will of God: the next morning he was ſtill more ſpiritual and cheerful, diſcovering a very ſweet ſerenity of mind in all that he ſaid or did: whilſt he was waiting for the ſheriff, reading the ſcriptures, meditating and converſing with thoſe about him of divine things, amongſt other things, ſaid he, I have heard much of the glory of heaven, but I am now going to behold it, and underſtand what it is. Being deſired to diſguiſe himſelf to attempt an eſcape, he ſaid, No, I cannot tell how to diſturb myſelf about it, and methinks it is not my buſineſs, now I have other things to take up my thoughts; if God ſaw good to deliver me, he would open ſome other door; but ſeeing he has not, it is more for the honour of his name we ſhould die, and ſo be it. One ſaying to him that moſt of the apoſtles died violent deaths, he replied, Nay, a greater than the apoſtles, our Lord himſelf died, not only a ſhameful, but a painful death. He further ſaid, This manner of death hath been the moſt terrible thing in the world to my thoughts, but I bleſs God, I am now neither afraid nor aſhamed to die. He ſaid, The parting with my friends, and their grief for me, is my greateſt difficulty; but it will be for a very ſhort time, and we ſhall meet again in endleſs joys, where my dear father is already entered, him ſhall I preſently joyfully meet. Then muſing with himſelf a while, he with an extraordinary ſeriouſneſs ſung two verſes of one of Herbert's divine poems.

He then read the 53d of Iſaiah, and ſaid, He had heard many bleſſed ſermons from that chapter, eſpecially from the 6th verſe, "All we like ſheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every one to his own way, but the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all;" ſeeming to intimate ſome impreſſion made on his ſoul from them; but was interrupted; then he ſaid, Chriſt is all: when the ſheriff came, he had the ſame cheerfulneſs and ſerenity of mind in taking leave of his friends, and on the ſledge, which ſeemed to increaſe to the laſt (as thoſe preſent have affirmed) joining in prayer, and in ſinging a pſalm with great appearance of comfort and joy in his countenance, inſomuch that ſome of his enemies (that had before cenſured his cheerfulneſs for unthoughtfulneſs of his danger, and therefore expected to ſee him much ſurpriſed) now profeſſed they were greatly aſtoniſhed, to ſee ſuch a young man leave the world, and go through death like Mr. Jenkyn.

The MARTYRDOM of Lady ALICIA LISLE, *who was beheaded at* Wincheſter.

IF thoſe perſons who ſuffered about Monmouth's buſineſs, fell only into the hands of Cannibals, ſome of them, at leaſt, had eſcaped better than they did from Jeffreys. Thoſe more tame and civil creatures would have ſpared the old and withered, though they had devoured the young and tender. But no age, no ſex made any difference here; and as thoſe who were juſt come into the world, children and girls of ten or a dozen years old were refuſed pardon; ſo thoſe who were half out of it, would not be ſuffered to tumble into the grave entire, though, as Juvenal ſays of Priam, they had ſcarce blood enough left to tinge the knife of the ſacrifices. An inſtance of this was my lady Liſle, of ſuch an age, that ſhe almoſt ſlept on her very trial, condemned for as ſmall a matter as has been known, by one of thoſe dormant laws, made only *in terrorem*, but hardly ever executed, only for correſponding with Nelthorp, an out-lawed perſon, and, as was pretended, giving him ſhelter at her houſe, and Hicks, who brought him thither. For Hicks, he was not then convicted, nor in any proclamation, and ſo it is a queſtion whether ſhe could, even in rigour of law, deſerve death on his account. For Nelthorp, he himſelf ſays in his laſt ſpeech, that he was wholly a ſtranger to that worthy lady; neither did ſhe, as he verily believes, know who he was, or his name, till he was taken. For this ſhe was found guilty, and loſt her head at Wincheſter. Her caſe was thought ſo hard, that the honourable houſe of parliament afterwards reverſed her judgment. At her death ſhe made a ſpeech, as follows:

The laſt Speech of Lady ALICIA LISLE.

"GENTLEMEN, friends, and neighbours, it may be expected that I ſhould ſay ſomething at my death, and in order thereunto I ſhall acquaint you, that my birth and education were both near this place, and that my parents inſtructed me in the fear of God, and I now die of the reformed Proteſtant religion; believing that if ever Popery ſhould return into this nation, it would be a very great and ſevere judgment; that I die in expectation of the pardon of all my ſins, and of acceptance with God the Father, by the imputed righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, he being the end of the law for righteouſneſs to every one that believes; I thank God through Jeſus Chriſt, that I do depart under the blood of ſprinkling, which ſpeaketh better things than that of Abel; God having made this chaſtiſement an ordinance to my ſoul. I did once as little expect to come to this place on this occaſion, as any perſon in this place or nation; therefore let all learn not to be high-minded, but fear: the Lord is a ſovereign, and will take what way he ſees beſt to glorify himſelf, in and by his poor creatures; and I do humbly deſire to ſubmit to his will, praying to him, that I may poſſeſs my ſoul in patience. The crime that was laid to my charge, was for entertaining a nonconformiſt miniſter and others in my houſe; the ſaid miniſter being ſworn to have been in the late duke of Monmouth's army; but I have been told, that if I had denied them, it would not at all have affected me: I have no excuſe but ſurpriſe and fear, which I believe my jury muſt make uſe of to excuſe their verdict to the world. I have been alſo told, that the court did uſe to be of counſel for the priſoner; but inſtead of advice, I had evidence againſt me from thence; which, though it were only by hear-ſay, might poſſibly affect my jury; my defence being but ſuch, as might be expected from a weak woman; but ſuch as it was, I did not hear it repeated again to the jury; which, as I have been informed, is uſual in ſuch caſes. However, I forgive all the world, and therein all thoſe that have done me wrong; and in particular, I forgive colonel Penruddock, although he told me, that he could have taken theſe men before they came to my houſe. And I do likewiſe forgive him, who deſired to be taken away from the grand jury to the petty jury, that he might be the more nearly concerned in my death. As to what may be objected in reference to my conviction, that I gave it under my hand, that I had diſcourſed with Nelthorp; that could be no evidence againſt me, being after my conviction and ſentence: I do acknowledge his majeſty's favour in revoking my ſentence: I pray God to preſerve him, that he may long reign in mercy, as well as juſtice, and that he may reign in peace; and that the Proteſtant religion may flouriſh under him. I alſo return thanks to God and the reverend clergy, that aſſiſted me in my impriſonment."

The MARTYRDOM of Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP, *in* London.

THE name of this gentleman is often met with in Weſt's and Rumſey's plot, and for a good reaſon, he being not near to anſwer for himſelf. As to what he was accuſed, out-lawed, and executed for, his being concerned in a deſign for the aſſaſſination of the king and duke, he ſolemnly avers, as may be ſeen below in his ſpeech, that he was always highly againſt it, and deteſted any ſuch thing, was never in the leaſt concerned in it, neither in purſe or perſon; never knew of any arms bought for that intent, nor did believe there was any ſuch deſign. Than which, what words could be more full and ſatisfactory? He went away in the heat of ſwearing, and returned with the duke of Monmouth, thinking it his duty, as he ſays, to hazard his life for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion and Engliſh liberties; but as to the duke of Monmouth's being declared king, he was wholly paſſive in it. He was at firſt committed to Saliſbury priſon, where he had ſeveral diſputes with a learned and good man, whoſe opinion then differed from his, concerning the lawfulneſs of defending ourſelves by arms againſt illegal violence, which was his firm judgment. Thence he was brought to London, and impriſoned in Newgate. He rejected there, with ſcorn, ſome offers made him of ſaving his own life by taking away other men's; and though he was under inexpreſſible trouble during his cloſe confinement there, which at length aroſe to diſtraction, and the impair of his reaſon; yet it is remarkable that he, as Bateman before him, before he came to die, after ſentence, was very calm and lively again, the entire exerciſe of his judgment and underſtanding returning, with more joy and comfort than he had before pain and miſery.

He wrote one letter to his parents, another to his children, together with his laſt ſpeech at his execution the 30th of October 1685. At two o'clock in the morning he wrote the letter to his parents, &c. wherein he ſpeaks much of his brother and fellow-ſufferer, Mr. Ayloff, who ſuffered martyrdom in London, if I miſtake not, whom he ſays, he could embrace with more joy in the field of ſuffering, than ever he could have done had he met him in the field crowned with victory and laurels.

The laſt Speech of Mr. RICHARD NELTHORP.

"THE great and inexpreſſible trouble and diſtraction I have been under ſince I came into trouble, eſpecially ſince my cloſe confinement in Newgate, hath ſo broken my reaſon, that for many weeks laſt paſt, till the day my ſentence was paſſed, I have not had any compoſure of mind, and have been under the greateſt trouble imaginable; ſince my deareſt wife hath had the favour granted her of coming to ſee me, I am at preſent under great compoſedneſs of mind, through the infinite goodneſs of the Lord. As to what I ſtand out-lawed for, and am now ſentenced to die, I can with comfort appeal to the great God, before whoſe tribunal I am to appear, that what I did was in the ſimplicity of my heart, without ſeeking any private advantage to myſelf; but thinking it my duty to hazard my life for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion and Engliſh liberties, which I thought invaded, and both in great danger of being loſt. As to the deſign of aſſaſſinating the late king, or his preſent majeſty, it always was a thing highly againſt my judgment, and which I always deteſted; and I was never in the leaſt concerned in it, neither in the purſe nor perſon, nor ever knew of any arms bought for that intent, nor did I believe there was any ſuch deſign, or ever heard of any diſappointment in ſuch an affair, or time, or place, ſave what, after the diſcovery of the general deſign, Mr. Weſt ſpoke of, as to arms bought by him: and as to myſelf, I was in the North when the late king was at Newmarket, and the firſt news I had of the fire, was at Beverley in Yorkſhire. As to my coming over with the late duke of Monmouth, it was in proſecution of the ſame ends; but the Lord in his holy and wiſe providence hath been pleaſed to blaſt all our undertakings; though there ſeemed to be a very unanimous and zealous ſpirit in all thoſe that came from beyond the ſeas: and as to the duke of Monmouth's being declared king, I was wholly paſſive in it, I never having been preſent at any public debate of that affair, and ſhould never have adviſed it, but complained of it to colonel Holmes, and captain Patchet. I believe the lord Grey and Mr. F——— the chief promoters of it. As to the temptation of being an evidence, and bringing either into trouble or danger of his life the meaneſt perſon, upon the account for which I ſuffer, I always abhorred and deteſted the thoughts of it, both when in and out of danger, and adviſed ſome very ſtrongly againſt it; except when under my diſtraction in priſon, that amongſt other temptations did violently aſſault me; but through the goodneſs of my deareſt God and Father, I was preſerved from it, and indeed was wholly incapable, and could never receive the leaſt ſhadow of comfort from it, but thought death more eligible, and was ſome time before, out of my diſtracted and diſquieted condition, wholly free from it; though not without other temptations far more criminal in the ſight of men. I bleſs the Father of all mercies, and God of all conſolations, that I find a great reſignedneſs of my will to his, finding infinitely more comfort in death, than ever I could place in life, though in a condition that might ſeem honourable; every hour ſeeing the will of God in ordering this affair more and more cleared up to me. God hath given, God hath taken, bleſſed be his holy name, that hath enabled me to be willing to ſuffer, rather than to put forth my hand to iniquity, or to ſay a confederacy with thoſe that do ſo. I am heartily and ſincerely troubled for what hath happened, many men's lives being loſt, and many poor diſtreſſed families ruined; the Lord pardon what of ſin he hath ſeen in it. He in his wonderful providence hath made me and others concerned, inſtruments, not only for what is already fallen out, but, I believe, for haſtening ſome other great work he hath to do in theſe kingdoms; whereby he will try and purge his people, and winnow the chaff from the wheat; the Lord keep thoſe that are his, faithful unto the end.

"I die in charity with all the world, and can readily and heartily forgive my greateſt enemies, even thoſe that have been evidences againſt me; and I moſt humbly beg the pardon of all that I have in the leaſt any way injured; and in a ſpecial manner humbly aſk pardon of the lady Liſle's family and relations, for that my being ſuccoured there one night with Mr. Hicks, brought that worthy lady to ſuffer death: I was wholly a ſtranger to her ladyſhip, and came with Mr. Hicks; neither did ſhe (as I verily believe) know who I was, or my name, till I was taken: and if any other have come to any loſs or trouble, I humbly beg their pardon; and were I in a condition, I would, as far as I was able, make them a requital.

"As to my faith, I neither look nor hope for mercy, but only in the free grace of God, by the application of the blood of Jeſus, my deareſt and only Saviour, to my poor ſinful ſoul. My diſtreſſes have been exceeding great as to my eternal ſtate, but through the infinite goodneſs of God, though I have many ſins to anſwer for, yet I hope and truſt, as to my particular, that Chriſt came for this very end and purpoſe, to relieve the oppreſſed, and to be a phyſician to the ſick. I come unto thee, O bleſſed Jeſus! refuſe me not, but waſh me in thine own blood, and then preſent me to thy Father as righteous. What, though my ſins be as crimſon, and of a ſcarlet dye, yet thou canſt make them as white as ſnow. I ſee nothing in myſelf but what muſt utterly ruin and condemn me; I cannot anſwer for one action of my whole life, but I caſt myſelf wholly upon thee, who art the fountain of mercy, in whom God is reconciling himſelf to the world; the greateſt of ſins and ſinners may find an all-ſufficiency in thy blood to cleanſe them from all ſin. O deareſt Father of mercy, look upon me as righteous in and through the imputed righteouſneſs of thy Son; he payed the debt by his own offering himſelf up for ſin, and in that thy juſtice is ſatiſfied, and thy mercy is magnified. Grant me thy love, O deareſt Father! aſſiſt me, and ſtand by me in the needful hour of death, give thy angels charge over my poor ſoul, that the evil one may not touch nor hurt it. Defend me from his power, deliver me from his rage, and receive me into thine eternal kingdom, in and through the alone merits of my deareſt Redeemer, for whom I praiſe thee: to whom, with thyſelf and holy Spirit, be aſcribed all glory, honour, power, might, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen.

"Dear Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit, Amen.

"RICHARD NELTHORP."

Newgate, Oct. 29, 1685.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mrs. ELIZABETH GAUNT, *at* Wapping.

THE moſt likely reaſon that Mrs. Gaunt was burnt, was, it is very poſſible, becauſe ſhe lived at Wapping; the honeſt ſeamen, and hearty Proteſtants thereabouts, being ſuch known enemies to Popery and arbitrary government, that the friends of both gave all who oppoſe it the name of Wappingers, as an odious brand and title. She was a good, honeſt, charitable woman, who made it her buſineſs to relieve and help whoever ſuffered for the forementioned cauſe, ſparing no pains, refuſing no office to get them aſſiſtance, in which ſhe was the moſt induſtrious and indefatigable woman living. Among others whom ſhe had juſt relieved, who were obnoxious perſons, was one Burton, whom with his wife and family ſhe had kept from ſtarving, for which (may the very name of them be regiſtered with eternal infamy) they ſwore againſt her, and took away her life: though ſhe ſays in her ſpeech, there was but one witneſs againſt her as to any money ſhe was charged to give him, and that he himſelf, an out-lawed perſon, his outlawry not yet reverſed, he not being out-lawed when ſhe was with him, and hid him away. That which ſhe wrote in the nature of a ſpeech, has a great deal of ſenſe and ſpirit, and ſome ſtrange expreſſions which were mentioned in the introduction to all theſe matters; which ſhe concludes with theſe words addreſſed to her enemies, "From her that finds no mercy from you."

If it were poſſible to repreſent the due character of this excellent woman, the taſk would be moſt agreeable. That ſhe ſtood moſt deſervedly entitled to an eternal monument of honour in the hearts of all ſincere lovers of the reformed religion. All true Chriſtians (though in ſome things differing in perſuaſion with her) found in her an univerſal charity and ſincere friendſhip, as is well known to many here, and alſo to a multitude of the Scotch nation, miniſters and others, who for conſcience-ſake were formerly thruſt into exile. Theſe found her a moſt refreſhing refuge. She dedicated herſelf with unwearied induſtry, to provide for their ſupply and ſupport, and therein (I do incline to think) ſhe outſtripped every individual perſon (if not the whole body of Proteſtants in this great city). Hereby ſhe became expoſed to the implacable fury of bloody Papiſts, and thoſe blind tools who co-operated to promote their accurſed deſigns. And ſo there appeared little difficulty to procure a jury (as there were well-prepared judges) to make her a ſacrifice as a traitor to the ſtate. Her judges, the king's counſel, the ſolicitor-general, the common-ſerjeant, &c. racked their inventions to draw Burton and his wife to charge Mrs. Gaunt with the knowledge of his being in a plot, or in the proclamation, but nothing of that could be made out, nor is there any ſort of proof that Mrs. Gaunt harboured this ungrateful wretch, or that ſhe gave him either meat or drink, as the indictment charges her; but notwithſtanding that, her jury brought her in guilty, and ſhe was condemned.

The ſentence was executed upon this excellent woman on the Friday following, being the 23d of October, 1685, when ſhe left her murderers the following memorial.

SPEECH *of* Mrs. GAUNT, *written the Day before her* Execution.

"NOT knowing whether I ſhould be ſuffered or able, becauſe of weakneſſes that are upon me through my hard and cloſe impriſonment, to ſpeak at the place of execution; I wrote thoſe few lines to ſignify, That I am well reconciled to the way of my God towards me, though it be in ways I looked not for; and by terrible things, yet in righteouſneſs; having given me life, he ought to have the diſpoſing of it, when and how he pleaſes to call for it; and I deſire to offer up my all to him, it being but my reaſonable ſervice; and alſo the firſt terms that Jeſus Chriſt offers, that he that will be his diſciple, muſt forſake all, and follow him; and therefore let none think hard, or be diſcouraged at what hath happened unto me; for he doth nothing without cauſe, in all he hath done to us, he being holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works; and it is but my lot in common with poor deſolate Sion at this day. Neither do I find in my heart the leaſt regret for what I have done in the ſervice of my Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, in ſuccouring and ſecuring any of his poor ſufferers, that have ſhewed favour to his righteous cauſe; which cauſe, though now it be fallen and trampled upon, as if it had not been anointed, yet it ſhall revive, and God will plead it another rate than ever he hath done yet, and reckon with all it's oppoſers and malicious haters; and therefore let all that love and fear him, not omit the leaſt duty that comes to hand, or lies before them, knowing that now it hath need of them, and expects they ſhall ſerve him. And I deſire to bleſs his holy name, that he hath made me uſeful in my generation to the comfort and relief of many deſolate ones, and the bleſſing of thoſe that are ready to periſh has come upon me, and being helped to make the heart of the widow to ſing. And I bleſs his holy name, that in all this, together with what I was charged with, that I have done his will, though it does croſs man's will; and the ſcriptures that ſatiſfy me are, Iſaiah xvi. 3. 'Hide the outcaſts, bewray not him that wandereth.' And Obad. 14. 'Thou ſhouldſt not have given up thoſe of his that did eſcape in the day of his diſtreſs.' But man ſays, You ſhall give them up, or you ſhall die for it. Now whom to obey, judge ye. So that I have cauſe to rejoice and be exceeding glad, in that I ſuffer for righteouſneſs-ſake, and that I am accounted worthy to ſuffer for well-doing, and that God has accepted any ſervice from me, which has been done in ſincerity, though mixed with manifold infirmities, which he hath been pleaſed for Chriſt's ſake to cover and forgive. And now as concerning my fact, as it is called, alas! it was but a little one, and might well become a prince to forgive; but he that ſhews no mercy, ſhall find none: and I may ſay of it in the language of Jonathan, 'I did but taſte a little honey, and lo! I muſt die for it.' I did but relieve an unworthy, poor, diſtreſſed family, and lo! I muſt die for it. Well, I deſire in the Lamb-like Goſpel-Spirit to forgive all that are concerned, and to ſay, Lord, lay it not to their charge; but I fear he will not: nay, I believe when he comes to make inquiſition for blood, it will be found at the door of the furious judge; who, becauſe I could not remember things through my dauntedneſs at Burton's wife and daughter's vileneſs, and my ignorance, took advantage thereat, and would not hear me, when I had called to mind that which I am ſure would have invalidated their evidence; though he granted ſomething of the ſame nature to another, yet denied it to me. My blood will alſo be found at the door of the unrighteous jury, who found me guilty upon the ſingle oath of an out-lawed man; for there was none but his oath about the money, who is no legal witneſs, though he be pardoned, his out-lawry not being recalled; and alſo the law requires two witneſſes in point of life: and then about my going with him to the place mentioned, it was by his own words, before he was out-lawed, for it was two months after his abſconding; and though in a proclamation, yet not high treaſon, as I have heard, ſo that I am clearly murdered by you. And alſo bloody Mr. A——, who has ſo inſatiably haunted after my life; and though it is no profit to him, through the ill will he bore me, left no ſtone unturned, as I have ground to believe, till he brought it to this; and ſhewed favour to Burton, who ought to have died for his own fault, and not bought his life with mine; and captain R——, who is cruel and ſevere to all under my circumſtances, and did at that time, without all mercy, or pity, haſten my ſentence, and held up my hand, that it might be given; all which, together with the great one of all, by whoſe power all thoſe, and a multitude more of cruelties are done, I do heartily and freely forgive, as againſt me; but as it is done in an implacable mind againſt the Lord Chriſt, and his righteous cauſe and followers, I leave it to him who is the avenger of all ſuch wrongs, who will tread upon princes as upon mortar, and be terrible to the kings of the earth: and know this alſo, that though ye are ſeemingly fixed, and becauſe of the power in your hand, are writing out your violence, and dealing with a deſpiteful hand, becauſe of the old and new hatred; by impoveriſhing and every way diſtreſſing of thoſe you have got under you; yet unleſs you can ſecure Jeſus Chriſt, and all his holy angels, you ſhall never do your buſineſs, nor your hands accompliſh your enterprizes; for he will be upon you ere you are aware; and therefore, O that you would be wiſe, inſtructed, and learn, is the deſire of her that finds no mercy from you.

"Elizabeth Gaunt.

"*Newgate, October* 22, 1685.

"P. S. Such as it is, you have it from her, who hath done as ſhe could, and is ſorry ſhe can do no better: hopes you will pity and cover weakneſs, ſhortneſs, and any thing that is wanting; and begs that none may be weakened or humbled at the lowneſs of my ſpirit; for God's deſign is to humble and abaſe us, that he alone may be exalted in this day; and I hope he will appear in the needful time, and it may be reſerves the beſt wine till laſt, as he hath done for ſome before me; none goeth to warfare at his own charge, and the Spirit bloweth, not only where, but when it liſteth; and it becomes me, who have ſo often grieved, quenched, and reſiſted it, to wait for and upon the motions of the Spirit, and not to murmur; but I may mourn, becauſe through want of it, I honour not my God, nor his bleſſed cauſe, which I have ſo long loved and delighted to love; and repent of nothing about it, but that I ſerved him and it no better."

Particulars of Mr. ROSEWELL's *Trial and Preſervation.*

MR. Roſewell, a very worthy divine, was tried about the ſame time for treaſonable words in his pulpit, upon the accuſation of very vile and lewd informers; and a Surrey jury found him guilty of high treaſon, upon the moſt villanous and improbable evidence that had been ever given, notwithſtanding ſir John Talbot (no countenancer of Diſſenters) had appeared with great generoſity and honour, and teſtified, That the moſt material witneſs was as ſcandalous and infamous a wretch as ever breathed.

About this time it was given out by thoſe who thirſted for blood, that Mr. Roſewell and Mr. Hays ſhould die together; and it was upon good ground believed, that the happy deliverance of Mr. Hays did much contribute to the preſervation of Mr. Roſewell; though it is very probable, that he had not eſcaped, had not ſir John Talbot's worthy and moſt honourable deteſtation of that accurſed villany, prompted him to repair from the court of King's-Bench, to king Charles II. and to make a faithful repreſentation of the caſe to him, whereby, when inhuman bloody Jeffreys came a little after in a tranſport of joy, to make his report of the eminent ſervice he and the Surrey jury had done in finding Mr. Roſewell guilty; the king (to his diſappointment) appeared under ſome reluctancy, and declared that Mr. Roſewell ſhould not die. And ſo he was moſt happily delivered from his intended martyrdom.

The MARTYRDOM *of the* EARL *of* ARGYLE, *at the Market-Croſs in Edinburgh.*

LET us now take a ſtep over into Scotland, that poor country, which has been haraſſed and tired for theſe many years, to render them perfect ſlaves, that they might help to enſlave England, to prevent which, and ſecure the Proteſtant religion, which it was grown impoſſible to do, but by arms; this good lord embarked from Holland about the ſame time with the duke, and arrived in Scotland with what forces he could make; to which were added ſome others who joined him: which after ſeveral marches and counter-marches, were at length led into a boggy ſort of a place, on pretence, or with intention to bring him off from the other army then upon the heels of them, where they all loſt one another, diſperſed and ſhifted for themſelves; the earl being taken by a countryman, and brought to Edinburgh, where he ſuffered for his former unpardonable crime, requiring care ſhould be taken of the Proteſtant religion, and explaining his taking the teſt conformable thereto; for the legality of which he had the hands of moſt of the eminent lawyers about the city. He ſuffered at Edinburgh the 30th of June 1685. His ſpeech has a great deal of piety and religion, nor will it be any diſgrace to ſay, it was more like a ſermon.

The following is a correct Copy of the laſt Speech of the EARL *of* ARGYLE, *June* 30, 1685.

"JOB tells us, 'Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble:' and I am a dear inſtance of it. I ſhall not now ſay any thing of my ſentence, or eſcape about three years and a half ago; nor of my return, leſt I may thereby give offence, or be tedious: only being to end my days in your preſence, I ſhall, as ſome of my laſt words, aſſert the truth of the matter of fact, and the ſincerity of my intentions, and profeſſions that are publiſhed.

"That which I intend mainly now to ſay, is, To expreſs my humble, and (I thank God) cheerful ſubmiſſion to his divine will; and my willingneſs to forgive all men, even my enemies; and I am heartily well ſatisfied there is no more blood ſpilt, and I ſhall wiſh the ſtream thereof to ſtop at me: and that (if it pleaſe God) to ſay, as to Zerubbabel, Zech. iv. 6. 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.'

"I know afflictions ſpring not out of the duſt: God did wonderfully deliver and provide for me, and has now by his ſpecial Providence brought me to this place; and I hope none will either inſult or ſtumble at it, ſeeing they ought not; for God Almighty does all things well, for good and holy ends, though we do not always underſtand it. Love and hatred is not known by what is before us, Eccleſ. ix. 1.

"Afflictions are not only foretold, but promiſed to Chriſtians; and are not only tolerable, but deſirable.

"We ought to have a deep reverence and fear of God's diſpleaſure; but withal, a firm hope and dependance on him for a bleſſed iſſue, in compliance with his will; for God chaſtens his own, to refine them, and not to ruin them, whatever the world may think, Heb. xii. 3 to 12.

"We are to imitate our Saviour in his ſufferings, 1 Pet. ii. 23.

"We are neither to deſpiſe our afflictions, nor to faint under them; both are extremes.

"We are not to ſuffer our ſpirits to be exaſperated againſt the inſtruments of our trouble; for the ſame affliction may be an effect of their paſſion, and yet ſent by God to puniſh us for ſin: though it is a comfort when we may ſay to them with David, Pſal. lix. 3. 'Not for my tranſgreſſion, but for my ſin, O Lord.'

"Nor are we, by fraudulent, puſillanimous compliances in wicked courſes, to bring ſin upon ourſelves: faint hearts are ordinary falſe hearts; chuſing ſin rather than ſufferings, and a ſhort life with eternal death, before temporal death and a crown of glory: ſuch ſeeking to ſave a little, loſe all; and God readily hardens them to proceed to their own deſtruction. How many, like Hazael, 2 Kings viii. 13. run to exceſſes they never thought they were capable of! Let rulers and others read ſeriouſly, and weigh Prov. i. 10 to 20, &c. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good.

"For me, I hope by God's ſtrength to join with Job, chap. xiii. 15. and the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. xxii. 4. and ſhall pray, as Pſal. lxxiv. 19 to 24, and ſhall hope, as Pſal. xciv. 14, 15.

"I do freely forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cauſe of my being brought to this place, firſt or laſt; and I pray God forgive them. I pray God ſend truth and peace in theſe three kingdoms; and continue and increaſe the glorious light of the goſpel, and reſtrain the ſpirit of prophanity, atheiſm, ſuperſtition, Popery, and perſecution, and reſtore all that have backſlidden from the purity of their life or principles; and bleſs his whole people with all bleſſings, ſpiritual and temporal, and put an end to their preſent trials.

"And I entreat all people to forgive me wherein I have offended, and concur with me to pray, That the great, good, and merciful God would ſanctify my preſent lot, and for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake pardon all my ſins, and receive me to his eternal glory.

"It is ſuggeſted to me, That I have ſaid nothing of the royal family; and it remembers me, that before the juſtices at my trial about the teſt, I ſaid, That at my death I would pray, that there ſhould never want one of the royal family to be a defender of the true, ancient, Apoſtolic, Catholic, Proteſtant faith; which I do now: and that God would enlighten and forgive all of them that are either luke-warm, or have ſhrunk from the profeſſion of it. And in all events, I pray God may provide for the ſecurity of his church, that antichriſt, nor the gates of hell may never prevail againſt it."

The MARTYRDOM *of Colonel* RUMBOLD, *at the Market-Croſs, in Edinburgh.*

COLONEL Richard Rumbold ſuffered at the ſame place, June 26, 1685, moſt of what occurred conſiderable in his defence and ſpeech, you have had already in the buſineſs of the aſſaſſination. Two or three paſſages more there are worth remarks in the ſame, as arguments of his ſenſe and courage. For this cauſe, he ſays, were every hair of his head and beard a life, he would joyfully ſacrifice them all. That he was never antimonarchical in his principles, but for a king and free parliament; the king having power enough to make him great, and the people to make them happy. That he died in the defence of the juſt laws and liberties of the nations. That none was marked by God above another; for no man came into the world with a ſaddle on their backs, nor others booted and ſpurred to ride upon it. And being aſked if he thought not his ſentence dreadful? anſwered, He wiſhed he had a limb for every town in Chriſtendom.

The Laſt Speech of Colonel RICHARD RUMBOLD, *previous to his Execution, with ſeveral Things that paſſed on his Trial, June* 26, 1685.

COLONEL Richard Rumbold was brought about eleven o'clock in the morning from the caſtle of Edinburgh, to the juſtices court, in a great chair, on men's ſhoulders; where at firſt he was aſked ſome queſtions, moſt of which he anſwered with ſilence; at laſt ſaid, He humbly conceived, it was not neceſſary for him to add to his own accuſation, ſince he was not ignorant they had enough already to do his buſineſs; and therefore he did not intend to fret his conſcience at that time with anſwering queſtions. After which, his libel being read, the Court proceeded in uſual manner; firſt aſking him if he had any thing to ſay for himſelf before the jury cloſed? His anſwer was, He owned it all, ſaving that part, of having deſigned the king's death; and deſired all preſent to believe the words of a dying man; he never directly or indirectly intended ſuch a villany; that he abhorred the very thoughts of it; and that he bleſſed God he had that reputation in the world, that he knew none that had the impudence to aſk him the queſtion; and he deteſted the thoughts of ſuch an action; and he hoped all good people would believe him, which was the only way he had to clear himſelf; and he was ſure that this truth ſhould be one day made manifeſt to all men. He was again aſked, If he had any exception againſt the jury? He anſwered, No; but wiſhed them to do as God and their conſciences directed them. Then they withdrew, and returned their verdict in half an hour, and brought him in guilty. The ſentence followed; For him to be taken from that place to the next room, and from thence to be drawn on a hurdle, betwixt two and four o'clock, to the Croſs of Edinburgh, the place of execution, and there to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He received his ſentence with an undaunted courage and cheerfulneſs. Afterwards he was delivered into the town magiſtrate's hands; they brought to him two of their divines, and offered him their aſſiſtance upon the ſcaffold; which he altogether refuſed, telling them, That if they had any good wiſhes for him, he deſired they would ſpend them in their own cloſets, and leave him now to ſeek God in his own way. He had ſeveral offers of the ſame kind by others, which he put off in like manner. He was moſt ſerious and fervent in prayers the few hours he lived (as the centinels obſerved, who were preſent all the while). The hour being come, he was brought to the place of execution, where he ſaluted the people on all ſides of the ſcaffold, and after having refreſhed himſelf with a cordial out of his pocket, he was ſupported by two men while he ſpoke to the people as follows.

" Gentlemen and Brethren,

" IT is for all men that come into the world once to die, and after death to judgment; and ſince death is a debt that all of us muſt pay, it is but a matter of ſmall moment what way it be done; and ſeeing the Lord is pleaſed in this manner to take me to himſelf, I confeſs, ſomething hard to fleſh and blood, yet, bleſſed be his name, who hath made me not only willing, but thankful for his honouring me to lay down the life he gave, for his name; in which, were every hair in this head and beard of mine a life, I ſhould joyfully ſacrifice them for it, as I do this: and Providence having brought me hither, I think it moſt neceſſary to clear myſelf of ſome aſperſions laid on my name; and firſt, That I ſhould have had ſo horrid an intention of deſtroying the king and his brother.

[He now repeated what he had ſaid before to the juſtices on this ſubject.]

" It was alſo laid to my charge, That I was antimonarchical.

" It was ever my thoughts, That kingly government was the beſt of all, juſtly executed: I mean, ſuch as by our ancient laws; that is, a king, and a legal, free-choſen parliament. The king having, as I conceive, power enough to make him great; the people alſo as much property as to make them happy; they being, as it were, contracted to one another. And who will deny me, that this was not the juſt conſtituted government of our nation? How abſurd is it then for men of ſenſe to maintain, That though the one party of this contract breaketh all conditions, the other ſhould be obliged to perform their part? No; this error is contrary to the law of God, the law of nations, and the law of reaſon. But as pride hath been the bait the devil hath caught moſt by ever ſince the creation, ſo it continues to this day with us. Pride cauſed our firſt parents to fall from the bleſſed eſtate wherein they were created; they aiming to be higher and wiſer than God allowed, which brought an everlaſting curſe on them and their poſterity. It was pride cauſed God to drown the old world. And it was Nimrod's pride in building Babel, that cauſed that heavy curſe of diviſion of tongues to be ſpread among us, as it is at this day. One of the greateſt afflictions the church of God groaneth under, that there ſhould be ſo many diviſions during their pilgrimage here; but this is their comfort that the day draweth near, when, as there is but one Shepherd, there ſhall be but one ſheepfold. It was therefore in the defence of this party, in their juſt rights and liberties, againſt Popery and ſlavery——

[When he ſaid this they beat the drums: to which he replied]

" They need not trouble themſelves, for he ſhould ſay no more of his mind on that ſubject, ſince they were ſo diſengenuous, as to interrupt a dying man, only to aſſure the people, he adhered to the true Proteſtant religion, deteſting the erroneous opinions of many that called themſelves ſo; and I die this day in the defence of the ancient laws and liberties of theſe nations: and though God, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, hath not ſeen it fit to honour us, ſo as to make us the inſtruments for the deliverance of his people; yet as I have lived, ſo I die in the faith, that he will ſpeedily ariſe for the deliverance of his church and people. And I deſire of you all to prepare for this with ſpeed. I may ſay, This is a deluded generation, veiled with ignorance, that though Popery and ſlavery be riding in upon them, do not perceive it; though I am ſure there was no man born marked of God above another; for none comes into the world with a ſaddle on his back, neither any booted and ſpurred to ride him; not but that I am well ſatisfied, that God hath wiſely ordered different ſtations for men in the world, as I have already ſaid; kings having as much power as to make them great, and the people as much property as to make them happy. And to conclude, I ſhall only add my wiſhes for the ſalvation of all men, who were created for that end."

When he had thus ſpoken, he prayed moſt fervently near three quarters of an hour, freely forgiving all men, even his greateſt enemies, begging moſt earneſtly for the deliverance of Sion from all her perſecutors, particularly praying for London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, from which the ſtreams run that rule God's people in theſe three kingdoms.

Summary of the laſt Speech of Mr. JOHN KING, *at the Place of Execution at* Edinburgh, *on the 14th Day of Auguſt 1679.*

" Men and Brethren,

" I DO not doubt but that many that are ſpectators here, have ſome other end, than to be edified by what they may ſee and hear in the laſt words of one going to eternity; but if any one of you have ears to hear, which I nothing doubt but ſome of this great congregation have, I deſire your ears and attention, if the Lord ſhall help and permit me to ſpeak, to a few things.

" I bleſs the Lord, ſince Infinite Wiſdom and holy Providence has ſo carved out my lot to die after the manner that I do, not unwillingly, neither by force: it is true, I could not do this of myſelf, nature always having an inclination to put the evil day far off, but through grace I have been helped, and by this grace I hope I ſhall: it is true, through policy I might have ſhunned ſuch a hard ſentence, if I had done ſome things; but though I could, I durſt not, God knows, redeem my life with the loſs of my integrity and honeſty. I bleſs the Lord, that ſince I have been apprehended and made a priſoner, God hath very wonderfully upholden me, and made out that comfortable word, ‘Fear not, be not diſmayed. I am with thee, I will ſtrengthen thee, I will uphold thee by the right hand of my righteouſneſs,’ Iſaiah xli. 10. I thank the Lord he never yet gave me leave ſo much as to have a thought, much leſs to ſeek after any ſhift that might be in the leaſt ſinful: I did always, and yet do judge it better to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon; therefore I am come hither to lay down my life. I bleſs the Lord I die not as a fool dieth, though I acknowledge I have nothing to boaſt of in myſelf: yea, I acknowledge I am a ſinner, and one of the chief that have gone under the name of a profeſſor of religion; yea, amongſt the unworthieſt of thoſe that have preached the goſpel; my ſins and corruptions have been many, and have defiled me in all things, and even in following and doing my duty, I have not wanted my own ſinful infirmities and weakneſſes, ſo that I may truly ſay, I have no righteouſneſs of my own, all is evil, and like filthy rags; but bleſſed be God that there is a Saviour and an advocate, Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous, and I do believe that Jeſus Chriſt is come into the world to ſave ſinners, of whom I am the chief, and that through faith and his righteouſneſs I have obtained mercy; and that through him, and him alone, I deſire and hope to have a glorious victory over ſin, Satan, hell, and death; and that I ſhall attain unto the reſurrection of the juſt, and be made partaker of eternal life. I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him againſt that day. I have according to my poor capacity, preached ſalvation in his name; and as I have preached, ſo do I believe, and with all my ſoul have commended it, and ſtill do commend to all of you the riches of his grace, and faith in his name, as the alone and only way whereby we can come to be ſaved.

“It may be, many may think (but I bleſs the Lord, without any ſolid ground) that I ſuffer as an evil-doer, and as a buſy body in other men's matters; but I reckon not much upon that, having the teſtimony of my own conſcience for me. It was the lot of our bleſſed Saviour himſelf, and alſo the lot of many of his eminent, precious ſervants and people, to ſuffer by the world as evil-doers! yea, I think I have ſo good ground not to be ſcared at ſuch a lot, that I count it my non-ſuch honour; and oh what am I, that I ſhould be honoured ſo, when ſo many worthies have panted after the like, and have not come at it: my ſoul rejoiceth in being brought into conformity with my bleſſed Lord and head, and ſo bleſſed a company in this way and lot; and I deſire to pray that I may be to none of you this day upon this account a ſtone of ſtumbling, and a rock of offence; and bleſſed is he that ſhall not be offended in Chriſt and his poor followers and members, becauſe of their being condemned as evil-doers by the world.

“As for thoſe things for which ſentence of death hath paſſed againſt me, I bleſs the Lord my conſcience doth not condemn me: I have not been rebellious, nor do I judge it rebellion for me to have endeavoured in my capacity, what poſſibly I could for the borne-down and ruined intereſt of my Lord and Maſter, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and perſecuted, not only in their liberties, privileges, and perſons, but alſo in their lives; therefore it was for that I joined with that poor handful; the Lord knows, who is the ſearcher of hearts, that neither my deſign nor practice was againſt his majeſty's perſon, and juſt government, but I always ſtudied to be loyal to lawful authority in the Lord, and I thank God my heart doth not condemn me of any diſloyalty; I have been loyal, and I do recommend it to all to be obedient to higher powers in the Lord.

“I have been looked upon by ſome, and repreſented by others to be of a diviſive and factious humour, and one that ſtirred up diviſion in the church, but I am hopeful that they will all now give me their charity, being within a little to ſtand before my judge, and I pray the Lord forgive them that did ſo miſrepreſent me; but I thank the Lord whatever men have ſaid againſt me concerning this, that on the contrary I have often diſſuaded from ſuch ways and practices, as contrary to the word of God, and of our covenanted and reformed religion; and as I ever abhorred diviſion and faction in the church, as that which tends to it's utter ruin, if the Lord prevent it not, ſo I would in the bowels of my Lord and Maſter, if ſuch an one as I may preſume to perſuade, and exhort both miniſters and profeſſors; if there be any conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of love, if any fellowſhip of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, that you be like minded, having the ſame love, being of one accord, of one mind; in lowlineſs of mind, let each eſteem others better than themſelves, Phil. ii. 3. harmoniouſneſs and honeſty in the things of God, can never enough be ſought after, and things that tend to the prejudice and hurt of Chriſt's intereſt, can never enough be fled from and avoided.

“And as I come hither willingly to lay down my tabernacle, ſo alſo I die in the belief and faith of the holy ſcriptures, and in the faith of the Apoſtles, and primitive Chriſtians, and Proteſtant reformed churches, and particularly the church of Scotland, whereof I am a poor member.

“I ſhall but ſay a few words.

“Firſt, All you that are profane, I would ſeriouſly exhort you, that you return to the Lord by ſerious repentance; if you do, iniquity ſhall not be your ruin; if you do not, know that the day of the Lord's vengeance is near and haſteneth on. Oh know for your comfort, there is a door of mercy yet open, if you be not deſpiſers of the day of ſalvation. And you that have been, and yet are reproachers and perſecutors of godlineſs, and of ſuch as live godly; take heed, oh take heed, ſad will be your day, when God ariſes to ſcatter his enemies, if you repent not for your ungodly deeds.

“Secondly, All thoſe who are taken up with their own private intereſts, and if that go well, they care the leſs for the intereſt of Chriſt, take heed and be zealous, and repent, leſt the Lord paſs the ſentence, I will ſpew you out of my mouth.

“Thirdly, For the truly godly, and ſuch as are lamenting after the Lord, and are mourning for all the abominations of this city, and are taking pleaſure in the very rubbiſh and ſtones of Zion, be of good courage, and caſt not away your confidence. I dare not ſay any thing to future things, but ſurely the Lord has a handful that are precious to him, to whom he will be gracious; to theſe it is a dark night at preſent, how long it will laſt the Lord knows! Oh let not the ſad diſaſters, that this poor people meet with, though very aſtoniſhing, terrify you; beware of ſnares that abound, cleave faſt to your reformed religion, do not ſhift the croſs of Chriſt, if you be called to it; it is better to ſuffer than ſin, account the reproaches of Chriſt greater riches than all the treaſures of the world.

“In the laſt place, let not my death be grievous to any of you; I hope it will be more profitable both for you and me, and for the church and intereſt of God, than my life could have been. I bleſs the Lord, I can freely and frankly forgive all men, even as I deſire to be forgiven of God; pray for them that perſecute you, bleſs them that curſe you. As to the cauſe of Chriſt, I bleſs the Lord I never had cauſe, to this day, to repent for any thing I have ſuffered, or can now ſuffer for his name. I thank the Lord who has ſhewed mercy to ſuch a vile ſinner as I am, and that ever he ſhould advance me to ſo high a dignity, as to be made a miniſter of his bleſſed and everlaſting goſpel; and that ever I ſhould have a ſeal ſet to my miniſtry, upon the hearts of ſome in ſeveral places and corners of this land: the Lord viſit Scotland with more and more faithful paſtors, and ſend a reviving day unto the people of God; in the mean time be patient, be ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; and live in love and peace one with another, and the Lord be with his poor afflicted, groaning people that yet remain.

“Now I bid farewell to all my friends and dear relations: farewell my poor wife and children, whom I leave in the good hands of him who is better than ſeven huſbands, and who will be a father to the fatherleſs. Farewell all creature comforts; welcome everlaſting life, everlaſting glory;

glory, welcome everlaſting love, everlaſting praiſe: bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul! and all that is within me.

"JOHN KING."

Summary of the Dying Words of Mr. JOHN KIDD, *at the Place of Execution at* Edinburgh, *on the 14th Day of Auguſt* 1679.

"*Right worthy and well-beloved Spectators and Auditors,*

"CONSIDERING what bodily diſtempers I have been exerciſed with, ſince I came out of the torture, viz. ſcarce two hours out of my naked bed in one day, it cannot be expected, that I ſhould be in a caſe to ſay any thing to the purpoſe at this juncture, eſpecially ſeeing I am not as yet free from it; however I cannot but reverence the good hand of God upon me, and deſire with all my ſoul to bleſs him for this my preſent lot.

"It may be there are a great many here that judge my lot very ſad and deplorable. I muſt confeſs death itſelf is very terrible to fleſh and blood, but as it is an outlet to ſin, and an inlet to righteouſneſs, it is the Chriſtian's great and inexpreſſible privilege; and give me leave to ſay this, that there is ſomething in a Chriſtian's condition, that can never put him without the reach of inſufferableneſs, even ſhame, death, and the croſs being included.

"And then if there be peace betwixt God and the ſoul, nothing can damp peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; this is a moſt ſupporting ingredient, in the bittereſt cup, and under the ſharpeſt and fierceſt trial he can be expoſed unto, this is my mercy, that I have ſomething to lay claim unto, viz. The intimations of pardon and peace between God and my ſoul.

"And as concerning that for which I am condemned, I magnify his grace, that I never had the leaſt challenge for it, but on the contrary, I judge it my honour, that ever I was counted worthy to come upon the ſtage upon ſuch a conſideration; another thing that renders the moſt deſpicable lot of the Chriſtian, and mine ſufferable, is a felt and ſenſible preſence from the Lord, ſtrengthening the ſoul when moſt put to it, and if I could have this for my allowance this day, I could be bold to ſay, O death, where is thy ſting? And could not but cry out, welcome to it, and all that follows upon it: I grant the Lord from an act of ſovereignty may come, and go as he pleaſes, but yet he will never forſake his people, and this is a cordial to me in the caſe I am now expoſed unto.

"Thirdly, The exerciſing and putting forth his glorious power, is able to tranſport the ſoul of the believer, and mine, above the reach of all ſublunary difficulties; and therefore ſeeing I have hope to be kept up by this power, I would not have you to look upon my lot, or any other that is or may be in my caſe, in the leaſt deplorable, ſeeing we have ground to believe, that in more or leſs he will perfect his power and ſtrength in weakneſs.

"Fourthly, That I may come a little nearer to the purpoſe in hand, I declare before you all, in the ſight of God, angels, and men, and in the ſight of that ſun, and all that he has created, that I am a moſt miſerable ſinner, in regard of my original and actual tranſgreſſions, I muſt confeſs, they are more in number than the hairs of my head. They are gone up above my head, and are paſt numbering; I cannot but ſay as Jacob ſaid, I am leſs than the leaſt of all God's mercies; yet I muſt declare to the exalting of his free grace, that to me, who am the leaſt of all ſaints, is this grace made known, and that by a ſtrong hand, and I dare not but ſay, he has loved me, and waſhed me in his own blood from all iniquities, and well is it for me this day, that ever I heard, or read that faithful ſaying, That Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners, of whom I am chief.

"Fifthly, I muſt alſo declare in his ſight, I am the moſt unworthy that ever opened his mouth to preach the unſearchable riches of Chriſt in the goſpel. Yea, the ſenſe of this made me altogether unwilling to fall about ſo great a work, until by the importunity of ſome, whoſe names are precious and ſavoury to me, and many others, I was prevailed with to fall about it, and yet I am hopeful, not altogether without ſome fruit; and if I durſt ſay it without vanity, I never found ſo much of the preſence of God upon my ſpirit, as I have found in exerciſes of that nature, though I muſt ſtill confeſs attended with inexpreſſible weakneſs, and this is the main thing for which I muſt lay down my tabernacle this day, viz. That I did preach Chriſt and the goſpel in ſeveral places of this nation; for which I bleſs him (as I can) that ever ſuch a poor obſure perſon as I am, have been thus privileged by him, for making mention of his grace as I was able.

"In the next place, though to many I die deſired, yet I know, to not a few my death is not deſired; and it is the rejoicing of my heart, that I die in the faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has loved me, and given himſelf for me, and in the faith of the prophets and apoſtles, and in this faith of theirs there is not a name under Heaven by which men can be ſaved, but the name of Jeſus, and in the faith of the doctrine and worſhip of the Kirk of Scotland, as it is now eſtabliſhed according to the word of God, confeſſion of faith, catechiſms larger and ſhorter; and likewiſe I join my teſtimony againſt Popery, perjury, profanity, hereſy, and every thing contrary to ſound doctrine.

"In the cloſe, as a dying perſon, and one who has obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, I would humbly leave it on godly miniſters to be faithful for their Lord and Maſter, and not to hold their peace in ſuch a day, when ſo many ways are taken for injuring of him, his name, way, ſanctuary, ordinances, crown, and kingdom; I hope there will be found a party in this land, that will continue for him and his matters in all hazards; and as faithfulneſs is called for in miniſters, ſo profeſſors would concern themſelves that they countenance not, nor abet any thing inconſiſtent with former principles and practices. Let the land conſider, how neutral and indifferent we are grown in the matters of God, even like Ephraim long ago, a cake not turned.

"As concerning that which is the ground of my death, viz. preaching here and there in ſome corners; I bleſs my God, I have not the leaſt challenge for it; and though thoſe that condemned me are pleaſed to call ſuch preachings rendezvouſes of rebellion, yet I muſt ſay this of them, they were ſo far from being reputed ſuch in my eyes, that if ever Chriſt had a people, or party, wherein his ſoul took pleaſure, I am bold to ſay, theſe meetings were a great part of them; the ſhining and glory of God was eminently ſeen amongſt theſe meetings, the convincing power and authority of our Lord went out with his ſervants in thoſe blaſphemouſly nick-named conventicles: this I ſay, without reflection upon any. I have a word to ſay further, that God is calling perſons to repentance, and to do their firſt work: O that Scotland were a mourning land, and that reformation were our practice, according as we are ſworn in the covenant.

"Again, That Chriſtians of grace and experience would ſtudy more ſtraitneſs and ſtability in this day, when ſo many are turning to the right hand, and many to the left; he that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved; he hath appointed the kingdom for ſuch as continue with him in his temptations.

"Next, if ever you expect to have the form of the houſe ſhewed you in all the laws thereof, goings-out thereof, and comings-in thereof, then think it no ſhame to take ſhame to you for all that has been done: ſitting down on this ſide Jordan, is like to be our bane. Oh! when ſhall we get up and run after him, till he brings us into the promiſed land, let us up and after him with all our heart, and never reſt till he return.

"I recommend my wife and young one to the care and faithfulneſs of the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; the God that fed me to this day, and who is the God of my ſalvation, their God and my God, their Father and my Father. I am alſo hopeful, that Chriſtians, friends and relations, will not be unmindful of them when I am gone.

" Laſtly, I do further bear my teſtimony to the croſs of Chriſt, and bleſs him that ever he counted me worthy to appear for him in ſuch a lot as this: glory to him that ever I heard tell of him, and that ever he fell upon ſuch a method of dealing with me as this; and therefore let none that loves Chriſt and his righteous cauſe, be offended in me.

" And as I have lived in the faith of this, that the three kingdoms are married lands, ſo I die in the faith of it, that there will be a reſurrection of his name, word, cauſe, and of all his intereſt therein; though I dare not determine the time when, nor the manner how, but leave all theſe things to the infinitely wiſe God, who has done, and will do all things well. Oh that he would return to this land again, to repair our breaches, and take away our backſliding, and appear for his work! Oh that he would paſs by Scotland once again, and make our time a time of love; come Lord Jeſus, come quickly! Himſelf haſten it in his own time and way. The Lord is my light and life, my joy, my ſong, and my ſalvation; the God of his choſen be my mercy this day, and the enriching comforts of the Holy Ghoſt keep up and carry me fair through, to the glory of his grace, the edification of his people, and my own eternal advantage. Amen.

" JOHN KIDD."

Having now given our readers a faithful account of the behaviour and dying ſpeeches of the moſt eminent perſons who ſuffered in Scotland, we ſhall return again for London, where the laſt perſon of quality that ſuffered, was the duke of Monmouth, whoſe expedition and ſufferings are next related.

The MARTYRDOM *of* JAMES, DUKE *of* MONMOUTH, *who was beheaded at Tower-Hill.*

THE laſt perſon with whom we ſhall conclude this mournful tragedy, and the greateſt in it, is the late James, duke of Monmouth; one indeed who, if he had been leſs, might have been one of the greateſt men either in England or the world. By reaſon of ſome paſſages in his life, not ſo defenſible, it was thought, at firſt, better to draw a veil before that unfortunate prince, and ſay nothing at all of him. But what allowances are made for cuſtom and education, God only knows. I remember a ſhrewd anſwer given to an objection of this nature, Where, ſaid one, ſhould he learn any better? But, however, where there has been any time to think ſoberly of paſt actions, or none of that nature reiterated, charity is obliged to judge favourably. And beſides, the good Weſt-Countrymen would be very angry if they ſhould not find their maſter that they loved ſo well, and ſuffered ſo much for, among the reſt of theſe noble heroes. None can deny but he was a great general, a man of courage and conduct, and great perſonal valour, having ſignalized himſelf both at Mons and Maeſtricht, ſo as to gain a high and juſt reputation. He was all along true and firm to the Proteſtant intereſt in and out of parliament, though abhorring any baſe way of promoting it, as well as his friend my lord Ruſſel. This is intended rather as a character, or very ſhort compendium, than any hiſtory of his life. He was all along the people's darling, whoſe hearts were entirely his, by his courteſy and affability, as other perſons loſt them by their ſourneſs and haughty pride. After Ruſſel's death he went into Flanders, whence had he proſecuted his deſign, and gone, as it is ſaid he intended, into the emperor's ſervice, how many laurels might he have won, and how many more would now be growing for him? But his fate was otherwiſe. After the defeat of his army at Sedgmoor, he fled with my lord Gray, who was firſt taken, and he himſelf a little after brought up to London, and on his attainder in parliament, beheaded on Tower-Hill. It is ſaid, a certain brave old officer, who then came over with him, and ſince with the prince, offered with a ſmall party of horſe to have ventured through the guards, and took him off the ſcaffold. But they could not be got together; his time was come. Providence had deſigned other things, that our deliverance ſhould be more juſt, peaceable, and wonderful, and that the glory thereof ſhould be reſerved for their ſacred majeſties king William and queen Mary.

Summary of his laſt Words.

" I REPENT in general of all my ſins, and am more particularly concerned for what blood hath been ſpilt on my account, and the rather ſeeing the iſſue is ſuch as I fear will prove of fatal conſequence to the reformed Proteſtant religion.

" Inſtead of being counted factious and rebellious, the very oppoſing Popery and arbitrary power, now ariſing and appearing plain enough, would ſufficiently have protected my cauſe; beſides, ſeveral other moſt heinous and notorious crimes (ſuch as the unhappy fate of the earl of Eſſex, and my father of ever bleſſed memory, and others now covered over with jeſuitical policy), ſhould have been detected and avenged.

" I have lived and ſhall now die in the faith of this, that God will work a deliverance for his people, and then will be diſcovered the great and horrid, and ſcarcely to be paralleled villanies our enemies have been guilty of; but now you ſee my caſe is deſperate, yet know that I die a martyr for the people, and ſhall rather pity the ſtate, that their falſe and covetous minds have brought themſelves and me to, than diſcover who are the perſons concerned in my overthrow; and I heartily forgive all that have wronged me, even thoſe that have been inſtrumental in my fall, earneſtly praying for their ſouls.

" And I hope king James will ſhew himſelf to be of his brother's blood, and extend his mercy to my children, even as he was wont to his greateſt enemies, they being not capable to act, and therefore not conſcious of any offence againſt the government."

NOW Argyle and Monmouth being laid in their graves, king James was ſo puffed up with a petty victory over a few clubmen, and ſo wrapt up with a conceit, that he had now conquered the whole nation, (ſo that now believing himſelf impregnable) he reſolves to be revenged upon the weſtern people for ſiding with his capital enemy Monmouth, and to that purpoſe, ſends down his executioner in ordinary, Jeffreys, not to decimate according to the heathen way of mercy, but with the beeſom of his cruelties, to ſweep the country before him, and to depopulate inſtead of puniſh; at which time acquaintance or relation of any that fell in the field, with a ſlender circumſtance tacked to either, was a crime ſufficient for the extirpation of the family. And young and old were hanged by cluſters, as if the chief juſtice had deſigned to raiſe the price of halters; beſides the great number of thoſe that upon bare ſuſpicion were tranſported beyond ſea, and there ſold for ſlaves; and the purchaſe-money given away to ſatiſfy the hunger of needy Papiſts. After-ages will read with aſtoniſhment the barbarous uſage of thoſe poor people; of which, among many inſtances, this one may ſeem ſufficient, whereby to take the dimenſions of all the reſt: that when the ſiſter of the two Hewlings hung upon the chief juſtice's coach, imploring mercy on the behalf of her brothers, the merciless judge, to make her let go, cauſed the coachman to cut her hands and fingers with the laſh of his whip. Nor would he allow the reſpite of the execution but for two days, though the ſiſter with tears in her eyes offered a hundred pounds for ſo ſmall a favour. And whoever ſheltered any of thoſe forlorn creatures, were hurried to the ſlaughter-houſe with the ſame inexorable outrage, without any conſideration either of age or ſex; witneſs the execution of the lady Liſle at Wincheſter. As for Argyle and the duke, though they might die pitied, yet in regard they had declared open hoſtility, it was no more than upon ill ſucceſs they were to expect.

Now, to complete our Weſtern martyrology, and that we may not be too tedious, ſhall proceed to give the particular caſes of thoſe that were condemned and executed in the Weſt, with their Chriſtian behaviour and dying ſpeeches, as their plain country friends have preſerved them.

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The MARTYRDOM *of Mr.* MATTHEW BRAGG.

MR. Matthew Bragg, the next ſufferer under conſideration was a gentleman deſcended from an ancient and good family; he was bred an attorney, in which he practiſed the law: his caſe being this, he happened to be upon the road riding home to his houſe, being come from a gentleman's houſe for whom he kept courts. He, as before, being met with by a party of horſe belonging to the duke of Monmouth, who were going to ſearch the houſe of a Roman-Catholic for arms, who lived two or three miles from the place where they met him, they required him to go with them, and ſhew them the way, he knowing the country better than they did; he deſired to be excuſed, telling them, It was none of his buſineſs, and beſides he had no arms. But his excuſes ſignified nothing, they forced him amongſt them, where they went; when being come, a party immediately entered the houſe, and ſearched it: Mr. Bragg never diſmounted, they being then ſatisfied, took him along with them to Chard, where the duke of Monmouth then was. Being there, after having ſet up his horſe where he uſed to do, often having occaſion there, he was much tampered with to engage in the deſign, but he refuſed it; but the next morning made haſte out of town, not ſeeing the duke at all; calling for his horſe, it was told him, that it was ſeized for the duke's ſervice. So then he took his cane and gloves, and walked to his own houſe, which was about five or ſix miles, and was no more concerned in the affair, than that after the duke's defeat at King's-Sedgemoor, ſome buſy perſon informed, and required a warrant from a juſtice of peace for the ſaid Mr. Bragg, who obliged himſelf to enter into a recognizance to appear at the next aſſizes; the ſaid juſtice accounting the matter in itſelf but trivial; and indeed all men did judge him out of danger. At Dorcheſter he appeared in court to diſcharge his bail, on which he was preſently committed, and the next day being arraigned, pleading not guilty, put himſelf on the trial, by God and his country, which found him and twenty-eight more of thirty guilty; the lord chief juſtice often ſaying, If any lawyer or parſon came under his inſpection, they ſhould not eſcape; the evidence againſt him was the Roman-Catholic, whoſe houſe was ſearched, and a woman of ill fame, to whom the lord chief juſtice was wonderfully kind; but his evidence, which were more than twenty, to prove his innocence, ſignified nothing, the jury being well inſtructed by the lord chief juſtice. Being thus found guilty, ſentence was preſently pronounced, and execution awarded, notwithſtanding all the intereſt that was made for him, as before obſerved.

Being now condemned on Saturday, and ordered to be executed on Monday, he ſpent the reſidue of his little time very devoutly, and much becoming a good Chriſtian, and a true Proteſtant of the church of England, all which availed nothing with this Proteſtant judge. He was frequently viſited by a worthy divine of the church of England, who ſpent much time with him, and received great ſatisfaction from him. The ſaid divine told me, That his deportment, behaviour, and converſation, was ſo much like an extraordinary Chriſtian, that he could not in the leaſt doubt but this violent paſſage would put him into the fruition of happineſs. He wiſhed and deſired a little longer time, out of no other deſign, but thoroughly to repent of his ſins, and make himſelf more ſenſible of, and fit for to receive the inheritance that is prepared for thoſe that continue in well doing to the end. When he came to the place of execution with great courage and reſolution, being as he ſaid, prepared for death, he behaved himſelf very gravely and devoutly. When he was on the ladder, being aſked, Whether he was not ſorry for his being concerned in the rebellion? He replied, That he knew of none that he was guilty of; and prayed them not to trouble him; adding, He was not the firſt that was martyred; he was ſo much a Chriſtian as to forgive his enemies. And after ſome private devotions he ſuddenly was tranſlated, as we have all hopes to believe, from earth to heaven. The only favour of this Proteſtant judge was, to give his body to his friends, in order to it's interment amongſt his family.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. SMITH, *Conſtable of* Chardſtock, *at the ſame Time.*

THE next eminent perſon that ſuffered with him at the ſame time and place, was one Mr. Smith, who was conſtable of Chardſtock, who having ſome money in his hands that belonged to the militia, which came to the knowledge of ſome of the duke's friends, they obliged him to deliver it to them, which he was forced to do; and for this was indicted for high-treaſon, in aſſiſting the duke of Monmouth, to which he pleaded Not guilty. The evidence againſt him were the ſame with thoſe that had been againſt Mr. Bragg. The ſaid Mr. Smith informed the court and the jury, what little credit ought to be given to the evidence. The lord chief juſtice thundered at him, ſaying, Thou villain, methinks I ſee thee already with a halter about thy neck; thou impudent rebel, to challenge theſe evidences that are for the king. To which the priſoner replied very boldly, My lord, I now ſee which way I am going, and right or wrong I muſt die; but this I comfort myſelf with, that your lordſhip can only deſtroy my body; it is out of your power to touch my ſoul. God forgive your raſhneſs; pray, my lord, know it is not a ſmall matter you are about, the blood of man is more precious than the whole world. He then was ſtopped from ſaying any more. The evidences being heard, a ſtrict charge was given the jury about him. To be ſhort, the jury brought him in guilty; ſo that he with the reſt received ſentence of death all together, and were executed on Monday; but by particular order from my lord, he was ordered to be firſt executed. The day being come for execution, being Monday, he with a courage undaunted was brought to the place, where with Chriſtian exhortations to his brethren that ſuffered with him, he was ordered to prepare, being the firſt to be executed, where he ſpoke the following words:

"CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

"I AM now, as you ſee, launching into eternity; ſo that it may be expected I ſhould ſpeak ſomething before I leave this miſerable world, and paſs through thoſe ſufferings, which are dreadful to fleſh and blood; which indeed ſhall be but little, becauſe I long to be before a juſt judge, where I muſt give an account, not only for the occaſion of my ſufferings now, but for ſins long unrepented of, which indeed have brought me to this diſmal place and ſhameful death. And truly, dear countrymen, having ranſacked my ſoul, I cannot find my ſmall concern with the duke of Monmouth doth deſerve this heavy judgment on me; but I know, as I ſaid before, it is for ſins long unrepented of; I die in charity with all men; I deſire all of you to bear me witneſs, I die a true profeſſor of the church of England; beſeeching the Lord ſtill to ſtand up in the defence of it. God forgive my paſſionate judge, and cruel and haſty jury; God forgive them, they know not what they have done. God bleſs the king; and though his judges had no mercy on me, I wiſh he may find mercy when he ſtandeth moſt in need of it: make him, O Lord, a nurſing father to the church; let mercy flow abundantly from him, if it be thy will, to thoſe poor priſoners, to be hereafter tried; and, Lord, if it be thy holy will, ſtop this iſſue of Chriſtian blood, and let my guiltleſs blood be the laſt ſpilt on this account. Gentlemen all, farewell, farewell all the things of the world."

Then having ſung ſome few verſes of a pſalm, and put up ſome private ejaculations to himſelf, he ſaid, "O

Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit;" and ſo ſubmitted to the executioner, September 7, 1685.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. JOSEPH SPEED, *of* Culliton.

THIS man ſuffered at the ſame time and place: when he came near the place of his execution, ſpying his countryman and friend, he called him, and ſaid, I am glad to ſee you here now, becauſe I am not known in theſe parts; being anſwered by his friend, I am ſorry to ſee you in this condition: he replies, It is the beſt day I ever ſaw; I thank God I have not led my life as unchriſtian-like as many have done, having ſince the years of ſixteen always had the checks of conſcience on me, which made me to avoid many groſs and grievous ſins; my courſe of life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot juſtify myſelf; all men err. I have not been the leaſt of ſinners, therefore cannot excuſe myſelf; but ſince my confinement I have received ſo great a comfort, in ſome aſſurance of the pardon of my ſins, that I can now ſay, I am willing to die, to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt, and ſay to death, Where is thy ſting? And to grave, Where is thy victory? Being aſked by ſome rude ſoldiers, whether he was not ſorry for the rebellion he was found guilty of? He courageouſly replied, If you call it a rebellion, I aſſure you I had no ſiniſter ends in being concerned; for my whole deſign in taking up arms under the duke of Monmouth, was to fight for the Proteſtant religion, which my own conſcience dictated me to, and which the ſaid duke declared for, and had, I think, a lawful call and warrant for ſo doing, and do not queſtion, if I have committed any ſin in it, but that it is pardoned: pray, Mr. Sheriff, let me be troubled no more in anſwering of queſtions, but give me leave to prepare myſelf (thoſe few minutes I have left) for another world, and go to my Jeſus, who is ready to receive me: then calling to his friend, who ſtood very near him, ſaid, My dear friend, you know I have a dear wife and children, who will find me wanting, being ſomewhat incumbered in the world; let me deſire you as a dying man, to ſee that ſhe be not abuſed; and as for my poor children, I hope the Father of heaven will take care of them, and give them grace to be dutiful to their diſtreſſed mother; and ſo with my dying love to all my friends, when you ſee them, I take leave of you, and them, and all the world, deſiring your chriſtian prayers for me to the laſt moment; then repeating ſome ſentences of ſcripture, as, Coloſſians iii. 1, 2. If ye then, &c. and praying very fervently, ſaid, I thank God I have ſatisfaction; I am ready and willing to ſuffer ſhame for his name: and ſo pouring forth ſome private ejaculations to himſelf, and lifting up his hands, the executioner did his office: the ſoldiers then preſent ſaid, They never before were ſo taken with a dying man's ſpeech; his courage and chriſtian-like reſolution cauſed many violent men againſt the priſoners, to repent of their tyranny towards them; ſome of whom in a ſhort time died full of horror: and thus fell this good man, a true Proteſtant, and one that held out to the laſt.

The MARTYRDOM *of* JOHN SPRAGE *and* Colonel HOLMES, *at* Bridport *and* Lyme.

JOHN Sprage, who ſuffered at Bridport, was a very good man, and behaved himſelf with a great deal of chriſtian-like courage to the end: his ſpeech and his devotions, &c. muſt be omitted, not being poſſible to take them, by reaſon of the rudeneſs, &c. and the ſhortneſs of the time allowed him by the officers.

There were executed with Mr. John Sprage twelve in the county of Dorſet. Mr. John Sprage of Lyme, a man more fit to die, than he that condemned him was fit to live: he was a zealous Chriſtian, and a man that in a manner lived in heaven while on earth; he was but of an ordinary eſtate in this world: but to be ſhort, his praiſe, his worth, his fame will never die in thoſe places where known: he went about doing good, even in his worldly employments, as I have been credibly informed; hardly any thing coming that way, but what his ſpiritual meditations were upon. He was apprehended near Saliſbury, brought to Dorcheſter, where I ſaw him ſeveral times, and was converſant with him before his trial; he carried himſelf very moderately to all; ſome of divers principles in matters of religion, he continually prayed with them, adviſing and inſtructing them to thoſe holy duties which were neceſſary to ſalvation. Being aſked, how he could endure thoſe hardſhips he had undergone ſince his being taken? Says he, If this be all, it is not ſo much; but my friend, if you were to take a journey in thoſe ways you were not acquainted with, you would (I hope) deſire advice from thoſe that had formerly uſed thoſe ways, or lived near by them: Yes, ſays he. Then ſaid he, The ways of affliction which I have lately travelled in, I had advice many a time from a miniſter, who hath often told his congregation of the troubleſomeneſs of the road, and of the difficulty of getting through; and hath given me, and hundreds of others to underſtand the pits and ſtones in the way, and how to avoid them; he has been a man uſed to theſe roads many years; I have taken his advice; I am got thus far on comfortably, and I truſt ſhall do ſo to the end; I am not afraid to fight a duel with death, if ſo it muſt be: now I thank God I can truly ſay, O death, where is thy ſting? And, O grave, where is thy victory? Two or three days after their ſentence, they were drawn to execution, but were very rudely and opprobriouſly dealt with, to the ſhame of thoſe that then had the charge over them; their rigour unto them was more like Turks than Chriſtians. But to conclude, being come to the place of execution he prayed very devoutly with them all, but by the rudeneſs of the guards, there could be no copy taken that could be ſaid to be true: all of them died very courageouſly, eſpecially this ſtout chriſtian champion, who ſpoke to them in theſe words (looking on the ſoldiers) ſaying, Little do you think that this very body of mine, which you are now come to ſee cut in pieces, will one day riſe up in judgment againſt you, and be your accuſer, for your delight in ſpilling of chriſtian blood; the heathens have far more mercy: O it is ſad, when England muſt out-ſtrip Infidels and Pagans! but pray take notice, do not think that I am not in charity with you; I am ſo far, that I forgive you and all the world; and do deſire the God of mercies to forgive you, and open your hearts, and turn you from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo farewell. I am going out of the power of you all; I have no dependence but upon my bleſſed Redeemer, to whom I commit my dear wife and children, and all my family.

There were many of note executed at Lyme, particularly colonel Holmes, who was the firſt of thoſe there executed, near the ſame place where they landed, when they came aſhore with the duke of Monmouth, being brought to the place after ſome difficulty; for the horſes that were firſt put into the ſledge would not ſtir, which obliged thoſe concerned to get others, which they did from the coachman, who had that morning brought them to town; when they were put into the ſledge, they broke it in pieces, which cauſed the priſoners to go on foot to the place of execution; where being come, as I told you before, the colonel began thus at the foot of the ladder: he ſat down with an aſpect altogether void of fear, but, on the contrary, with a kind of ſmiling countenance, began to ſpeak to the ſpectators to this purpoſe, that he would give them an account of his firſt undertaking in the deſign, which was long before in London; for there he agreed to ſtand by, and aſſiſt the duke of Monmouth, when opportunity offered; in order to which, he went to Holland with him, and there continued until this expedition, in which God had thought fit to fruſtrate his and other good men's expectations: he believed the Proteſtant religion was bleeding, and in a ſtep towards extirpation, and therefore he with theſe his brethren that were to ſuffer with him, and thouſands more, had adventured their lives and their all to ſave it; but God Almighty had not appointed them to be the inſtruments in ſo glorious a work; yet notwithſtanding

withſtanding he did verily believe, and doubted not, that God would make uſe of others, that ſhould meet with better ſucceſs, though the way or means was not yet viſible, but of this he did not doubt; he alſo was ſatisfied of the duke's title, ſo that matter did not afflict him on account of his engaging on this ſcore: and going on further with a diſcourſe of this nature, he was aſked by a perſon, Why he did not pray for the king? He with a ſmiling countenance anſwered, I am ſorry you do not yet underſtand the difference between ſpeaking and praying: and having ended his diſcourſe, he then prepared himſelf by prayer for his diſſolution, which for half an hour was very devout and pious.

Having finiſhed his prayer, he took occaſion to ſpeak to his ſuffering brethren, taking a ſolemn leave of them, encouraging them to hold out to the end, and not to waver, obſerving that this being a glorious ſun-ſhining day, I doubt not, though our breakfaſt be ſharp and bitter, it will prepare us, and make us meet for a comfortable ſupper, with our God and Saviour, where all ſin and ſorrow ſhall be wiped away; ſo embracing each of them, and kiſſing of them, told the ſheriff, You ſee I am imperfect, only one arm, I ſhall want aſſiſtance to help me upon this tragical ſtage; which was preſently done, and execution ſuddenly took place.

The colonel with eleven more were brought from Dorcheſter to Lyme, ſix in a coach, and ſix in a cart; as he was drawn through the town, he cheerfully beholding the people, adviſed them not to be diſcouraged at their ſevere deaths; for that though it was their hard fortunes to loſe the day in ſo good a cauſe, yet he queſtioned not but it would be revived again, and by ſuch means as he nor they could not imagine; God, I hope and truſt, will never let this nation fall into Popery. Being brought to the inn, where they ſtopped near two hours, until the butchers had prepared every thing for the ſlaughter, they were viſited by a very worthy divine, and vicar of that town, who offered them thoſe ſpiritual helps, uſual on thoſe occaſions, which ſome of them embraced, and others not; their principles being different from the church of England. The gaoler ſpeaking to colonel Holmes to knock off his irons, he ſaid, Great men of ſtate wear chains, and it is accounted for their honour, but though there is a vaſt difference betwixt thoſe golden ones and mine, yet I take mine to be more honourable, as that good apoſtle ſaid, he accounted it an honour to ſuffer ſhame for his maſter's name; the ſledge being in readineſs they prepared to enter it; but alas! who ſhould draw ſuch men to execution? Though men were ſo bloody, the very beaſts refuſed to draw them; and inſtead of going forward, they went backwards, and could by no means be made to do it, which ſo enraged ſome perſons, that they took the coach-horſes out of the coach, and placed them to the ſledge; but preſently the ſledge broke in pieces; then ſpoke this worthy good man: Pray, gentlemen, you ſee all your ſtrivings will not do to draw us to execution, I verily believe there is more in it than you are aware of; pray read about the prophet, that went out of God's way, his beaſt ſaw what he could not, and turned aſide. Give us leave and we will walk to the place.

Being there come, the colonel prepared firſt to mount that tragical ſtage, the heads of his ſpeech you have before; embracing his fellow-ſufferers, and kiſſing them, and giving them ſome ſpiritual comforts; he deſired help of the ſheriff to go up the ladder, having but one arm, and the gallows higher than ordinary, which was granted; and in a ſhort time after the executioner performed his taſk.

The colonel in his prayer not mentioning the king, he was charged as before; to which he replied, He prayed for him in general, praying for all mankind. Thus fell the valiant and good Chriſtian, colonel Holmes; his dying words were afterwards found to come to paſs; he was much lamented by all that ſaw him, except by ſome, who, it was feared, were delivered up to a ſeared conſcience.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Meſſrs. SAMPSON LARKE, CHRISTOPHER BATTISCOMB, Dr. TEMPLE, Captains MATTHEWS, MADDERS, *and* KIDD, Mr. JOSEPH TYLER, *&c. &c.*

MR. Sampſon Larke, who was a very eminent, pious man, and had lived in that town, but a little before, many years; he was there well acquainted, and all people that knew him had a value for him, behaving himſelf with that humility and circumſpection, as nobody could have any occaſion but to value him: he deſigned to have ſpoken ſomewhat on a portion of ſcripture, and was beginning, having mentioned the place he intended to ſpeak upon, but was interrupted, and told, the work of the day being great, they ſhould want time. So then he ſtopped, and replied, He could make application where he ſhould not meet with interruption: and ſo applied himſelf to prayer, which he performed with great devotion and zeal for a quarter of an hour, to the great ſatisfaction of the auditors; and ſo taking leave of his ſuffering brethren, he mounted the ſtage, which was to be the laſt act he made in this world: being on the ladder, he ſaw ſome of his friends and neighbours weeping and mourning for him, to whom he ſpoke, Pray weep not for me, I am going to a place of bliſs and happineſs, wherefore pray repair to your houſes, and ere you get thither, I doubt not but I ſhall be happy with my God and Saviour, where all tears ſhall be wiped away, and nothing ſhall remain but hallelujahs to all eternity.

There was alſo Mr. William Hewling, of London, a young gentleman under twenty, who came over with the duke of Monmouth; he ſeemed to be in a calm and compoſed frame of ſpirit, and with a great deal of courage and ſeriouſneſs he behaved himſelf. There is already ſomething ſaid of his converſation and diſcourſe; therefore we ſhall ſay nothing more of him, but that in all manner of appearance he died a good Chriſtian, a true Proteſtant, and doubtleſs now enjoys the benefit of it. There were ſeveral worthy gentlemen more there executed, viz. Mr. Chriſtopher Battiſcomb, Dr. Temple, captain Madders, captain Matthews, captain Kid, &c. in all, twelve, who all of them died with that courage and reſolution as became Chriſtians.

We proceed now to other parts of the country, where with the like butchery were only five executed, amongſt whom was one Mr. Tyler, of Briſtol, who had had a command in the duke's army, where he behaved himſelf very ſtoutly to the laſt; after the army was diſperſed, he among others was taken, received ſentence of death at Dorcheſter, and here brought for the completion of the ſame, and from thence we hope was tranſlated to heaven. He ſpent his time between the ſentence and execution very devoutly, in confirming and ſtrengthening thoſe that were to be his fellow-ſufferers; and made it his buſineſs to bring them to a willingneſs to ſubmit to, and a preparedneſs for death: the day being come, and he brought to the place of execution, he thus ſpoke, My friends, you ſee I am now on the brink of eternity, and in a few minutes ſhall be but clay; you expect I ſhould ſay ſomething, as is uſual in ſuch caſes; as to the matter of fact I die for, it doth not much trouble me, knowing to myſelf the ends for which I engaged with the duke of Monmouth were both good and honourable. Here being ſtopped, and not ſuffered to proceed further, he then comforted his fellow-ſufferers, deſiring them to join with him in ſinging an hymn, which he himſelf compoſed for the occaſion.

When the hymn was finiſhed, he prayed devoutly for half an hour; after prayer he gave great ſatisfaction to all preſent of his aſſurance of heaven, had many weeping eyes for him, and was much lamented in the town, though a ſtranger to the place; ſo unbuttoning himſelf, ſaid to the executioner, I fear not what man can do unto me; I pray thee do thy work in mercy, for I forgive thee with all my heart, and I alſo pray to God to forgive thee; do not mangle my body too much; and ſo lifting up his hands to heaven, the executioner did his office. There was alſo one William Cox that died with him, who alſo died very courageouſly, deſpiſing the ſhame, in hopes and expectation of a future better eſtate.

He and his two ſons were ſome of the firſt that came to the duke of Monmouth, and all taken, and all condemned together: the father only ſuffered, the ſons by providence were preſerved. When he was going to execution he deſired to ſee his ſons, then in another priſon in the town, to whom he gave his bleſſing; and though he was going to be executed, yet had that ſatisfaction to hope that Almighty God would preſerve them, which really happened.

Account of Meſſrs. GLISSON, JOHN SAVAGE, RICHARD HALL, JOHN SPRAGUE, *and* WILLIAM CLEGG, *who were executed at Sherborne.*

THERE were twelve executed at Sherborne, in the ſame county, who all died courageouſly, eſpecially one Mr. Gliſſon, of Yeovil, in the county of Somerſet; his extraordinary deportment and carriage at the place of execution, was ſo very conſiderable, as gave great ſatisfaction to his friends, and amazement to his enemies. He declared to the world that he was a true Proteſtant, and had not engaged with the duke of Monmouth, but judged it high time to ſtand up for the ſame, though God Almighty had thought fit to fruſtrate his deſigns, and to bring him to that place to ſeal the ſame with his blood.

Likewiſe, John Savage and Richard Hall, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, ſuffered at the ſame time and place; in their particular converſation they valued thoſe moſt that they ſaw moſt of piety in, and pitied others that they ſaw not ſo well prepared; ſaying, that the remembrance of our vanity may cauſe compaſſion towards ſuch as were in ſuch a condition; exhorting all to be ſerious, and to conſider their latter end, which deſerved the greateſt attention of mind; the way to die comfortably, being to prepare for it ſeriouſly; and if God ſhould miraculouſly preſerve us from this death now before our eyes, it ſhould be the duty of us all to ſpend the remaining part of our time in ſuch a manner as now, when we ſee death juſt at the door. At the hour of execution their cheerfulneſs and comfort was much increaſed, ſaying, Now the will of God will be done, and he hath moſt certainly choſen that for us which is beſt; with many other ſuch like Chriſtian expreſſions, too tedious here to be inſerted, becauſe we deſign to keep to our firſt intentions, and not to ſwell the account too large. Upon the whole, after they had with much earneſtneſs recommended their ſouls to the all-wiſe God by prayer, they all with much content and ſatisfaction ſubmitted themſelves to the executioner, not doubting of a happy tranſlation, and accordingly were executed and quartered; the reſt of the executions in this county, as at Weymouth, Pool, Shafton, Wimborne, &c. not being aſcertained, we ſhall paſs over, and only give you particular touches, which we ſaw to our perfect knowledge.

John Sprague and William Clegg, of Culliton, in the county of Devon, were condemned at Exon, and there brought to be executed. Before they were brought into the place, a meſſenger came from the priſoners with a requeſt to the vicar of the pariſh, to deſire his company and aſſiſtance in this their extremity, and to adminiſter thoſe ſpiritual helps that were ſuitable to men in their circumſtances. Accordingly the ſaid miniſter came very readily, and did demand of them, What they had to deſire of him? The dying perſons anſwered, They deſired his prayers. Accordingly he prayed with them a conſiderable ſpace of time. And after that, he aſked of them ſeveral queſtions, for to give him and the world ſatisfaction of the prepared condition they were in, in order to their launching into eternity, eſpecially about the doctrine of non-reſiſtance. John Sprague very ſoberly and moderately replied, but whether ſatisfactory or not, we leave to the reader; He believed that no Chriſtian ought to reſiſt a lawful power; but the caſe being between Popery and Proteſtantiſm, altered the matter; and the latter being in danger, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God in his providence had thought fit to bring him to this place of execution. After reading a chapter out of the Corinthians, and ſinging a pſalm ſuitable to the occaſion, he very vehemently and fervently recommended his ſoul to the all-wiſe God by prayer for near half an hour, to the great ſatisfaction of all that heard him; then his wife and children coming to him, weeping bitterly, he embraced them in his arms, ſaying, Weep not for me, but weep for yourſelves, and for your ſins, for that he had that quiet ſatisfaction, that he was only going to be tranſlated into a ſtate of bliſs and happineſs, where he ſhould ſin and ſorrow no more, but that all tears ſhould be wiped away, wiſhing them to be diligent in the ſervice of God. Then recommending his wife and children to the protection of the Almighty God, who had promiſed to be a huſband to the widow, and a father to the fatherleſs, who was faithful and able to make up their loſs in him, in that which ſhould be better for them than he could be; deſiring God to be a refuge for them to fly to for ſecurity and preſervation from the troubles that ſeemed to threaten this poor nation: the which they did conſcientiouſly perform, though death here made a ſeparation, he doubted not of meeting them in heaven at laſt. And ſo the executioner performed his taſk.

In the interim his brother-ſufferer, William Clegg, was all the time on his knees, praying to himſelf with a ſeeming zeal; ſuddenly after which, his time being come to follow his brother, he only told the people, That his fellow-ſufferer had ſpoken what he thought was neceſſary, and they were alſo his ſentiments; and ſo ſubmitted to execution.

An Account of Mr. ROSE, Mr. EVANS, *&c. who were executed at Axminſter and Honiton.*

THERE was one executed at Axminſter, whoſe name was Mr. Roſe; he was a gunner that landed with the duke of Monmouth, he had great reſolution, and not at all ſtartled with the fear of death. He ſaid, That he defied death, and all them that were the occaſion of it. He was very courageous, and died ſo. He ſpent ſome time in private prayer, and was not allowed time, becauſe there was to be an execution at Honiton; ſo that his execution being over, we paſſed on to Honiton, where four were executed, one of which was a chirurgeon, his name, as is ſuppoſed, was Mr. Port, who behaved himſelf with that extraordinary Chriſtian courage, that all the ſpectators were almoſt aſtoniſhed, he being but young, about twenty, his prayers being fervent, his expreſſions ſo pithy, and ſo becoming a Chriſtian of greater age, that drew pity and compaſſion from all preſent; a rude fellow, juſt before he was to be executed, called for a bottle of wine, and ſo began drinking the king's health to one of the guard, which he perceiving, Poor ſoul, ſaid he, your cup ſeemeth to be ſweet to you, and you think mine is bitter; which indeed is ſo to fleſh and blood; but yet I have that aſſurance of the fruition of a future ſtate, that I doubt not but this bitter potion will be ſweetened with the loving-kindneſs of my deareſt Saviour, that I ſhall be tranſlated into ſuch a ſtate, where is fulneſs of joy and pleaſure for evermore.

Likewiſe Mr. Evans, a miniſter, ought not to be omitted, who did all along, in the time of his confinement in priſon, behave himſelf with that devotion and ſtrictneſs, that became a Chriſtian of great eminency, as indeed he was; he ſpent much of his time in preaching and praying to his fellow-priſoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; he at laſt by appointment, being condemned, was executed by himſelf; at which time and place he behaved himſelf with great courage and devotion, and with a great willingneſs and cheerfulneſs he ſubmitted to execution. There might have been much more ſaid of this worthy man, but becauſe we will keep to our deſign, ſhall be omitted. Many others, who were alſo very eminent, ſuffered in this county, for aſſerting and endeavouring to ſecure the Proteſtant religion.

The MARTYRDOM *of* Mr. SIMON HAMLING *and* Mr. CATCHETT, *at Taunton.*

IT is now neceſſary to add, the unfortunate caſe of Mr. Simon Hamling, at Taunton, in order to ſhew that ſometimes innocency will not protect. Mr. Hamling was formerly an inhabitant of the place, but of late years had lived two or three miles from thence; he was a very honeſt, worthy, good Chriſtian; but was a diſſenter, and indeed in the judgment of ſome fiery men, that might be crime enough, as did too ſadly appear in divers caſes. But to our purpoſe: Mr. Hamling living in the country, hearing of the duke of Monmouth's being in town, he there came to ſpeak with his ſon, who lived in that place; where being come, he gave him advice, which was, that as he expected his bleſſing and countenance, he ſhould not at all concern himſelf in the matter, but ſubmit to the will of God in all things. And having thus adviſed his ſon, he returns home; and two days after came again to town on a market-day with his wife, to buy proviſions for his family, and returned to his houſe again. And this was all the times he was in town while the duke was there. But after the buſineſs was over, he was brought in on ſuſpicion, being a diſſenter, that was crime enough, except money appeared to a juſtice of that town, who uſually did commit or diſmiſs as that appeared. This man was arraigned at Taunton, pleaded not guilty. The matter above is the truth of this caſe; the evidences were two profligate raſcals, that had encouragement from the juſtice, they uſually doing what he put them on. The priſoner had many to prove this fact, and his honeſty; but this did not avail, the jury found him guilty, with two more, who were preſently ſentenced, and next morning executed, to be examples to others. It is ſaid, the juſtice made application to our famous Proteſtant judge, and hinted ſome miſtake concerning him. To which, as I have been informed, he ſhould reply, you have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you. Which was a very fine reply from a merciful judge, but nothing elſe could be expected, as the whole treatiſe evinceth: the tender mercies of the wicked being cruel. This man behaved himſelf very worthily at the place of execution, and did at the laſt declare his crime to be the ſame as is above mentioned, and not otherwiſe. Thus fell this pious Chriſtian, a man by all ſober people that knew him beloved, and diſreſpected by none but looſe villains, who took away his life at laſt.

There was one Mr. Catchett executed with him, his crime, being a conſtable of the hundred, he was ſurpriſed by a party of the duke's, and ſhewed a warrant to bring in proviſions and other neceſſaries for the uſe of the army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatened to have his houſe burnt, &c. ſo that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preſervation; but this was not ſufficient, for being found guilty, he was alſo executed at the ſame time and place.

The Embarraſſments and Eſcape of Mr. THOMAS LAWRENCE, *&c. &c.*

MR. THOMAS LAWRENCE, at Dorcheſter, was alſo dealt very hardly with. He had the managing of an eſtate belonging to a perſon of quality, who had a barn in the pariſh of Lyme, where the duke landed. The day after his landing a party came and took away three horſes from off this eſtate, which he having the truſt and care of, makes application to the duke for them, adding, that he ought not to ſuffer any of his maſter's goods to be wanting, but muſt endeavour to recover them again. Thus he entreated the duke for the horſes, but all would not prevail; but at laſt had one, and was forced to leave two. This was looked on as an abetting, judged to be by conſent. After the defeat was given, he was had before a juſtice of the peace, who bound him over to the aſſizes, where appearing, he was committed; pleaded not guilty on his trial, which he pleaded to very honeſtly, yet was found guilty, and ſentenced to die. My lord was excellent at improvement, it was thought he would, if poſſible, have brought in the gentleman that owned the eſtate, who was very rich. This honeſt Mr. Lawrence was to be ſacrificed, and his execution ordered to be at Warham; but my lord's favourite got a reprieve for him by the help of four hundred pounds, two hundred pounds being actually paid, the other ſecured by bond.

I promiſed, before I conclude, to give ſome account of the barbarous and cruel whippings, which were executed on many good, honeſt, and ſufficient perſons, both men and women, in the counties of Dorſet, Devon, and Somerſet, by the ſevere and cruel ſentence of the lord chief juſtice; ſome for ſuch ſmall crimes, as an impartial man may judge they deſerved none at all; more eſpecially one Mr. Stayle, of Thorncomb, in Devonſhire, his ſufferings were ſo hard, that it cauſed many to pity him; he was a good liver, well beloved among his neighbours, and a true Proteſtant.

One Mrs. Brown, of Lyme, ſuffered very dear in that nature; ſhe only jokingly ſaid unto the officer of the exciſe, I will pay my exciſe to king Monmouth; which being ſworn before this ſevere judge, ſhe was found guilty of a miſdemeanor, was ſentenced to be whipped in ſeveral market-towns, which accordingly was done. But this cruelty was not only extended to thoſe of riper years, and able better to endure thoſe painful ſufferings, but even to children.

A poor boy of Weymouth, in the county of Dorſet, having got ſome pamphlet relating ſomewhat to ſatiſfy the people that the duke of Monmouth came to ſecure the Proteſtant religion, had the hard fortune to take his trial before this harſh judge; he was ſaid to be about ten or twelve years of age; he had the fleſh of his back ſo cut with whipping, that ſome ſay he died with the ſame; but whether he died or not, never was ſuch cruelty in all this world.

A full Account of the MARTYRDOM *of* CAPTAIN MADDERS, *in the County of Somerſet.*

THIS Captain Madders, at the time of the duke's landing, was a conſtable at Crewkern, in the county of Somerſet, and ſo diligent and active for the king in his office, that when two gentlemen of Lyme came there, and brought the news of the duke's landing, and deſired horſes to ride poſt to acquaint his majeſty therewith, he immediately ſecured horſes for them, the town being generally otherways bent, and aſſiſted them ſo far as any called loyal, in thoſe times, could do; which was repreſented to the lord chief juſtice, in expectation thereby to ſave his life. But an inquiry being made about his religion, and returned by a very worthy gentleman of thoſe parts, That he was a good Proteſtant, an honeſt man, had a very good character amongſt his neighbours: O then, ſays he, I will hold a wager with you he is a Preſbyterian, I can ſmell them forty miles. Though moderately I now ſay, they could ſmell him two hundred miles weſt; then ſurely he muſt die, becauſe he was, and had the character of an honeſt man, a good Chriſtian, and a brave tradeſman. But to be ſhort, I could ſay a great deal more of him, being immediately acquainted with him, and was with him to the very laſt. Being brought to the place of execution, he was the laſt man except one executed, and he behaved himſelf, whilſt the reſt were executing, with great zeal; and lifting up his hands and eyes, would often ſay, Lord, make me ſo willing and ready to the laſt. And God did hear his prayers; for though he ſeemed to the ſpectators to be ſomewhat unwilling to die, yet at the laſt he died with as much aſſurance and Chriſtian reſolution as any; for after his public prayer he came once down the ladder, and prayed again privately, then mounted the ladder again; the ſheriff ſaying, Mr. Madders, if you pleaſe you may have more liberty; he anſwered, No, I thank you, Mr. Sheriff, now I am ready, I am willing, and deſire to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt. Oh! you cannot imagine what comfort and refreſhment I have received in a few minutes; my comforts are ſo great that I cannot contain myſelf. So bleſſing and praiſing of God, he was tranſlated, as I hope (we have no grounds to imagine the contrary) from earth to heaven, repeating Rev. xx. 6. "Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection: on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power."

A full Account of the MARTYRDOM *of* CAPTAIN KIDD, *at the ſame Time.*

CAPTAIN KIDD was the laſt executed at that time, as we have obſerved before; as ſoon as captain Madders was turned off; he began to prepare to follow, and called to the guards and them preſent, Do you ſee this? (pointing up to eleven that were dead before him) Do you think this is not dreadful to me, that eleven of twelve of us, that but a few hours hence came down together, are dead and in eternity? And I am juſt going to follow them, and ſhall immediately be in the ſame condition. Says one to him, It muſt be dreadful to fleſh and blood. Says he, Well, gentlemen, I will aſſure you, I am ſo far concerned, that methinks I begrudge their happineſs, that they ſhould be ſo long before me in bliſs and happineſs: but I will make haſte to follow; I am ſatisfied this is the beſt day that ever I ſaw: the day of a man's death is ſaid to be better than the day of his birth: and truly ſo I find it as to my fleſh, for I ſhall be preſently free from ſin and ſorrow; I am ſatisfied God hath done his beſt for me: I might have lived and have forgotten God, but now I am going where I ſhall ſin no more: it is a bleſſed thing to be free from ſin, and to be with Chriſt: O how great were the ſufferings of Chriſt for us, beyond all that I can undergo! How great is that glory to which I am going! Then taking his leave of the people then preſent, he prayed ſome ſmall time very devoutly, and with ſeeming great joy and comfort; and the executioner did his office.

A full Account of the MARTYRDOM *of* DR. TEMPLE, SAMUEL ROBINS, CHARLES SPEAK, *and* MR. PARROT, *at Taunton.*

DOCTOR TEMPLE was one of them that landed with the duke, and was his chief phyſician and chirurgeon; he lived in Nottingham, but minding to ſee other parts of the world (as I have heard) goes for Holland, where he came acquainted with the duke of Monmouth; concerning which he thus ſpoke, juſt as he was going off the ladder.

"*Chriſtian Friends, and Dear Countrymen,*

"I Have ſomewhat to ſay, and not very much, before I depart from you, and ſhall be ſeen no more, And,

"Firſt, As to my engagement with the duke of Monmouth.

"Secondly, How far I was concerned: and,

"Thirdly, I ſhall leave all of you to be judges in matter of fact.

"Firſt, As a dying man I now declare, that when I entered myſelf with the duke of Monmouth, to be his chirurgeon, it was on no other account but to ſerve him in the Weſt-Indies; where I knew no other deſign whatſoever, but to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome of thoſe iſlands, until I had been at ſea two days, wherein one privately told me, we were abſolutely bound for England, and I ſhould take it from him it was true: it much ſurpriſed me, but knowing no way to avoid it, or to get on ſhore, though it was at that time contrary to my inclinations, if I could have avoided it, I would not let others ſee that I had that diſſatisfaction within me. After our landing at Lyme, I knew it was never the nearer to attempt my eſcape, the country being ſo beſet; on the other hand, if the duke of Monmouth did win the day, I might have raiſed my fortunes as high as I could expect: theſe were the arguments that fleſh and blood did create in my breaſt for ſelf-preſervation. While I was with the ſaid duke, I did him as much ſervice as I could, and faithfully: after it pleaſed God to diſperſe the army under his command, I endeavoured to ſecure myſelf, but by Providence was taken at Honiton, from thence committed to Exon, and after removed to Dorcheſter, where I received my ſentence, and am now, as you ſee, juſt going to execution: the Lord prevent all of you from ſuch ignominious deaths; and I adviſe you all, that you never take any great thing in hand, but what you have a warrant for from the Lord: I aſſure you I had no ſatisfaction in this; but this I am ſure, that if I have done any thing amiſs in it, it is pardoned; I bleſs God I have that ſatisfaction, I die a profeſſor of the church of England; I deſire pardon of all thoſe I have any ways wronged or abuſed, as I freely forgive all thoſe that have wronged or abuſed me; I am in charity with all men. Lord have mercy upon me, give me ſtrength to go through theſe pains, and give me full aſſurance now at theſe my laſt moments: come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly."

There was alſo one Samuel Robbins, of Charmouth, in the county of Dorſet, executed or rather murdered, at Warham, in the ſaid county: we cannot paſs him by in ſilence, his caſe being ſo extraordinary hard, that to ſpeak moderately between the king and his caſe, we verily believe never man ſuffered innocenter; and this our readers will be ſatisfied in, after they have heard his crime, and on what ſmall grounds he was found guilty, or ſo ſuppoſed, by my lord chief juſtice.

Mr. Robbins uſed generally in ſummer to uſe the craft of fiſhing, to get a competent maintenance for his family, and happened to be out at ſea a fiſhing before Lyme that day the duke came into land; and was commanded on board one of the duke's ſhips, he not knowing who they were, and they bought his fiſh of him; after which they told him that was the duke of Monmouth, pointing at him, and that he was juſt going to land: he deſired to go on ſhore, which was refuſed, and was told, that as ſoon as the duke was landed he ſhould have his liberty; ſo accordingly he came on ſhore, and was never after with him, or ever took up arms under him: I leave the reader to judge whether this was high treaſon or no. This was all he was guilty of, except that he was a good honeſt man, a zealous Chriſtian, a man of very good life and converſation, as I think his neighbours will atteſt it, in moſt towns and pariſhes where he lived: but alas! he had a good book in his houſe when taken, called, The Solemn League and Covenant; this was the high treaſon he muſt be guilty of, which was aggravated to the lord chief juſtice, by one or two hot ſpirits his neighbours. But to be ſhort, he received ſentence of death with great courage, and not at all diſmayed, ſaying very often in priſon before, if it pleaſed God to call him now (to glorify his name by this Providence of his) to death, he ſhould be ready; but, ſaid he, I am as innocent of any thing I have done againſt any man that may deſerve this puniſhment, as the child now unborn. When he came to the place of execution, he very cheerfully declared his innocency to the ſpectators, as before, and ſo praying very devoutly for ſome time, he was executed: his prayer we have no exact copy of.

There was alſo one Mr. Charles Speak, of London, a gentleman of good extraction, being ſon to the worſhipful George Speak, Eſq. near Ilminſter, in the county of Somerſet, where he was executed: his caſe alſo was extraordinary hard; but there may be two great reaſons given why he was executed; the firſt was, becauſe he came from that good pious family, which always have been oppoſers to Popery, and ſuffered deeply for their courage that way. Secondly, the ſaid Mr. Charles Speak had purchaſed ſome great place in the King's-Bench, or Common-Pleas, which was very profitable to him; ſo that by his fall, there being a forfeiture, much money might be made of it; all interceſſion could not avail with the lord chief juſtice, for his life. He happened to be at Ilminſter at the time of the duke's being there, which was the greateſt crime he was guilty of; the validity of his evidence I leave to thoſe in the Weſt, who know how far it was carried that way. He was a fine courteous loving gentleman;

tleman; and notwithſtanding his youth, he acted the part of an old chriſtian ſoldier at his death, preparing himſelf to undergo thoſe pains, ſaying very often, they were nothing to his deſerts from God Almighty; but as for what I am accuſed of, and ſentenced for, I hope you will believe I am not ſo guilty as my judge and accuſers have endeavoured to make me; if it had pleaſed God, I ſhould have been willing to have lived ſome time longer, but God's time being come, I am willing, I will be contented to drink this bitter cup off. Being at the place of execution, the crowd was ſo great, that I ſuppoſe he was ſhorter than otherwiſe he would have been; but alas, how could it be? For on every ſide of him, as well as up and down the town, the inhabitants were weeping and bewailing, Oh it is the worſt day that ever we ſaw in this town! Muſt this good gentleman die here? Oh yet ſave his life, I am ready to die for him! And the like. He prayed very heartily for near an hour, and ſung a pſalm, and ſo we hope was tranſlated to heaven, there to ſing everlaſting praiſes and hallelujahs. His father and mother, as may be eaſily judged, were not a little concerned about him; but their adverſaries malice ended not here, but father and mother muſt be brought in, and how many thouſands of pounds it coſt them, is too well known in London to be here recorded; and moſt parts of the kingdom have heard in the public letters their names mentioned. Some may think they were concerned with the duke, but we never heard there was ſo much made appear againſt them, as could have made them to have been brought in guilty of high miſdemeanors, had not the good gentleman and his lady been virtuous people, abhoring the debaucheries of the times, and of ſuch a competent eſtate, able to ſpare ten or twelve thouſand pounds; the hard uſage this honeſt brave gentleman and his virtuous lady had, and their ſufferings, to relate them, would be too numerous; and beſides, it is ſo well known in moſt places in the Weſt, that we ſhall, without ſaying any more, proceed with our further information.

Mr. Parrat, who was executed at Taunton: ſaid (as it is ſuppoſed) he was a Londoner, and a brewer. When he came to the place of execution, he ſeemed a man almoſt unconcerned at death. After ſome time he began to deliver himſelf ſomewhat low in voice to the people, and after riſing by degrees, he ſeemed more like a miniſter in the pulpit preaching devoutly, than a priſoner juſt going to execution; beholding the ſurrounding people in tears he deſired all not to be faint-hearted becauſe of their fall, and to think that there were no hopes remaining. He ſaid, he verily believed God would yet work out deliverance for them, and the time they were in the greateſt extremity, that would be God's opportunity. Put your whole truſt, confidence, and dependence on the Lord, and he will never leave you, nor forſake you.

The MARTYRDOM *of* HENRY BODDY, *who was executed at* Bath.

WHILE Mr. Boddy was in priſon, eſpecially after ſentence, he behaved himſelf mighty humble, meek, and was much in meditation, which was obſerved by ſeveral divines, eſpecially one who attended him to the laſt, whoſe name was Mr. Simpſon. His poor wife coming to ſee him at Wells, and to make her intereſt with ſome friends, if poſſible to ſave his life; but finding it loſt labour, and that ſhe could by no means prevail, ſhe died there for grief before her huſband was executed, to his great grief. When he came to the place of execution, he delivered himſelf to the people as follows:

"Good people, I am come here to pay a debt due to nature, which every one, one time or another, muſt pay, though not in this manner or nature. I am condemned as a traitor and rebel againſt my king, which were things I always hated and abhorred; and therefore give me ſo much time as to deliver myſelf to you: and what I ſay I hope you will believe at this time, being juſt going to give an account, not only for every idle word, but for all things I have done ſince I have had a being.

"I was born in Lyme-Regis, in the county of Dorſet, and bred up a ſeaman from my infancy; I have had the honour to ſerve his majeſty king Charles the Second, in his wars with the Dutch and French, divers times. I always thought it to be the duty of every true Engliſhman to ſtand up in his country's quarrel with foreigners, to maintain our ancient privileges and honour of our nation. I ſerved him faithfully: and as for any undertaking now with the late duke of Monmouth, for which I am now come to ſuffer death; as for my deſigns, I am ſure they were good, for I did believe him to be my ſovereign's ſon and heir; but if otherwiſe, I have done amiſs and am ſorry, and hope the Lord hath pardoned it. While I was in arms, I am ſure there is none can ſay I have perſonally wronged them. I deſire all your prayers for me to the laſt. I am no orator, therefore if you pleaſe (ſpeaking to the miniſter) do theſe laſt ſpiritual ſervices for me, as for to pray with me, and for me."

The miniſter being much taken with him, deſired leave of the ſheriff to aſk him ſome queſtions; which being granted, the miniſter ſaid unto him, I muſt make bold with you, but not to hold you too long before I pray, but to ſatisfy myſelf and the people on what ground you ſtand; I mean as concerning your everlaſting ſtate. Now pray reſolve me a few things: Firſt, Whether you do own that doctrine of non-reſiſtance, owned by the church, That it is not lawful on any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the king? O ſir, as to that I anſwer, Could I have been ſatisfied he had been my lawful prince, I ſhould not have done it. But, ſaid the miniſter, he is, and you are not to be judge; except you own thoſe things, ſome people will hardly have charity for you after you are dead. What matters that? ſaid he, Would you have me, now you put me ſo cloſe to it, to lie? No, I will not. I ſay, if he was my lawful king, I was miſled in my judgment, and have committed a great error; but, Lord, I hope thou haſt waſhed away all my ſins, in and through the blood of my dear Redeemer, in whoſe merits alone I hope for mercy. I deſire to be aſked no more queſtions. Then the miniſter prayed very devoutly near half an hour; after which, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he quietly ſubmitted to his execution.

A correct Copy of the laſt Speech of Mr. JOHN HICKS.

"I Suppoſe the ſpectators here preſent may expect that I ſhould ſay ſomething before I leave this ſanguinary ſtage and paſſage through my bloody ſufferings, by which my immortal ſpirit will be ſpeedily tranſported into an inviſible and eternal world: and I conclude they have different reſentments hereof. Some reſent them with much joy, high exultation, and triumph; others with equal grief and ſorrow; that to the one I am a moſt pleaſant ſpectacle, that they behold me with high complacency and delight; but to the other I am a mournful and unpleaſant one, and they behold me with no leſs pity and compaſſion. Concerning the firſt, I can ſay, I freely forgive them, and heartily pray that God would moſt mercifully and graciouſly prevent their mourning through miſery, not only here, but eternally hereafter. Concerning the other, I will ſay, Weep for your own ſins, and for the ſins of the nation, for the higheſt rebellions that ever were committed againſt the great and eternal God; lament bitterly for thoſe ſins that have been the meritorious cauſe of the late terrible judgment, that which I fear will cauſe God to break in upon this nation with an overflowing deluge of judgments, which are far more tremendous and dreadful. As for ſympathizing with me, in drinking this bitter cup appointed for me, I return you moſt humble and hearty thanks, earneſtly deſiring God to come unto you, and fill your ſouls with all celeſtial comforts and ſpiritual conſolations. Something I muſt ſay to purge and clear myſelf from a falſe accuſation laid to my charge; as that I was engaged with colonel Blood, in reſcuing colonel Maſon, near Boſton, when he was ſent down with a guard from London to York, to be tried for high-treaſon; and that I was the man that killed the barber of that city; and that I alſo was with him when he ſtole the crown. Now as I am a dying man, and upon the very brink of a ſtupendous eternity (the truth and reality whereof I firmly believe) without any reſervation, or the leaſt equivocation, I do declare in the preſence of the all-ſeeing God, that impartial Judge, before whom in a very little time I muſt appear, I never ſaw nor converſed with Mr. Thomas Blood, from 1656, till after he ſtole the crown, which was in 1671, or 1672, nor was ever engaged with him in any of his treaſonable plots or practices. It is true, I being involved in great trouble of another nature (of which I have given to the world a narrative, and which is notoriouſly known in the country where I then lived, by ſome that were enemies to me for my preaching) I was perſuaded to apply myſelf to Mr. Blood, to procure by his interceſſion his late majeſty's gracious favour: accordingly he brought me into his royal preſence; while I was there, his majeſty carried it with great clemency, without expreſſing one word of that which I am now charged with. Mr. Blood continued with his majeſty a little longer than I did; then he told me that he had granted me a pardon, which I did thankfully accept of, knowing it would free me from all penalties and troubles that I was liable to, and were occaſioned by my non-conformity. Then engaging him to take out my pardon; he told me, That he got it out with ſeveral others that had been engaged with him in ſeveral treaſonable deſigns and actions; at which I was troubled, ſuppoſing it might be imputed to me thereby; yet, God knows, I have often ſince reflected upon it with great regret and diſſatisfaction. If Mr. Blood did inform the late king to make himſelf the more conſiderable, and to bring as many of his party as he could to accept of their pardons, that he might be rendered utterly incapable of plotting any further miſchief againſt his government, or any otherwiſe that I was engaged with him in any of his treaſonable attempts; I now appeal to God, as a dying man, concerning it, that he hath done me an irreparable wrong. I alſo in the ſame manner do declare, that I was never engaged with any party in plotting or deſigning, or contriving any rebellion againſt the late king, and particularly, that I was altogether unconcerned in and unacquainted with that for which my lord Ruſſel and others ſuffered, and as much a ſtranger to any againſt the preſent king. And whereas it is reported of me, that at Taunton I perſuaded the late duke of Monmouth to aſſume the title of king; I do once more ſolmnly declare, That I ſaw not the ſaid duke, nor had any converſation with him until he came to Shipton-Mallet, which was thirteen days after he landed, and ſeveral days after he had been at Taunton. And it is as falſe that I rid to and fro in the Weſt to ſtir up and perſuade men to go into his army, and rebel againſt his preſent majeſty; for I was in the eaſt country when the duke landed, and from thence I went directly to him, when he was at Shipton-Mallet, not one man accompanying me from thence. But hitherto as I lived, ſo now I die, owning and profeſſing the true reformed Chriſtian (commonly called the Proteſtant) religion, which is founded on the pure written word of God only, and which I acknowledge likewiſe to be comprehended in the articles of the doctrine of the church. This religion I have made a reaſonable and free choice of, and have heartily embraced, not only as it proteſts againſt all Pagan and Mahometan religion, but againſt the corruption of the Chriſtian; and I humbly and earneſtly pray to God that by his infinite wiſdom and Almighty power, he will prevent not only the utter extirpation and diminution thereof, by the heighth and influence of what is contrary thereto; and for that end the Lord make the profeſſors of it to live up more to it's principles and rules, and bring their hearts and converſations more under the government and power of the ſame. I die alſo owning my miniſtry, non-conformity, for which I have ſuffered ſo much, and which doth now obſtruct the king's grace and mercy to be manifeſted and extended to me; for as I choſe it not conſtrainedly, ſo I appeal to God as a dying man, not moved from ſullenneſs or humour, or factious temper, or erroneous principles of education, or from ſecular intereſts, or worldly advantages, but clearly from the dictates of my own conſcience, and as I judged it to be the cauſe of God, and to have more of divine truth in it than that which is contrary thereto; ſo now I ſee no cauſe to repent of it, nor to recede from it; not queſtioning but God will own it at the laſt judgment day. If no more had been required after the late king's reſtoration to qualify miniſters for public preaching, than was after the firſt reſtoration from the time of Charles the Firſt, probably I might have ſatisfied myſelf therewith, and not ſcrupled conformity thereto; but the terms and conditions thereof, by a particular law made in 1662, being not only new, but ſo ſtrict and ſevere, that I could never have ſatisfaction in my own conſcience, after all my endeavours uſed for a compliance therewith, and a conformity thereto: to ſay nothing of the covenant, which I never took, but the giving my aſſent and conſent, have been too difficult and hard for me to comply with. And I very well remember, that about fourteen years ago, entering into diſcourſe with Mr. Patrick Heldore, an Iriſhman, who was contemporary with me in Dublin, concerning conformity, which he much endeavoured to perſuade me to; I urged the ſeverity of the fore-mentioned conditions againſt it, and after ſome debates and reaſons with him, I told him I did believe they were contrived and deſigned on purpoſe to prevent our public preaching, and to keep us out of the church: to which he ingeniouſly replied, He judged it was ſo: for, ſaid he, a biſhop in Ireland (whoſe name I have forgot) told me the very ſame.

"But though I could not wade through, and conquer this difficulty, yet I cenſure not thoſe that did it; and I believe after all the hotteſt diſputes, and moſt violent conteſts between conformiſts and con-conformiſts, there are of both parties that will be glorified in heaven hereafter. According to the 29th art. of the church of England, a viſible church is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, the ſacraments of the Lord duly adminiſtered, according to Chriſt's ordinance, and all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite and neceſſary to ſalvation; ſo with ſuch a church have I held the moſt intimate communion, and with ſuch could hold it: I would not therefore be ſo incorporated with any church, as to exclude me from, and render me incapable of holding communion with other churches; I was never ſtrongly bound up to any form of eccleſiaſtical government, but that under which a pure and undefiled religion doth flouriſh, and that which contains and really practiſes holineſs, and advances the kingdom of God in the world, that can I approve of, and willingly live under, were I to live.

"I did approve of the ancient and preſent form of civil government; Engliſh monarchy I am fully ſatisfied with, and do alſo declare, that it is not warrantable for any ſubject to take up arms againſt, and reſiſt their lawful ſovereigns and rightful princes; and therefore had I not been convinced by ſeveral things that I have read and heard, to believe that the late duke of Monmouth was the legitimate ſon of his father Charles the Second, I had never gone into his army, judging that without this I could not be freed from the guilt of rebellion, which I always reſolved to keep myſelf clear from: and though his father denied he was married to his mother, I thought it might be anſwered with this; that kings and princes, for ſtate reaſons, often cannot be fathomed by their ſubjects, affirming and denying things which otherwiſe they would not do, and make even their natural affections to truckle and ſtoop thereto. I exhort all to abhor all treaſonable plots, and pretences of all rebellion, with the higheſt deteſtation, and to take the plain text of ſecred ſcripture to walk by, in honouring and obeying, and living in ſubjection to rightful kings, and not readily to receive, or ſuddenly to be impreſſed with evil reports and defamation of them, alſo not raſhly to be propagators of the ſame.

"I deſire God to forgive all mine enemies, and to give me an heart to forgive them, which are many, ſome mighty, and all moſt malicious: particularly Barter, of Liſnel, who betrayed me, and proved ſuch a traitor to

James, duke of Monmouth, his old and intimate friend. I am grievouſly afflicted that I ſhould prove the occaſion of the great ſufferings of ſo many perſons and families: but this hath fallen under the juſt and wiſe ordering of Divine Providence, as David's going to Abimelech, when he proved the occaſion of the death of all the perſons, men, women, and children in the city: but who ſhall ſay unto God, What doeſt thou? The care of my moſt dear wife and a great many children, I caſt upon God, who I hope will be better than the beſt of huſbands unto her, and the beſt of fathers unto them: God knows how juſt and legal right my wife hath unto her eſtate; to him therefore I commit her, to defend her from the violence and oppreſſion of men, particularly from a moſt inhuman and unnatural brother: but no wonder if he will lay violent hands upon his ſiſter's eſtate, that hath ſo often laid them on his own father. I die a deeply humbled, ſelf-judging, and ſelf-condemning ſinner, loathing and abhorring my many and great iniquities, and myſelf for them, earneſtly deſiring full redemption from the bonds of corruption, under which I have groaned ſo many years, longing for a moſt perfect conformity to the moſt holy and glorious God, the only infinite pure Being; thirſting for a perfect diffuſion of his grace through all the powers and faculties of my ſoul, panting after perfect ſpiritual life and liberty, and a conſummate love to my deareſt Jeſus, who is an all-comprehenſive good, and to be ſatisfied with his love for ever: a vigorous and vehement zeal for the Proteſtant religion, with a belief I had of the duke's legitimacy, hath involved me in this ignominious death; yet bleſſed be God, that by ſincere repentance and true faith in the blood of Jeſus, there is paſſage from it to a glorious eternal life, and from theſe bitter ſorrows to the fulneſs of ſweeteſt joys that are in his preſence, and from theſe ſharp bodily pains to thoſe moſt pure pleaſures, that are at his right hand for evermore: and bleſſed be God, that ſuch a death as this cannot prevent and hinder Chriſt's changing of my vile body, and faſhioning it like his glorious body, in the general reſurrection-day.

"I am now going into that world, where many dark things ſhall be made perfectly manifeſt and clear, and many doubtful things fully reſolved, and a plenary ſatiſfaction given concerning them; all diſputes and miſtakes concerning treaſon, rebellion, and ſchiſm, ſhall be at an end, and ceaſe for ever: many things that are innocent, lawful, and laudable, which have foul marks and black characters ſtamped and fixed upon them here, they ſhall be perfectly purified and fully cleanſed from there; where at one view more ſhall be known of them, than by all wrangling debates and eager diſputes, or by reading all polemical books concerning them here. I greatly deplore and bewail the greedy appetite and inſatiable thirſt, that profeſſing Proteſtants have after the blood of their brethren, and the high pleaſure they take in the effuſion thereof. But what will not men do, when they are either judicially blinded, or their ſecular worldly intereſt inſenſibly inſinuates and winds itſelf into their religion, is ſo twiſted and incorporated with it, that it animates and acts it, is the life and ſoul, the vital form and power, and made wholly ſubſervient thereunto?

"I bleſs God for all my ſufferings, and particularly for this laſt; for the benefit and fruit of it, by God's ſanctifying of them to me, have been great; hereby I have been effectually convinced of the vanity of the world, and my own ſinfulneſs by nature and practice, and to ſee that to be ſin which I never ſaw before; and to be more thoroughly humbled for what I know to be ſin, not only of commiſſion, but of omiſſion alſo; hereby I have been brought to a more thorough, deep, inward ſenſe and feeling of the abſolute neceſſity of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt to juſtify me, and he hath been made much more dear and precious to my ſoul, than ever he was before. Hereby my ſoul hath been more refined from the droſs of ſenſuality, wrought into a more heavenly frame, raiſed up to a higher pitch of ſpirituality; hereby I am made more meek and humble, and ſo judge more charitably of others that differ from me in opinion and judgment: ſo though by God's moſt righteous judgment I have been apprehended, and moſt juſtly and deſervedly undergo this ſuffering for my ſins, yet I hope they have wrought for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, fitting and preparing me, making me a better qualified ſubject for, and far more meet to be a partaker of the ſame. By the grace and ſtrength of God, I will not purchaſe my life by the death and blood of my Proteſtant brethren, but chuſe to die rather than be a betrayer of them; the impetuous and violent aſſault of this I dreaded more than death itſelf. Bleſſed be God I was not expoſed unto it, and conquered by it, as ſome have been; having ſuch full bodily vigour and ſtrength, being in ſuch perfect health, notwithſtanding my age, predominating in me, it hath made it more difficult to die, than if I had been clogged and incumbered with infirmities, made to bow and ſtoop under them by prevailing diſeaſes and diſtempers, gradually worn out therewith, which many times makes men weary of life, and to deſire to die; and this in conjunction with many things (which I forbear to mention) highly gratifying and pleaſing to ſenſe, which I muſt leave for ever, ſtrengthens and heightens the difficulty, and begets a greater regret and reluctancy in my will, to have the earthly tabernacle of my body diſſolved, and my ſoul to diſlodge and quit the ſame. But now when the black and gloomy ſhades of death do overſpread me, I can ſay, to the glory of God's moſt free and powerful grace, true faith in ſome meaſure hath changed the difficulty into a facility and eaſineſs of dying: it hath very much ſubdued the reluctancy of my will againſt it; for it makes future things preſent, and inviſible things viſible, and doth realize and ſubſtantiate the ſame to me; and as by it I penetrate and pierce into eternity, and behold inviſible and immortal things, ſo hereby, bleſſed be God, I have obtained a greater victory over ſenſe: the world is crucified to me, and I to the world, and all the moſt pleaſant and delightful objects therein; all finite, fading creatures, comforts and enjoyments, are become minute and ſmall, deſpicable and contemptible to me, in compariſon thereof, being infinitely contained and comprehended therein. Shall my ſoul claſp and cling about theſe mortal and periſhing things? Shall it cleave and be glued to them? Shall it be confined and captivated into what is kept in the narrow bounds of time, and in this lower world? Shall it earneſtly deſire and thirſt for muddy ſtreams, yea, rivers of fleſh-pleaſing good; when by an eye of faith I can look into the indeficient, inexhauſtible, pureſt fountain; the immenſe, immenſurate ocean of divine good; hoping to drink thereof, to ſwim and bathe my ſoul therein for ever and ever? And when I conſider how long my ears have been bound up, and tied to their innumerable and horrid oaths, and curſed blaſphemies, and mine eyes to ſee the prophanation of the day of God; and when I beheld ſuch an overflowing flood of moſt prodigious impiety, ſuch an inundation of moſt monſtrous iniquity, and ſo much hell upon earth, and that there is ſo much decay of holy zeal, and true piety, and chriſtian religion, amongſt the profeſſors of it, ſuch ſeeming incurable breaches and diviſions, ſuch expiring love, and charity, and partings among them; it hath powerful influence on my ſoul to reconcile it more to death, and makes it electively, and from choice, to leave this preſent world, and to take up my abode in that which is unſeen and future, where there ſhall be nothing but perfect love and holineſs; a ſinleſs ſtate, and ſerving God with all unweariedneſs and perfection, with the higheſt complacency and delight that immortal ſouls can be capable of: there is perfect peace and concord, the innumerable company of angles, and the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, all faſtened together with indiſſoluble and uninterrupted chains of moſt pure love, and all continually wrapt up in, and tranſported with the higheſt admiration of God's love, his infinite and incomprehenſible excellencies and perfections, ſinging hallelujahs to him without ceaſing, and triumphing in his praiſe for ever and ever. The conſideration alſo, that I know ſo little of theſe ſublime, profound, and divine myſteries; of the moſt glorious myſtery of ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt; that I am ſo uncapable to fathom the depth of the providences of God, whoſe ways are in the ſea, and whoſe paths are in the deep waters, and whoſe footſteps are not known, and particularly in the late ſtupendous and amazing one; and that I am ſo ignorant of the nature of angels and ſpirits, with their offices and operations, and of their high and glorious excellencies; and that I am ſo little acquainted with the nature of my own ſoul, as at preſent dwelling in, and united to my body, and as diſunited and ſeparated from it; how without corporeal organs it ſhall moſt vivaciouſly and vigorouſly perform all it's proper functions and offices, and more than ever ſtrongly and indefatigably ſerve the Lord Jeſus, moſt fervently and abundantly love him, and delight in him every way, much more obtain the ſupreme and higheſt end of it's creation and being; and this makes me much more willing to die, that I may have the knowledge thereof, with innumerable other things, that I am now either ignorant of, or do but imperfectly know; and ſo be made happy by a plenitude of fulneſs of enjoying intellectual pleaſures, which are of all other moſt ſuitable, ſweet, and ſatisfactory to immortal ſouls. And alſo I ſee that he that departs from iniquity makes himſelf a prey; and ſo many plunging themſelves into the ways of iniquity, leſt they ſhould be accounted odious and vile, which makes them ſo much degenerate, not only from Chriſtianity, but from humanity itſelf, as if they were ſcarce the excrement of either; contemning even that moſt noble, generous, heroic ſpirit that dwelt in many heathens, who accounted it moſt honourable and glorious to contend for their rights and liberties, yea, to ſuffer death, and the worſt of deaths, in defence of the ſame; and judge them accurſed and moſt execrably in the world that do ſo; and not only ſo, but for their own profit and advantage, have many of them enſlaved their poſterity by it, and are moſt induſtrious and laborious, moſt fierce and furious to deſtroy them, whereby they are become as unnatural as children that ſeek the ruin of their parents that begot them, and brought them forth; or them that lay violent hands upon themſelves, daſhing out their own brains, cutting their own throats, hanging and drawing themſelves, ripping up their own bellies, tearing out their own bowels, they being in different ſenſes children and members of that body politic they deſign and attempt the deſtruction of; and when I know not how long the duration and continuance of theſe things ſhall be, or a concluſion or end by God ſhall be put thereto, who by divine and unerring wiſdom governs the world; why ſhall my ſoul be unwilling to take it's flight into the unſeen and eternal world, where no ſullied, ſordid, or impious thing, moſt incongruous and unbecoming nature, ſhall be ſeen or found, and where I ſhall behold no narrow, concluſive, contracted ſoul there, habitually preferring their private before a public good, but all moſt unanimouſly and equally centre in one common, univerſal good, and where the ſighs, groans, and cries of the afflicted and perſecuted ſhall be heard no more for ever?

"I earneſtly exhort all moſt highly to prize and value time, and diligently improve it for eternity; to be wiſe, ſeriouſly and ſeaſonably to conſider of their latter end: for by the irrepeatable and irreverſible law of heaven we muſt all die, yet we know not how, where, or when. Live with your ſouls full of ſolicitude and care, with a moſt deep concernedneſs and moſt diligent induſtriouſneſs, whilſt you have time and opportunity, and the means of grace, health, and ſtrength, make ſure of theſe two great things, viz.

"1. What merits for you a right and title to eternal life and gloy, and the future unchangeable bleſſedneſs, as the Redeemer's moſt precious blood and righteouſneſs; that thereby a real application and imputation may be unto you by ſincere believing.

"2. That that which makes you qualified ſubjects for it, is the great work of regeneration, wrought in your ſouls, being renewed in the ſpirit of your minds, the Divine Nature being impreſt upon them, repairing of the depraved image of God in you; that being transformed into his own likeneſs, thereby in the world you may mind and favour more the things of the ſpirit than the things of the fleſh, celeſtial and heavenly more than terreſtrial and earthly, ſuperior more than inferior things; and therewith have a holy life and converſation conjoined, that reſults and ſprings from the ſame, as fruit from the root, and acts from the habits. Let all, in order thereto, ſeriouſly conſider theſe few texts of ſacred ſcripture, let them predominantly poſſeſs you; let them be deeply and indelibly tranſcribed upon your ſouls; let them be aſſimilated thereunto, and made the written epiſtles, the lively pictures thereof, Matt. v. 8, 20. 'Bleſſed be the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God. For I ſay unto you, that except your righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the righteouſneſs of the ſcribes and phariſees, ye ſhall in no caſe enter into the kingdom of heaven. John iii. 3. Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11. Know ye not that the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God, &c. Gal. v. 19, 20, to 23. Now the works of the fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe, adultery, &c. James i. 18. Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we ſhould be a kind of firſt-fruits of his creatures. 1 Pet. i. 3. Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again to a lively hope by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. Verſe 13. Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, &c. Coloſſ. iii. 1, 2. If ye then be riſen with Chriſt, ſeek thoſe things that are above: ſet your affections on things above, not, &c. Gal. v. 24. And they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the fleſh with the affections and luſts, &c. Eph. ii. 1. And you hath he quickened, who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins. Rev. xx. 6. Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part in the firſt reſurrection: on ſuch the ſecond death hath no power. Rom. viii. 1. There is therefore now no condemnation, &c. 1 Pet. i. 15. But as he that hath called you is holy, ſo be ye, &c. Verſe 23. Being born again, not of corruptible ſeed, &c. Pſal. iv. 3. But know that the Lord hath ſet apart him that is godly for himſelf, &c.' I ſhall mention now no more, the whole Bible abounds with theſe texts, with what a renovation and change of our carnal and corrupt hearts and natures, there muſt be, with holineſs of life and converſation, before we can be capable of a future and bleſſed immortality, and of inheriting the kingdom of God for ever and ever. Amen."

The laſt Speech of Captain ABRAHAM ANSLEY.

"I AM come to pay a debt to nature; it is a debt that all muſt pay, though ſome after one manner, and ſome after another: the way that I pay it may be thought by ſome few ignominious, but not ſo by me; having long ſince, as a true Engliſhman, thought it my duty to venture my life in defence of the Proteſtant religion againſt Popery and arbitrary power: for this ſame purpoſe I came from my houſe to the duke of Monmouth's army: at firſt I was a lieutenant, and then a captain, and I was in all the actions the foot were engaged in, which I do not repent: for had I a thouſand lives, they ſhould all have been engaged in the ſame cauſe, although it hath pleaſed the wiſe God (for reaſons beſt known to himſelf) to blaſt our deſigns; but he will deliver his people by ways we know nor think not of: I might have ſaved my life, if I would have done as ſome narrow-ſouled perſons have done, by impeaching others; but I abhor ſuch ways of deliverance, chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy life with ſin. As to my religion, I own the way and practice of the independent churches, and in that faith I die, depending on the merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt for my eternal ſalvation: his bleſſing be with you all. Farewell to thee, poor England, farewell.

"ABRAHAM ANSLEY."

A correct Copy of Mr. JOSIAS ASKEW'*s Letter to his Father, written a ſhort Time before his Execution.*

"HONOURED FATHER,

"I Not having an opportunity to make my gratitude known to you for all your endeavours, for the ſaving a poor, vain, periſhing, and troubleſome life; and ſeeing it is all in vain, I would deſire you both to acquieſce in the will of God, and rejoice with me for this happy day of my departure from this ſtate of pilgrimage, home to the poſſeſſion of thoſe heavenly manſions, which my God and Father hath provided for me, in and through my Lord Jeſus Chriſt: it is in him alone I put my truſt and confidence, and therefore can boldly ſay, Who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea, rather, that is riſen again, and is ſet down at the right hand of God, making interceſſion for all thoſe that have a well-grounded confidence in him. My time is but ſhort, and by reaſon of company I am diſturbed; therefore I conclude with my laſt breath, begging of God, that he would keep you conſtant in his fear, in this day of great temptation, and at laſt receive you to his glory, where we ſhall once more unite in praiſing without interruption or diſtraction, world without end, Amen: until which time, the grace of God the Father, the love of God the Son, the comfortable refreſhings of God the Holy Ghoſt, be with you, all your's, and the whole Iſrael of God, both now and for ever: which is the hearty prayer of your ſon,

"JOSIAS ASKEW."

A further Account of Mr. JOSIAS ASKEW *by a Friend.*

"TO prevent your further trouble in ſuing for a pardon, I think it convenient to let you know, I do not queſtion but my dear couſin hath had his pardon ſealed by the King of kings, and is in everlaſting bleſſedneſs, ſinging hallelujahs, ſalvation, glory and honour to him that ſits upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever: for God did ſo carry him through to drink that bitter cup with ſo much courage and cheerfulneſs to the laſt, as was to the admiration of all ſpectators, notwithſtanding the terrible ſight he ſaw at the place of ſuffering, and ſo vehemently as he was tried by the adverſary, yet it did not in the leaſt diſcompoſe him, or alter his countenance; for he continued with a ſmiling countenance to the laſt, and was tranſported above meaſure. I want words to expreſs it, he was like one wrapped up in heaven, with his heart there, and his eyes fixed thereon. I could wiſh you had been there, it would have driven away all cauſe of ſorrow from your heart, to ſee his deportment, and hear the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth: he remembered his duty to you both, and left Paul's bleſſing with you, grace, mercy, and peace; his love to his dear ſiſter; he deſires her not to be troubled for him, for he hath made his peace with God, and was aſſured he ſhould go to eternal happineſs; he would have written more to you and to his ſiſter, but that he had ſo ſhort a time after ſentence, that he wanted opportunity; when he went out of priſon, he ſaid, Gentlemen, now I am going, and it is the time I much longed for; I would not change with him that paſſeth ſentence upon me, for a world. I was with him to the laſt, and ſeeing his courage, did very much encourage me, though I never ſaw ſuch a ſight with my eyes."

The MARTYRDOM *of* JOHN HOLWAY, *at Warham, in the County of Dorſet.*

JOHN HOLWAY lived in Lyme, where the duke landed, and appeared in arms at that time, until his captain left him; then took up arms under the duke of Monmouth, and went with him, until the king's proclamation came forth, That all that would lay down their arms before ſome juſtice of the peace, in four days after, and take a certificate for their ſo doing, they ſhould be acquitted, and have his majeſty's pardon, which this perſon did, though one day too late; which blot my lord chief juſtice hit, being very good at it, and paſſed the ſentence of death on him. Before his trial he was not much concerned at his caſe, and thought himſelf almoſt out of danger: but to be ſhort, he received his ſentence with much courage and reſolution, and by the means of one Mr. Tiller, who was to ſuffer with him, was brought to that ſettled frame of ſpirit, as is fit for one in that condition: as he was riding in the cart, toward the place of execution, the troopers being juſt behind the cart, he told them they looked like brave fellows, but (ſaid he) if I were to have my life for fighting the beſt five of you, I would not queſtion it. At the place of execution he ſaid not much, but that he thought his and other men's blood would be revenged one time or another, and ſaid, Forgive me, have mercy on my poor ſoul, pardon all my ſins, and the like, and ſo the executioner performed his taſk.

The MARTYRDOM *of Mr.* MATTHEWS, *and his Separation from his Wife, &c.*

MR. Matthews was much concerned the morning before he died, to ſee his wife weep, and to be in ſuch grief for him, which drew tears from his eyes; and taking her in his arms, he ſaid, My dear, prithee do not diſturb me at this time, but endeavour to ſubmit to the will of God; and although thy huſband is going from thee, yet I truſt God will be all in all unto thee; ſure, my dear, you will make my paſſage into eternity more troubleſome than otherwiſe, if you thus lament and take on for me; I am very ſenſible of thy tender love towards me, but would have you conſider, that this ſeparation will be ſo much for my advantage, as your loſs cannot parallel. I thank God I am willing to die, and to be with my Jeſus: be ſatisfied, the will of God muſt be done: thy will be done, O God, in earth as it is in heaven: ſo embracing her, took his laſt farewell of her, and prepared to go to the place of execution, which having reached, he with a very modeſt, ſober, and compoſed frame of ſpirit ſtood while he ſaw ſeveral executed before him; his turn being then come, he ſpoke as follows:

"DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

"I ſuppoſe we are all of one kingdom and nation, and I hope Proteſtants; O, I wonder we ſhould be ſo cruel and blood-thirſty one towards another; I have heard it ſaid heretofore, that England could never be ruined but by herſelf, which now I fear is doing. Lord have mercy on poor England, turn the hearts of the inhabitants thereof, cauſe them to love one another, and to forget one another's infirmities. Have mercy, O Lord, on me; give me ſtrength and patience to fulfil thy will, comfort my dear and ſorrowful wife, be a huſband unto her, ſtand by her in the greateſt trouble and affliction, let her depend upon thy Providence; be merciful to all men, preſerve this nation from Popery, find out yet a way for it's deliverance, if it be thy good will, and give all men hearts to be truly thankful; comfort my fellow-ſufferers that are immediately to follow, give them ſtrength and comfort unto the end: I forgive all the world, even thoſe that have been the immediate haſteners of my death: I am in charity with all men. And now, bleſſed Lord Jeſus, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us; and lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

Having thus ſaid, he aſcended the ladder, and deſired the executioner not to be hard to him, who anſwered, No; and ſaid, I pray, maſter, forgive me: to which he ſaid, I do with my whole heart, and I pray God forgive thee; but I adviſe thee to leave off this bloody trade. The executioner ſaid, I am forced to do what I do, it is againſt my mind So lifting up his hands to heaven, the executioner performed the dreadful taſk.

The MARTYRDOM *of Mr.* ROGER SATCHEL, *and Mr.* LANCASTER, *at Weymouth, in the County of Dorſet.*

AT the time of the duke's landing at Lyme, this gentleman lived at Culliton, about five miles weſt of that town, and was ſuppoſed to be concerned in the deſign with the duke. He always was a great admirer of him, which got him many enemies among the gentry of that county: he always hated the name of a Papiſt; and as it fell out, he did foreſee Popery advancing, as his words to divers of his neighbours can teſtiſy. As for his diſpoſition, he was of a very generous and heroic ſpirit. But to proceed, no ſooner had he the news of the duke's being landed, but he ſets himſelf to work to ſerve him, deſiring all he knew to join with him, and was one of the firſt that went to him to Lyme, and was with him to the end: but after the rout, travelling to and fro to ſecure himſelf, was at laſt taken at Chard by three Moſs-troopers, under no diſcipline, who made it their buſineſs to ruin their neighbours in thoſe parts; they are ſo well known, I need not ſay any more. He was from thence carried to Ilcheſter, and ſo ſecured in Ilcheſter gaol; and at the bloody aſſizes at Dorcheſter took his trial, and received his ſentence with the reſt. Great application was made for him, but my lord chief juſtice Jeffreys's ears were deaf, and ſo he was ordered to be executed at Weymouth. After ſentence, two of his friends came to him, and told him, There was no hope. He anſwered, My hope is in the Lord. After which he ſpent moſt of his time before execution in prayer and meditation, and conferring with many good perſons. The morning being come, he prepared himſelf, and all the way drawing to execution was very devout. Being come to the place, there was a miniſter, I think, of that place, who ſung a pſalm, and prayed with them, and would have ſome diſcourſe with this perſon, which he avoided as much as poſſible; but he aſked him, What were his grounds for joining in that rebellion? Who anſwered, Had you, ſir, been there, and a Proteſtant, I believe you would have joined too; but do not ſpeak to me about that, I am come to die for my ſins, not for my treaſon againſt the king, as you call it. So pointing to the wood that was to burn his bowels, he ſaid, I do not care for that; what matters it what becomes of my body, ſo my ſoul be at reſt? So praying to himſelf near half an hour, and adviſing ſome he knew, never to yield to Popery, he was turned off the ladder. He was a courageous, bold-ſpirited man, one of great reaſon, juſt and punctual in all his buſineſs, and much beloved by his neighbours.

One Mr. Lancaſter was executed at the ſame time and place, whoſe courage and deportment was ſuch, that he out-braved death, and in a manner challenged it to hurt him, ſaying, I die for a good cauſe, and am going to a gracious God. I deſire all your Chriſtian prayers; it is good to go to heaven with company. And much more he ſpoke concerning the duke of Monmouth, whom he ſuppoſed at that time to be living; and ſo praying privately for ſome ſmall time, he was turned, or rather leaped over the ladder.

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The MARTYRDOM *of Mr.* BENJAMIN SANDFORD *and* JOHN BENNET, *at Bridport.*

MR. Sandford with nine others were brought from Dorcheſter to Bridport, to be executed. Coming to the place of execution, he held up his hands to heaven, and turning himſelf to the people, ſaid, I am an old man you ſee, and I little thought to have ended my days at ſuch a ſhameful place, and by ſuch an ignominious death; and indeed it is dreadful to fleſh and blood, as well as a reproach to relations, but it would have been a great deal more if I had ſuffered for ſome felonious account. Says one to him, Is not this worſe, do you think, than felony? He anſwered, I know not any thing I have done ſo bad as felony, that this heavy judgment ſhould fall upon me, except it be for my ſins againſt my God, whom I have highly provoked, and muſt acknowledge have deſerved ten thouſand times more; Lord, I truſt thou haſt pardoned them; ſeal my pardon in the blood of my Saviour; Lord, look upon, and be with me to the laſt moment.

One John Bennet was alſo executed at the ſame time, he was a poor man, but pious, and of good report with his neighbours in Lyme, where he lived. It is ſaid that when he was on trial, a certain perſon informed his lordſhip, that the priſoner then at the bar, had alms of the pariſh; and that his lordſhip ſhould reply, Do not trouble yourſelves, I will eaſe the pariſh of that trouble.

In priſon, and at the place of execution, he behaved himſelf ſo well to all, that many of his enemies pitied him, and would, if it had lain in their power (as they ſaid) have ſaved him. His ſon being then preſent, offered to have died for him, and was going up the ladder, if it might have been ſuffered. He prayed ſome ſhort time, and ſo was tranſlated, as we have hopes to think, from this troubleſome world into celeſtial joy and happineſs eternal!

The MARTYRDOM *of Mr.* GATCHILL, *Mr* SIMON HAMBLING, *and Mr.* JOHN HUCKER, *at Taunton.*

MR. Gatchill was a conſtable of the hundred; he was ſurpriſed by a party of the duke's, and ſhewed a warrant to bring in proviſions and other neceſſaries for the uſe of the army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatened to have his houſe burnt; ſo that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preſervation. But this was not ſufficient, for being found guilty he was ordered to be executed.

As he was drawn to execution, he looked on the people, and ſaid, A populous town, God bleſs it. Juſt before he was executed, he ſpoke, That the crime he was accuſed of, and condemned for, was high-treaſon, but he did not know himſelf to be guilty of it; and that what he did he was forced to do. And further ſaid, I am ſo well known to you, that I do verily believe you have charity to think that what I ſpeak is true. As for the niceties of the law, I do not well underſtand them; and much more to the ſame effect he ſpoke. And ſo after prayer, he was executed with his ſuffering brother, Mr. Simon Hambling.

Mr. John Hucker, was alſo executed at Taunton, who died with equal fortitude and reſignation, he was a very worthy gentleman of that town. He had ſome ill friends in the duke's army, that caſt aſperſions on him, as though he was the perſon that was a traitor to the duke, by firing a piſtol in Sedgmoor; but I have ſtrictly examined many on that point, and can find it to be nothing but the worſt of an enemy's malice, to wound him after his death in his reputation, which he always valued highly when living. To be ſhort, he has left the character, amongſt his neighbours, of an honeſt man, a good Chriſtian, and one that was true to the intereſt of the duke, and ſealed it with his blood.

A full and impartial Account of KIRK's CRUELTIES, *and the ſeveral* BARBARITIES *committed in the Weſt.*

ON Kirk's firſt arrival at Taunton, he came with two cart-loads of men bloody, and their wounds not dreſſed, juſt as they were hauled into Bridgewater priſon; they were guarded by grenadiers with bayonets. He alſo brought with him into Taunton a great drove of foot, chained two and two together. He hanged nineteen on the Corn-hill immediately, not ſuffering either their wives or children to ſpeak to them, or to take their leave of them.

During the execution, Kirk cauſed the pipes to play, drums and trumpets to ſound, that the ſpectators might not hear the cries and groans of dying men, nor the cries of their friends. He cauſed their bowels to be burned, and their quarters to be boiled in pitch, and hanged all about the town.

He hanged one on the White-Hart ſign-poſt three times, to try if he would own he had done amiſs; but he affirmed to this effect, That if it was to do again, he would engage in the ſame cauſe; ſo Kirk would have him hanged in chains; and ſo he was, till king William came to the deliverance of this nation from Popery and ſlavery.

When Jenkins, the Hewlings, &c. were to die, before they came out of the B——l, there was a great fire made on the Corn-hill, in order that they might ſee the fire that was to burn their bowels.

Of ſeveral that were hanged, he cauſed alſo their bodies to be ſtripped, and their breaſts to be cleaved aſunder; in the place where he cauſed the executions to be done, you might have gone up to the ankles in blood; he alſo cauſed the hearts of the poor executed men to be thrown into the fire with a great ſhout, ſaying, "Here is the heart of a traitor."

A captain of W—— was hanged, and the rope broke, whereby he hoped to have ſaved his life; but they took from a market-horſe a ring-rope, and hanged him again.

When the priſoners were brought to the bar at the aſſizes, Jeffreys ſaid, if any man pleaded not guilty, he ſhould die. Notwithſtanding there was one who not being concerned in Monmouth's buſineſs, when aſked, ſaid, Not guilty, my lord: Jeffreys ſaid, Take him, gaoler, and let him be executed another time.

There was an honeſt man hanged for ſparing three-pennyworth of hay for Monmouth's horſe.

There was alſo a conſtable hanged for executing of Monmouth's warrant.

Beſides theſe, many hundreds were put in the caſtle-hall, by which it was feared they would infect the town. Francis Burges was taken upon Maidendown, by the perſuaſion of ſir ——; he was hanged by faſtening a rope to a chamber window, and ſet upon a hoget.

By good report, there were ſeveral ſcores died in Ilcheſter by infectious diſeaſes, and in their irons, and handbolts; for if they were not hard-hearted, and uſed the extremeſt rigour imaginable, the keepers were not counted good ſubjects. One of Welinton that was to be hanged then, was ſaved, ſuppoſed by order of ſir ——, and one of Crookern hanged in his ſtead; this is true, and ſo it was at other places; but it were endleſs to record all the cruelties exerciſed by Kirk and Jeffreys, after Monmouth's defeat.

What remains now, is to give an account of hundreds that had fled and hid themſelves up and down in holes and rocks, whoſe friends made all application to ſome great perſon or other to procure their pardons; ſome to this, ſome to others, that they thought favourites with the king; but the rewards muſt be aſcertained before any application could be made (for pardons were juſt as they were in Rome) according to the ability of the perſon, from half a crown to fixteen thouſand guineas; any tooth, good barber. Divers liſts being ſent up, and the rewards aſcertained, which amongſt many of them put together, did amount to conſiderable ſums. So that it was now, who could find a friend to relieve his diſtreſſed relations, which were forced to wander up and down in caves and deſerts, for fear of being taken. But this misfortune attended the agents, that unleſs my lord chancellor were uſed, by his creatures that were allowed by him ſo to do, other applications commonly met with diſappointments.

Several intereſting Anecdotes by Mr. BURD, *and other Weſt-Country Gentlemen, relative to the Barbarities of theſe Times.*

Mr. Burd lived near Frome, and gave (in a letter hereafter inſerted) a remarkable account of ſeveral paſſages; for he proclaimed the duke of Monmouth at the head of the army, which was unwillingly done by the duke then: he alſo ſaw the maids of honour preſent their flags, and ſeveral come to kiſs the duke's hand, as king after proclamation, and preſented a purſe of guineas on their knees. At this time one widow made a pathetic ſpeech to him, and delivered her mite.

When the army went through Penſford, a parſon came out of an alehouſe, and aſked them, Gentlemen, how doth the king do? If he comes this way to day, I will kiſs his hand, meaning the duke of Monmouth.

The firſt indicted was the parſon on a ſingle indictment; after Jeffreys had drank a bottle of claret (as was his cuſtom) he repairs to the bench, where being ſeated, the parſon was brought before him.

At firſt Jeffreys reprimanded the parſon ſo ſeverely that he was ready to ſink for fear; but recovering himſelf, ſaid, Not guilty; alleging he never wore a weapon, nor was in the army, only ſtood by on horſeback, and viewed the army.

Upon this Jeffreys replied, There is a worſe weapon than a ſword, that is a parſon's tongue, and declared to the parſon, that whoever ſtood by the army, or gave a ſmile on it, was guilty of rebellion (though a ſmile might be in deriſion).

Now the parſon pleaded, that it was not known that the duke ſhould have come to Kinſon half a quarter of an hour before he came, and that he had buſineſs that way, which ſtopped him, and that he was forced to ſtay and ſee the encampment, but exchanged not one word with any belonging to the army.

Likewiſe the parſon urged, that both the witneſſes againſt him ſwore in malice, becauſe he had put one of them into the ſpiritual court for tythes, and the other witneſs he had arreſted.

Jeffreys at laſt demanded if any neighbouring gentleman could give a character of the parſon (though he looked upon all the gentry thereabouts rebels).

The parſon alleged, captain Cox, the foreman of the grand inqueſt, knew him; he was ſent for accordingly.

As ſoon as captain Cox appeared, Jeffreys aſked him, If the parſon had obſerved all the ceremonies, and behaved himſelf loyally?

In anſwer, captain Cox declared, He knew no ill character of him, &c.

Jeffreys, after this, ſummed up the evidence againſt the parſon, but wheeled at laſt into this, I fear the ſin of rebellion lurks under that canonical coat, I would have him hanged to be an example to others.

If Burd had ſaid he heard the parſon ſay he would kiſs the king's hand, if he came by that way, the parſon had certainly been truſſed up.

However, the parſon's jury brought him in Not guilty; upon which Jeffrey's made him down on his knees, and bid him go, and preach for his ſake upon that text, Fear God, and honour the king, &c.

During the parſon's trial the court was interrupted with the maids of honour, who came hoping for pardon; and often the court was interrupted with petitions, and certificates under the juſtices hands, to certify that the bearers did, according to the king's proclamation, come in within five days, and therefore expected their pardon.

Now it came to paſs that one alderman Holliday's ſon was one that came in within the five days, and his father offered to vindicate his ſon, and to be bail for him; (for all that came in within the time, he made them give ſpecial bail) Jeffreys ſaid, He knew many aldermen were villains, and he hoped to beat ſome fur out of their gowns.

He then began to try the two hundred odd men: Burd was in the front, as their names were called; he made every man ſhew his face; for if they were in years, they had been rebels ever ſince Oliver's time, their age tried them. But for further confirmation of ſome of theſe particulars, we refer you to Mr. Burd's letter, directed to Mr. John Dunton, in theſe words.

A LETTER,

"*To Mr.* John Dunton.

"Sir,

"Looking over a book lately, entitled, A panegyric on the lord Jeffreys, I find a great deal therein contained true to my own knowledge, and therefore doubt not of all the reſt, for I was one myſelf condemned by him at Wells aſſizes, and my getting off next to a wonder to all that heard thereof; the particulars whereof, and the manner how, being too long and tedious, I ſhall not trouble you therewith; only being informed you intend to reprint your bloody aſſizes, I thought it not amiſs to acquaint you with two or three of the moſt material paſſages that happened within the compaſs of my own knowledge and view. When I was committed a priſoner to Bath, where I lay fourteen weeks, I found there ſeven and twenty more confined in a little room, ſome lying on boards, others through much difficulty had obtained the favour of ſtraw to lie on. Among thoſe afore-mentioned there were two poor men, who lived in and about Taunton and Ilminſter, whoſe names were William Huſſey, a worſted-comber, I judge about ſeventy years of age; he alleged, that he went into the army to fetch home his ſon, being himſelf paſt engaging in the war; Thomas Paul, I think of the ſame occupation, and upwards of ſixty years old, but a Quaker. This ſaid Huſſey and Paul were never under the leaſt apprehenſion of ſuffering during their fourteen weeks impriſonment, till the very day they were condemned, and the ſaid Huſſey oftentimes affirmed, he was never out with the duke's army; and the ſaid Paul being uncle to a very great man's chaplain at court, the ſaid chaplain was his chief dependance, and promiſed him a pardon by his intereſt. Now it ſo happened, that the priſoners commonly about once a week had liberty from their keeper to go out of the ſaid priſon, hand-bolted two and two, to the ſaid keeper's houſe, for an hour or two, to divert and recreate themſelves; and commonly theſe two ancient men, Huſſey and Paul, were linked together, and they would both of them generally take the liberty to drink till they were a little merry and briſk; and when they returned in that ſituation to the ſaid priſon, it would be moſt times the uſual cuſtom of William Huſſey (as ſoon as ever the keeper had took off their hand-bolts) to ſtrike the ſaid Thomas Paul on the ſhoulder, jocoſely ſaying, Never fear, Tom Paul, if thou and I be hanged, we will hang cheek by jole; which expreſſion I oftentimes heard, though I did little think at that time either of them would ſuffer; but it ſo happened, that contrary to both their imaginations they were hanged ſide by ſide.

The day after they were condemned, I accidentally met with the ſaid William Huſſey, walking out in the middle of the cloiſters at Wells by himſelf, with his hat over his eyes, very melancholy, weeping, at which I was a little ſurpriſed, and aſked what was the matter? he replied, with tears in his eyes, Ha! Mr. Burd, I look upon myſelf now, and never till now, a dead man; you are a young man, and if you can get off this buſineſs, you may live to ſee many years; and remember that I told thee ſo, before the year 1688 be over, you will ſee all things turned upſide down, and king James, for what he had done, would be turned out, and another would come in, and effect what was then begun; and with a great deal of earneſtneſs and zeal repeated his words over again; but at that time thinking what he ſo earneſtly affirmed, was the effect of his concern for his own death, I did ſcarce ever recollect what he then affirmed, till 1688 was over, when I ſaw all things exactly happened as he before had told me. Another paſſage I took notice of among others, was, when I was at the bar to receive my doom, one of judge Jeffreys's officers told the judge there was one of the maids of honour (ſo called, becauſe twenty or thirty of that ſex preſented flags to the duke, at Taunton, after he was proclaimed king) come to ſurrender herſelf, begging mercy at his hands; whom when he ſaw, he looked on her with a very fierce countenance, raving at her, &c. bid the gaoler take her, which ſtruck ſuch a fear into the poor girl, that ſhe pulled her hood over her face, and fell a weeping; and the gaoler, according to the command of the fierce judge, took her away immediately out of court; and, as I was afterwards informed, ſhe died in his cuſtody not many hours after for fear, as our lord-mayor died for fear of Jeffreys, when brought before him. When I myſelf received my ſentence, there was another young man hand-bolted to me, whoſe name was Jacob Tripp, about twenty-one years of age, and ſo ſtout and briſk, that he would almoſt attempt to fight a lion: I could tell you all his caſe and circumſtances as well as my own, but it will be too large to inſert here; only thus much I will inſert here about him. He was always of the tory party, but he fell in with Monmouth's men; it ſo happened, that after ſentence paſſed on both of us, we were at the ſame time both taken very dangerouſly ill, of a very malignant, infectious fever, during which illneſs a reprieve came for both of us for ſo many days, which days being expired, Tripp's enemies, his brother tories (which before were his chief confederates and acquaintance) ſaid he deſerved worſe uſage than thoſe who always had been ſuch, by their unwearied diligence had obtained an order for his execution, he being at that time ſo ill, that he had not been ſenſible for near a week before, and his phyſicians gave him over for dead, and did affirm it impoſſible for him to live twenty-four hours; yet to ſhew their unbounded rage, they immediately got him lifted out of his bed, where he lay ſenſeleſs and a dying, wrapt up in his ſheets, and laid him in a chair, when two men carried him to the market-place in Wells, the place of execution, where they hung him up, and quartered him (when he was as ſenſeleſs as a ſtock or ſtone) before a great many ſpectators, many of which took the infection of his diſtemper, together with abundance of the ſoldiers, which cauſed them to die like rotten ſheep; and this infection ſpread afterward far and near round the country, to the loſs of a great many people's lives. I could tell you more remarkable paſſages, but doubting I am too long in theſe already mentioned, let this ſuffice, from

"Your humble ſervant unknown,

Beckington, June 24, 1702. "JOHN BURD.

"Poſtſcript. Mr. Dunton, you may, if you pleaſe, correct this, and put it into ſome better ſtyle if you think fit; but the matter of fact is all true to my knowledge, as I have truly and impartially related the ſame; for I had the honour to be known to the duke of Monmouth before he came into England on that unhappy expedition, which made my getting a pardon ſo difficult, that had there not been ſome diſguſt happened between ſome great men concerning me, ſcarce any money would have purchaſed it; for thus it was, that very night the rout was, being on a Sunday about eight o'clock, there came a foot meſſenger to the duke, into the field near Bridgewater, and gave him an account what poſture the king's forces (then at Weſton, on the edge of Sedgmoor) lay in; the duke gave him a gratuity, and ſent him back again to make a further diſcovery, and bring a further account thereof, but he was unfortunately taken, and returned no more; upon which the duke riding into the town, his horſe in a very ſtrange and unuſual manner threw him, which I oftentimes ſince thought was ominous: about eleven o'clock at night the army marched out of Bridgewater, toward Weſton, which proved a fatal night. The night after, being Monday night, I was taken about twenty miles diſtant, at an alehouſe, with two young men (one a Londoner) our horſes being carried to Bath, and we to be ſent after with a guard; but I, having an opportunity, got off, and left my comrades behind, who I underſtood did alſo follow my example; but being taken again the ſame day, and delivered into the hands of a Roman-Catholic, he took care, and conveyed me to Wells, before the lord F———, who with the king's army was arrived there from Sedgmoor; his lordſhip being prepoſſeſſed againſt me, would hear nothing at all; I offered to ſpeak, but he told me, I ſhould be hanged, &c. and immediately ſent me a priſoner to the lower church in Wells, which was then full of the ſame ſparks; and under a multitude of paſſages that happened, too tedious to relate, I had not been there above two days and two nights, but I was unexpectedly releaſed, by means of the biſhop of W———r, who had obtained my lord F———'s conſent; ſo then I had a paſs given me, under the hand and ſeal of the lord biſhop, by order and conſent of the ſaid lord F———, to require all officers, civil and military, to ſuffer me to paſs to my place of abode; notwithſtanding which (as I was on my journey) I was again ſeized, and hurried away to Bath, and there had before another great man, who was exaſperated againſt me alſo by the information of ſome enemies, that had told him how great a rebel I had been, and that I had proclaimed the duke king, in the preſence of four thouſand men, &c. which appearing ſo very viſible by their offering to ſwear it, the ſaid great man in a fury told me, he would take care I ſhould be hanged, notwithſtanding my paſs; and ſo ſent me to the common gaol in Bath, where I remained about fourteen weeks, and then was had to Wells, and there condemned. But I had forgot to mention, that as ſoon as I was committed to Bath priſon, I ſent a meſſenger to acquaint the biſhop of W———r, that notwithſtanding his and my lord F———'s paſs, I was again committed to Bath priſon; which he ſeemed to be much concerned at; but in the end I was given to a pardon-monger, and he made his market upon me, though afterwards I was told (when too late) that the judge had inſtructions from above, that I ſhould not ſuffer. When I was at the bar, it was in the front of above two hundred more, that all received ſentence together; unto whom the judge made a ſpeech of an hour long, to wheedle them all into a confeſſion, by quoting places of ſcripture, to ſet forth the heinouſneſs of their crime of rebellion; and then comes with a long harangue, telling us, how merciful the king was, and how ready he was to ſhew mercy to the worſt of us; in which he had this lofty expreſſion (which I remember I did not then believe), *Nay*, ſays he, and thumps the cuſhion, *I had almoſt ſaid, the king is more ready to forgive, than you were to rebel.*"

A full Account of the Trial, Sentence, and happy Deliverance of Mr. JOHN TUTCHIN, *in Dorcheſter, in the County of Dorſet. Alſo of* WILLIAM WISEMAN, EDWARD JERVAISE, &c.

MR. John Tutchin, a young gentleman of Hampſhire, was among the ſeveral perſons deſigned to be whipped, according to a ſentence, which, perhaps, no hiſtory can parallel.

This young gentleman had the misfortune, with many others of his acquaintance, to be in the intereſt of the duke of Monmouth, but had a better fortune than many of them, by concealing his name: for when he was taken a priſoner by the country guard, he was committed to priſon under the borrowed name of Thomas Pitts, and his real name was not diſcovered till after he was acquitted of the rebellion, no perſon appearing againſt him as evidence.

However, Jeffreys having diſcovered his true name before Mr. Tutchin was gone from the priſon, was reſolved upon revenge, and ſaid, he was never ſo far outwitted, by an old or young rogue in his life; and after he had examined Mr. Tutchin to many particulars, by which Mr. Tutchin knew that Jeffreys had a true account of him; for he told him the time when he was in Holland, the very place where he lodged there, the manner of his coming over, and the name he went by at that time; and finding Mr. Tutchin would not anſwer to ſome queſtions he aſked him, concerning ſome gentlemen in Hampſhire, who were concerned with Mr. Tutchin in raiſing ſome men at Lymington, for the ſervice of the duke of Monmouth, I ſay, after this, he was reſolved to try Mr. Tutchin again.

Mr. Tutchin ſtill pretended ignorance in theſe matters to his priſon-keeper, who was ſet upon Mr. Tutchin by Jeffreys, to bring him to a confeſſion: but the gaol-keeper, whoſe name was Knapton, though he ſeemed an enemy to the duke's men, coloured many things that might have taken away the lives of ſeveral, and did what he could to allay the heat of the implacable judge.

As we have given no ill character of this gaoler, Mr. Knapton, it may be a pardonable digreſſion, to tell the reader ſomething of another, which I had from the mouth of Mr. Tutchin: when Richardſon, the keeper of Newgate, brought down the Hewlings, and ſome other gentlemen, to Dorcheſter againſt the aſſizes, the ſaid Richardſon drinking with another gaoler, ſaid, "Come, brother, here's to our good health; this is our time to make our fortunes, and now we muſt lay aſide all humanity, for no compaſſion is to be ſhewn to theſe dogs."

To return, however, to Mr. Tutchin, he was brought up again to the hall; but Jeffreys not caring to indict him for rebellion, pretended that the crime of changing his name deſerved a ſevere ſentence; and thereupon paſſed ſentence as follows: That he ſhould remain in priſon during the ſpace of ſeven years; that once every year he ſhould be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorſetſhire; that he ſhould pay a fine of one hundred marks to the king, and find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life.

We ſhould obſerve, that when this ſentence was paſt upon Mr. Tutchin, the ladies in the court, of which there were a great many, all burſt out a crying; but Jeffreys turning towards them, ſaid, Ladies, if you did but know what a villain this is, as well as I do, you would ſay, this ſentence is not half bad enough for the wretch.

Having paſſed the ſentence, the clerk of the arraigns ſtood up, and ſaid, My lord, there are a great many market-towns in this county, the ſentence reaches to a whipping about once a fortnight, and he is a very young man. Aye, ſays Jeffreys, he is a young man, but he is an old rogue; and all the intereſt in England ſhall not reverſe the ſentence I have paſſed upon him.

True it is, no devil incarnate could rage, nor no Billingſgate woman could ſcold worſe than this judge did at this young gentleman whilſt he was at the bar; he called him a thouſand rogues and villains, told him that he was a rebel from Adam, that never any of his family had the leaſt loyalty; and, ſaid he, I underſtand you are a wit and a poet, pray, ſir, let you and I cap verſes. Mr. Tutchin ſmiled in his face, and told him, He knew upon what ground he ſtood, and when he was overmatched.

While under this barbarous ſentence, Mr. Tutchin's friends endeavoured to perſuade him to ſue for a pardon; but he utterly refuſed it, and drew up a petition with his own hand (of which the following is an exact copy) which was preſented to the king at Wincheſter.

The PETITION *of* JOHN TUTCHIN *to the* KING.

"*To the King's Majeſty: the humble Petition of* JOHN TUTCHIN, *of Lymington, in the County of Southampton, Gent. now a Priſoner in the County Gaol of Dorſet,*

"SHEWETH,

"THAT your petitioner now lies in this priſon under ſentence of the lord chief juſtice Jeffreys, to remain in the ſaid priſon during the ſpace of ſeven years, that once every year he ſhall be whipped through all the market towns in Dorſetſhire, that he ſhall pay a fine of one hundred marks to the king, and find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life.

"That this ſentence was paſt upon your petitioner, under pretence of his having changed his name, and no matter of treaſon or rebellion being proved upon him.

"That your petitioner has always demeaned himſelf according to his duty required by law, and that he is ready to venture his life in defence of a lawful king, that ſhall govern according to law, in preſervation of the liberties of Engliſhmen.

"That he humbly conceives, the ſentence paſſed upon him by the ſaid Jeffreys is worſe than death; and therefore,

"Humbly prays your majeſty will be mercifully pleaſed to grant him the favour of being hanged with thoſe of his fellow-priſoners, that are condemned to die; and till then

"Your petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

"JOHN TUTCHIN."

And underneath his name were written theſe words: } "*Malim mori quam vapulari.*"

That is, "I prefer death to an ignominious whipping."

By this petition it may be ſeen, that Mr. Tutchin was a young man when he wrote it; for many exceptions were made againſt it: to the king's majeſty, inſtead of the king's moſt excellent majeſty; and you may be ſure, the weſtern hangman did not overlook his calling of him plain Jeffreys in the body of his petition.

However, the court eſteemed it a barbarous ſentence; and it is ſaid, the king eſteemed it no leſs. But all the anſwer that could be got, was from the lord Sunderland, That Mr. Tutchin muſt wait with patience.

Hereupon, Mr. Tutchin endeavoured to get a pardon from the people who had grants of lives, many of them 500, ſome 1000, more or leſs, according as they had intereſt with the king; but Jeffreys would not ſo much as hear his name mentioned, and the ſentence was ordered to be executed.

About four or five days before the execution of the ſentence, a brother-in-law of Mr. Tutchin's, a phyſician, perſuaded him to take a doſe of phyſic to make himſelf ſick, by which means the execution might be put off, and perhaps in that time ſome means might be found for his enlargement: he took the doſe, and in three or four days the ſmall-pox came out very thick upon him, no man ever had them to a higher degree; and in that condition he lay by himſelf in priſon, nobody to look after him but his fellow-priſoners, for there being a peſtilential diſtemper in the priſon, of which ſome ſcores died every week, any communication with the priſoners was prohibited by the magiſtrates of the town.

Mr. Tutchin lying in this miſerable condition, and his life being deſpaired of, his friends worked the eaſier with Jeffreys to get the ſentence reverſed, which ſome people would have believed a ſign of repentance in Jeffreys, had he not taken the money himſelf. After Mrs. Tutchin had done this laſt kind office for her ſon, ſhe ſickened of the ſmall-pox, and died, his brother and two ſiſters fell ſick of the ſame diſtemper; ſo that when Mr. Tutchin had friends allowed to come to him, like Job's comforters, they brought him the tidings that his mother was dead, and all the relations he had in the world were a dying, and that they had contracted for a pardon for more money than he was worth, for a life which he never valued. So he was popt into a pardon amongſt others; for it was uſual at that time for one courtier to get a pardon of the king for half a ſcore, and then by the aſſiſtance of Jeffreys to augment the ſum to fourſcore or an hundred, and ſo this unfortunate gentleman fortunately got out of his broil.

Notwithſtanding we muſt not leave Mr. Tutchin here, though what afterwards we ſhall ſay of him, does not relate to what was tranſacted in the Weſt, yet it may not be amiſs to ſhew how the providence of God does often change the face of things, and alter the circumſtances and conditions of men, ſo that thoſe who boaſt of their power, and exerciſe their authority with the greateſt ſeverity, many times become the ſcorn and contempt of thoſe they have triumphed over: who could have thought, when Jeffreys paſt that ſentence on Mr. Tutchin in the Weſt, that ever Mr. Tutchin ſhould ſee that wicked judge a priſoner, apprehended by the injured people, and committed by a tool of his own party? Yet ſo it come to paſs.

Jeffreys having endeavoured to make his eſcape beyond ſea in a ſailor's habit, was diſcovered by one, to whom he had done ſome acts of injuſtice, and was taken in Anchor-and-Hope-Alley, in Wapping, and by the mob carried before the inſtrument of Popery, ſir J—— C——, then lord-mayor of the city of London, and by him committed to the Tower.

When Mr. Tutchin heard of this, he went to pay his lordſhip a viſit; who did not know Mr. Tutchin at firſt, he being much altered with the ſmall-pox; but Jeffreys underſtanding who he was, told him he was glad to ſee him: Mr. Tutchin anſwered, He was glad to ſee him in that place. Jeffreys returned, That time and place happened to all men, and that when a man was born, he knew not what death he ſhould die, nor what his circumſtances ſhould be in this life, and abundance of ſuch cant; but added, That he had ſerved his maſter very faithfully, according to his conſcience. Mr. Tutchin aſked him, Where his conſcience was when he paſt that ſentence upon him in the Weſt? Jeffreys ſaid, You are a young man, and an enemy to the government, and might live to do abundance of miſchief; and it was part of my inſtructions, to ſpare no man of courage, parts, or eſtate; but withal added, that his inſtructions were much more ſevere than the execution of them, and that at his return he was ſnubbed at court for being too merciful. So after he had treated Mr. Tutchin with a glaſs of wine, Mr. Tutchin departed.

Some ſhort time after this, Jeffreys had a barrel of oyſters ſent him to the Tower, which he cauſed to be opened, ſaying, He thanked God he had ſome friends left. But when the oyſters were tumbled out on the table, a halter came out with them, which made him change his countenance, and ſo palled his ſtomach, that he could eat none of them. This was confidently reported to be done by Mr. Tutchin; but I having heard him proteſt that he was not in the leaſt concerned therein, we muſt believe it to be done by another hand.

One William Wiſeman was the ſecond in the liſt of perſons ſentenced to be whipped, a boy of about 14 or 15 years of age, at that time an apprentice to a barber at Weymouth. It ſeems the duke of Monmouth's declaration was put up in that town in the night time, and ſome people who could not read, finding it in the morning, took it down, and this boy, being by, read it to them. This was his crime, for which Jeffreys ſentenced him to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorſetſhire.

The ſentence was accordingly executed firſt at Dorcheſter, where in conſideration of the boy's age he was whipped more gently than ſome people thought neceſſary.

Hereupon a clergyman of the church of England, named Blanchard, came to the gaoler, and reviled him, ſaying, He would do his buſineſs for him with the lord chief juſtice, for ſhamming his ſentence, in not whipping the boy half enough. The gaoler breaking out in a paſſion, ſaid, You talk of the cruelties of the Popiſh prieſts, but commend me to a church of England prieſt for cruelty: they are like the country juſtices, who will not believe a man is burnt in the hand, unleſs they can ſee a hole through it.

Now whether this parſon made the complaint, or no, is uncertain; but ſure it is, complaint was made, and the boy was ordered to be whipped again, the morrow following the day he was whipped before; which, to pleaſe this parſon and Jeffreys, was done to that degree, that the boy fell into a fever, which was likely to have coſt him his life. After Jeffreys had left the country, he was whipped through the town of Weymouth, and there the ſentence terminated.

One Edward Jervaiſe was the third in this liſt, a hatter, of Milbourn-Port. This man, it ſeems, being in ſome company, happened to ſay, that he had a Monmouth in his heart. Upon which he was apprehended, and ſent to Dorcheſter gaol. This man was a criminal in another reſpect, which was enough to hang any at that time of day; for he had three or four uncles, and other relations in the duke's army. I was told one of his uncles, being taken priſoner by Kirk, was immediately ordered to be hanged up, but being a brave ſtout man, ſome of Kirk's officers interceded for his life, which Kirk was willing to grant, provided he would acknowledge his rebellion; which he refuſed to do: at length they would releaſe him if he would ſay, God bleſs king James, which he alſo refuſed; and ſo was hanged, and the laſt words he ſaid were, God bleſs the duke of Monmouth.

Edward, his nephew, when he came into court, could not deny, that he had Monmouth in his heart, and thereupon was ſentenced to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorſetſhire, paying a fine to the king.

The ſentence having been paſſed, he ſteps to Mr. Tutchin (then in court, and who received ſentence before him) and ſaid, Maſter, I underſtand the jig we are to dance well enough; but what muſt we pay this money for? Mr. Tutchin anſwered, you never knew people dance without muſic, and this money is ordered to pay the fiddlers. Nay then, ſays Jervaiſe, it is well enough; and went away with the leaſt concern that could be. He was whipped through Dorcheſter and his own town, and no more.

A woman of Lyme was the next, who kept an ale-houſe, and brewed her own drink. Two or three days after the duke of Monmouth landed, the exciſe officers came to her houſe to collect the duties, but ſhe refuſed it, and ſaid, ſhe would pay no more exciſe till the duke of Monmouth was king of England. For which crime ſhe was ſentenced to be whipped through all the market-towns in Dorſetſhire, and was whipped through Dorcheſter and Lyme, and no further. For when Jeffreys was gone out of the country, the juſtices were not ſo ſevere, and connived at the gaolers ſtopping part of the ſentences.

Beſides theſe there was another in Dorcheſter priſon, that was alike ſentenced to be whipped; he profeſſed himſelf to be an aſtrologer and phyſician, but was very unluckily miſled by the ſtars into the country at this time; for coming to a corporation town to vend his phyſic, and tell fortunes; the people not knowing but that he was a conjuror indeed, deſired him to conſult the ſtars about the fate of the duke of Monmouth then in arms; he erected his ſcheme, and found that king James would be ruined and undone, and that the duke of Monmouth would happen to be king in a ſhort time, which coming to the magiſtrates ears, they committed him to priſon, where he erected another ſcheme concerning his own fate, when he found by the ſtars that he would be whipped at the cart's arſe for erecting his former ſcheme; which proving true, he could not ſay that the ſtars always deceived him.

The reader has now a ſhort account of the whipping ſentences in Dorcheſter, which ſentences, together with ſome others executed before that time, were made one article againſt the late king James upon the revolution, and are included in the bill of rights; ſo that no king of England for the future can be guilty of ſuch illegal barbarities without reflection on the fate of that unhappy monarch.

There were in this priſon, at one time, in one room nineteen young gentlemen, and not one of them twenty-one years of age, and all of them were hanged, except Mr. Tutchin.

Major Holmes was in this priſon, who had been a lieutenant-colonel in the duke of Monmouth's ſervice; he was taken priſoner after the Philips-Norton fight, and though his arm was ſhot to pieces, ſo that it hung by a piece of fleſh, the barbarous ſoldiers ſtript him ſtark naked and carried him before a juſtice of peace, who being at dinner, ordered him to be kept till he had dined. The ſervants got the colonel into the kitchen, and gave him ſome clothes to cover his nakedneſs, and ſome refreſhment; in which time the colonel laying his ſhattered arm on the dreſſer, with the cook-maid's knife cut off his arm with his own hand.

It is proper to mention this gentleman, becauſe perhaps there was never more indignity offered to grey hairs and real worth, than in the perſon of this colonel Holmes. One day he was ſitting in a little garden in the priſon with the Hewlings and about three more young gentlemen, when a certain lord, well known at that time, came and inſulted him, and told him it was a ſhame to ſee an old man among a parcel of boys. Mr. Tutchin told his lordſhip, that the worſt boy there durſt fight him for his life; ſaid the colonel, my lord, theſe are boys, but they are brave boys; and let me be well mounted at the head of theſe boys, we will fight your lordſhip for our lives at the head of the beſt troop of guards. The indignities offered by that lord were far beneath a gentleman, and ſuitable to the courage he ſhewed in the late king's ſervice; but when he went from this company to the common ſide, he was there as much inſulted by one Furrard, a highwayman, who called him a thouſand rogues, cowards, and villains.

The uſage of the priſoners was indeed barbarous enough, the gaolers were obliged to ſhew them to every little fellow in authority, ſo that they were daily inſulted, and paid dear enough for every thing they had; but what was moſt barbarous, they would not allow their relations to come to them in the time of their ſickneſs, ſo that many died for want of help in a peſtilential diſtemper, the like perhaps was never known. The ſmall-pox at that time was the worſt that was known, very few recovered of it. Mrs. Mary Blake, a young lady of Taunton, who was committed to this priſon for making the colours preſented to the duke of Monmouth, died of this diſtemper, to the great grief of her family; as did ſeveral others.

However, the greateſt perſecutors and inſulters of theſe poor people were the country parſons: they did not preach to the ſpirits in priſon, but they reviled them. One of them, when he heard ſome condemned perſons in prayer juſt before their execution, ſaid, Theſe fellows will pray the devil out of hell; and the priſon was ſeldom free of the black coats.

Thanks be to God, however, we now ſpeak of theſe things only, and do not ſee them; and that thoſe who are now living, though they have loſt their eſtates, yet they ſee what they contended for, I mean their liberty and property eſtabliſhed.

The Life *and* Death *of* GEORGE, LORD JEFFREYS.

LORD Jeffreys was born at Acton, near Wrexham, in Denbighſhire, in Wales, about the year 1648, his father's name was —— Jeffreys, being reputed a gentleman in that country, though of no large fortune or eſtate; however he lived very comfortably on what he had, improving his yearly income by his induſtry; and gained by his plain and honeſt endeavours a good repute amongſt the gentry of thoſe parts; inſomuch that it was not long before he, upon the recommendation of ſome perſon of intereſt and ability, married a wife of a good family, and they lived very comfortably together in their rural habitation, being far from ambition, or ſtriving for court favour; but contented with what God had bleſſed them with, and the fruits of their own induſtry, they found a ſolid happineſs in that contentment. Nor had they lived together any conſiderable time, but amongſt other children, the fruits of lawful wedlock, God was pleaſed to beſtow on them the perſon who is intended for the ſubject of this diſcourſe, who was in due time baptized by the Chriſtian name of George; whether he had godfathers, &c. it does not occur; however, he, under the care and diligence of his induſtrious parents, grew up, and appeared to all that knew him, of a very prompt and ready wit, active, and ſtriving for pre-eminence, even among the companions of his tender age, which lively demonſtrated that an air of ambition was inherent to his perſon.

When he was capable to receive learning, he was put to a country-ſchool, where he was furniſhed with ſuch education as that afforded, which was not extraordinary; yet his natural parts ſet it off to the beſt advantage; and growing to years of ſomewhat a ripe underſtanding, and not very tractable, his father by the advice of ſome of his friends cauſed him to be brought to London, and finding him not inclinable to any trade, but rather addicted to ſtudy, he entered him, or by his procurement he was entered into the Free-School at Weſtminſter, where he profited much, ſo that he was, by the care of the worthy maſter thereof, ſoon enabled to underſtand the languages, or at leaſt as many of them as were neceſſary for the ſtudy of the law, which above other things he aimed at; though his father ſeemed not very agreeable to his deſires; for perceiving in his ſoul a more than ordinary ſpark of ambition, fearing it might kindle into a flame, and prove one day his ruin, he laboured to hinder the ways he conceived moſt likely to bring it upon him; and is reported to ſay (when he found he could not diſſuade him from his purpoſe, gently clapping him on the back) Ah, George, George, I fear thou wilt die with thy ſhoes and ſtockings on: what he meant by that expreſſion, I determine not, but leave the reader to conjecture.

On the reſtoration of king Charles the Second, affairs in the kingdom wore a new face, the law revived again, and began to flouriſh; the practitioners lived in much credit and reputation, and many of them purchaſed large eſtates, which ſerved to wing the deſire of this perſon with impatience; and ſome ſay he was the rather incited to it by a dream he had whilſt a ſcholar at Weſtminſter-School, viz. That he ſhould be the chief ſcholar in that ſchool, and afterward ſhould enrich himſelf by ſtudy and induſtry, and that he ſhould come to be the ſecond man in the kingdom, but in concluſion ſhould fall into great diſgrace and miſery. This was confidently reported; and ſome ſay himſelf told it to ſundry perſons ſince, when he found the ſecond part of it was fulfilled, by acquiring the chancellorſhip, and ſtanding high in the favour of his prince.

We find, however, the latter part did not deter him from his purpoſe, for having entered himſelf in the Inner Temple-Houſe, one of the chief inns of court, after his performing ſuch things as are conformable to the cuſtoms of the houſe, we find him called to the bar, by the intereſt he made with the benchers and heads of that learned ſociety, earlier than had been uſual, leaping over the heads of elder graduates.

This having happened about the twentieth year of the reign of king Charles II. and the city of London beginning to raiſe herſelf out of her aſhes, more ſtately and magnificent than before ſhe ſunk in flames, a ſacrifice to the revenge and malice of the Papiſts, as by the late inſcription on the monument, and upon record it appears: this great city, I ſay, regaining her trade, her privileges and cuſtoms were kept up with great exactneſs, ſo that in the courts at Guildhall there was much buſineſs; which being conſidered by this perſon as more beneficial than that at Weſtminſter, by reaſon of it's frequency, and being carried on briefer, and with leſs difficulty: which induced him to give his attendance alſo at Hicks's-Hall, and other inferior courts and places; inſomuch that he being of a bold preſence, and having naturally a fluent tongue, an audible voice, and good utterance, he had not pleaded often before he was very much taken notice of, and gained ſo much credit with the people, that they preferred him before any of the younger barriſters; by which means he found his ſtars begin to ſmile upon him, ſo that he was in a manner courted to take fees, and had breviates thruſt into his hand frequently in the middle of a cauſe by perſons, when they perceived it went ill on their ſides, and was like to go againſt them.

Elated thus with ſucceſs, he now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an opportunity, for the next ſtation we find him in, is that of common-ſerjeant to the great and honourable city of London; and ſo much fortune favoured him at this time, that alderman Jeffreys, the great ſmoker, having often obſerved his diſcourſe and actions, took ſuch a liking to him, that being of the ſame name, though not in the leaſt any relation, he backed him with his purſe and intereſt, which was not inconſiderable; and thereby not only enabled him to carry on his grandeur, but to purchaſe as he found a conveniency or advantage, in order to his keeping it up in the world.

Such, I ſay, being the degrees by which he was climbing the ſlippery ſtair of honour, to contract a firmer alliance, he addreſſed himſelf to a briſk young widow, daughter to ſir Thomas Bludworth, then one of the aldermen of the city, and who in the time of the dreadful conflagration had the chair, as being then lord-mayor; and ſo far prevailed upon the lady and her father that he gained both their conſents, and the contract was made, the nuptials ſolemnized, and ſoon after he had the pleaſure to behold the fruits of her labour; ſir John Howel, the recorder of London, giving place, the recorderſhip became vacant, which made this perſon lay hold of that opportunity, to uſe his own and the intereſts of his friends, to acquire that place of truſt and honour: nor did his meaſures fail him, for by the powerful influence he had by this time gained over ſundry perſons, who were beſt able to promote him to what he ſo earneſtly laboured to arrive at, he was choſen and confirmed recorder of the honourable city; taking upon him the charge and care of the writings, papers, &c. that belong to ſo great a charge and truſt, as that of a recorder of the city of London.

Now become by theſe means (as himſelf declared) the mouth of the city, and, as we may term him, capital judge in the Guildhall, in controverſies at the ſeſſions held there, &c. and the power of breathing forth ſentences of puniſhment being put into his hands, he found his ambition enlarged, aiming at nothing more than to become a court-favourite: nor was it long before an opportunity offered itſelf, to make him be taken notice of: for ſo it happened, that ſome perſons had imprinted a pſalter, and entitled it (the better to ſhadow the injury they had done to the company of ſtationers, by invading their property) the King's Pſalter, which occaſioning a diſpute, it was referred to a hearing before the council at Whitehall, the king being preſent, and the company the better to make out their title and claim, carried with them this perſon as their counſel, who in opening of the caſe, and making the complaint of the apparent injury done to the company, in printing what was really their property, he had this expreſſion, viz. They have teemed with a ſpurious brat, which being clandeſtinely midwifed into the world, the better to cover the impoſture, they lay it at your majeſty's door, &c. This, though the king might have taken it (for ſundry reaſons) as a reflection upon his royal perſon, yet he was ſo far from reſenting it that way, that he only turned to one of the lords that ſat next him, and ſaid, This is a bold fellow, I'll warrant him. And indeed the ſtationers had the matter declared by the honourable board in their favour.

The Popiſh plot being diſcovered about this time by Dr. Oates and others, the nation was for a while in a ferment, and matters run extremely high in diſputes and controverſies, and he failed with the current, declaring with much heat and violence againſt the prieſts, jeſuits, and others of the conſpirators and Romiſh faction; as appeared not only by his vehement expreſſions in pleading againſt them, but the alacrity and little concern that was viſible in his countenance, when at any time, as recorder of London, he paſſed ſentence of death upon any of them, which he generally did with more or leſs reproach, and became in a manner the terror of that party. But he no ſooner perceived the wind tacking at court, and that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between king Charles the Second and his parliament, than he began to fall off, and grow cold in proſecuting the ends of the government, being frequently at court, and labouring, as much as in him lay, to draw the magiſtracy of the city after him; as appears more eſpecially in one paſſage, viz. The king being recovered of an indiſpoſition, that had for ſome time put the kingdoms in a fear and doubt of his life, the lord-mayor and aldermen went to congratulate him upon his going abroad; after which, and a favourable reception, it was propoſed by Jeffreys, that they ſhould in like manner wait upon his royal highneſs, then duke of York, who was not long before returned from Flanders; but perceiving no forwardneſs to be ſeconded, he only, with his father-in-law, ſtayed behind to gain that acceſs. Theſe and other proceedings created in the city a jealouſy, that he had eſpouſed an intereſt to their prejudice, which wrought ſo ſtrong in their conceits, that it was concluded in the council-chamber at Guildhall, that he ſhould reſign his recorderſhip; and accordingly they ſent to him to deliver back the papers and writings they had intruſted him with, which accordingly was done, and ſir George Treby conſtituted recorder in his ſtead.

Vexed to the heart at this, he now openly declared himſelf to be what before was only ſuſpected, indulging his thoughts in nothing more, than how he might revenge it upon the diſſenters, to whoſe influence on the court of aldermen he attributed his diſmiſſion from the recorderſhip, and uſed his endeavours to blacken them as much as he could. Yet all his honour was not ſunk; for he had prevailed for the removal of ſir Job Charleton from the chief-juſticeſhip of the county-palatine of Cheſter, and by the importunity and intereſt of his party at court, gained it for himſelf; and took the firſt poſſeſſion of that charge in much ſplendour, paying at that time his father a viſit with a numerous train, which, as it is reported, put the old gentleman in ſuch a fret, for the drinking up his cyder, and devouring his proviſions, that he charged him with the undertaking to ruin him, by bringing a whole country at his heels, commanding him never to attempt the like prodigality again with hopes of ſucceſs.

Several petitions being put up upon the diſſolving the parliament, in 1682, by moſt of the counties, boroughs, and corporations of England, for the ſpeedy calling another, to redreſs the grievances of the nation; and the king ſhewing ſome diſlike to that manner of proceeding, this perſon further to endear himſelf to the intereſt of the court, declared in his ſtation as vehemently againſt them, by ſaying, He abhorred that petitioning, &c. from which, and the diſcountenancing the petitioners as much as in him lay, he gained the name and epithet of an Abhorrer; and upon the burning the pope in effigy at Temple-Bar, upon the birth-day of queen Elizabeth, amongſt other figures, the arch wags had ſet one on horſeback with his face to the tail, and a paper on his back, viz. I AM AN ABHORRER.

In the mean time, the parliament being called, met at Weſtminſter, and amongſt others, this perſon was called before them, for attempting to intrench upon the rights and privileges of the people, &c. and obliged at the bar of the Houſe of Commons (after having been heard what he could ſay in defence of his proceedings by his counſel) to make his acknowledgment upon his knees, and receive the reprimand of the ſpeaker; whereupon, with ſome ſharp rebukes, as the cenſure of the houſe, he was diſmiſſed.

This parliament being diſſolved, and a call of ſerjeants had at the King's-Bench bar, Weſtminſter, he was the firſt in the roll, and conſequently the king's ſerjeant; and as it is uſual to preſent the king with a ring on that occaſion, the motto he agreed to, was, *A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex*; viz. The king from God, and the law from the king. And now the Popiſh party playing their cards with more ſecurity, Edward Fitzharris, who had been impeached by the Commons, and ſtood charged by them of high-treaſon; being nevertheleſs, upon the diſſolution, tried at the King's-Bench bar, this perſon was the principal ſtickler againſt him, and by his rhetoric and florid expreſſions, wrought ſo powerfully with the jury, who were ſomewhat in doubt what they ſhould do in this caſe, that they found him guilty, and the impeachment in parliament ſet aſide, he was executed as a traitor at Tyburn: and ſoon after this, the Diſſenters loſing their eſteem in the eyes of the court party, and ſome juſtices of peace of Middleſex being ſharp upon them, this perſon was choſen chairman at the ſeſſions at Hicks's-Hall, where he had an opportunity to make them, as he found his time, feel the reſentment of his anger; but this place being held too low for a ſpirit winged with ſo large an ambition, he aimed at higher things, reſolving, like Icarus, to be near the ſun, though at the hazard of melting his waxen wings, dropping headlong into the ſea of inevitable ruin. Whereupon perceiving ſome hot conteſts in the city of London, about the election of magiſtrates and officers, he turned the edge of his fury that way, inſomuch, that a *Quo Warranto* came down againſt the charter of the honourable city of London, and in fine, after much pleading and arguments *pro & contra*, the charter was ſurrendered, at leaſt in conſent, by thoſe that were in power, and the king ſuſpending the execution of the judgment obtained, cauſed ſuch orders to be obſerved as he thought moſt convenient, which being ſo well known to the citizens of London, it would appear a preſumption in me to enter upon particulars; yet the chief cavil againſt the city was, taking the toll of markets, collecting money to build Cheapſide conduit, &c. Nor was it long after this, that ſeveral perſons were tried for rioters, who attended the election of ſheriffs and mayor, and fines were paſſed upon many worthy citizens, as rioters on that occaſion; in promoting which, this perſon as a counſellor by his florid rhetoric was mainly inſtrumental, by giving the court an account of their reſpective abilities, the better to ſettle the fines: and the lord chief juſtice Saunders dying, he ſucceeded him as lord chief juſtice of the King's-Bench; in which ſtation he was ſcarcely ſettled, but he admitted the Popiſh lords to bail, that lay under an impeachment in parliament, and whoſe bailing had been refuſed by his predeceſſors, the judges.

Here by the way it will not be amiſs to let the reader have a taſte of ſome paſſages that happened on the public ſtage of buſineſs, in the jocular part of this great man's life, and the repartees he met with, of which I ſhall inſtance a few.

It happened once upon a trial, that a plain country fellow, giving evidence in the court, and preſſing it home, moved this perſon, who was counſel on the other ſide, to pick a quarrel with this poor man's leather doublet, and amongſt other interrogations, bawled out, You fellow in the leather doublet, pray what have you for ſwearing? The man upon this, looking ſteadily on him, replied, Truly, ſir, if you have no more for lying than I have for ſwearing, you might wear a leather doublet as well as I. This bluntly retorted, cauſed at that time much laughter, and filled the town with the diſcourſe of it.

It happened another time, that ſome muſicians brought an action againſt a perſon, at whoſe wedding-day they had played, for the money they were promiſed or expected, when in the midſt of the evidence, this perſon called to one of them, viz. You fidler, &c. at which the man ſeemed diſguſted; he again, upon the party's alleging himſelf to be a muſician, demanded, What difference there was between a muſician and a fidler? As much, ſir, ſaid he, as there is between a pair of bagpipes and a recorder. And he then being recorder of London, it was taken as a ſuitable repartee.

A gentleman in the country having married a city orphan, comes and demands her fortune, which was about 1100l. but by all the friends that he could make, could not procure it, till he goes to Jeffreys, then recorder, and gave him 100 guineas to be his friend to get out his wife's fortune, upon which Jeffreys told him, that the court of aldermen would ſit ſuch a day; the gentleman appearing, was called in, Jeffreys being preſent, who aſked him, Sirrah, what's your buſineſs? Upon which the gentleman told him, That he had married a city orphan, and deſired he might have her portion out of the chamber; upon which Jeffreys aſked him, If he had aſked the conſent of the court of aldermen? He told him, No. Upon which he called him rogue, raſcal, ſirrah, you ſhould have aſked leave from the court for ſuch a marriage. He told him he underſtood not the cuſtom of the city, and begged their pardon, being a country gentleman. Upon this Jeffreys abuſed him again; but afterwards gave him a note for his money; his public railing upon him being only to blind the court, that they might not ſuſpect him bribed.

When he was chief juſtice, being at a country aſſize, trying a cauſe, an old man with a great beard came to give evidence before him, and not doing it to his mind, he began to cavil with his beard, and amongſt other expreſſions told him, That if his conſcience was as large as his beard, he might well ſwear any thing. This ſo nettled the old blade, that without any reſpect to his greatneſs, he briſkly replied, My lord, if you go about to meaſure conſciences by beards, your lordſhip has none.

Now Jeffreys proſecuted Mr. Baxter for his paraphraſe upon the New Teſtament, and ſent him to priſon; he coming out by an *Habeas Corpus*, was fain to abſcond in the country (in conſtant pain) till the term. Then his often waitings at the bar (where he could not ſtand) and then to be railingly treated by Jeffreys and Withins, and called rogue and knave, and not ſuffered to ſpeak one word of anſwer for himſelf, and his counſel being reviled that offered to ſpeak for him, was far harder to him than his impriſonment. And then going from the bar, he only ſaid, That his predeceſſor thought otherwiſe of him. Jeffreys replied, There was not an honeſt man in England that took him not for a knave; not excepting the king, that had given him another teſtimony in words.

The ſeveral trials in the Weſt were deferred for ſome time after the fatal blow given to the duke of Monmouth, on Tower-Hill, becauſe of my lord's being at Tunbridge; but the latter end of Auguſt, he with a ſpecial commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, aſſiſted with four other judges, ſet forward with a party of horſe, he being made by ſpecial commiſſion their general. The firſt place he came at, was Wincheſter, where were divers priſoners on ſuſpicion; but here began the tragedy: for the lady Liſle was there arraigned for high-treaſon, in harbouring Mr. Hicks and Mr. Nelthorp, that had been concerned with the duke; the lady being on her trial, the jury being diſſatisfied once and again, but my lord's threats and other managery, ſo diſpoſed the jury, that at laſt they brought the lady in guilty; on which he pronounced the ſentence of death on her, as uſual in ſuch caſes; but ſhe had the favour of being beheaded: their other priſoners were carried to Saliſbury; and this was the moſt remarkable thing at thoſe aſſizes.

For Saliſbury they ſet forward from thence, where were many priſoners that had been picked up and down the country, then in the gaol, the which, with thoſe that were brought from Winton, were ordered to be carried to Dorcheſter, there not being evidence enough to accompliſh what was then deſigned by my lord; ſo that little of moment paſſed there, but to purſue the matter, proceeds from thence to Dorcheſter, where he with his aſſiſtants, gownmen and ſwordmen, arrived on the 3d of September, on which day, being Thurſday, the commiſſion was read. Friday morning there was an excellent ſermon preached before their lordſhips, by a worthy divine, chaplain to a worthy perſon of that country, much tending to mercy: it was obſerved, that while my lord chief juſtice was in church at prayers, as well as at ſermon, he was ſeen to laugh; which was ſo unbecoming a perſon in his character, that ought, in ſo weighty an affair as he was then entering upon, to have been more ſerious, and have craved the aſſiſtance of Almighty God.

When the ſermon was over, their lordſhips repaired to the court, which by order of the lord chief juſtice was hung with red cloth, a colour ſuitable to ſuch a ſucceeding bloody tragedy, being accompanied by a numerous company of the gentry of that county, as well as the flower of the neighbouring counties of Somerſet and Devonſhire, and then proceeded to give his charge; in which charge, by reaſon of the ſeverity of his ſentiments, and poſitions laid down to make diſcoveries of all ſuch as were abettors, aiders, or aſſiſters to the late duke of Monmouth, on pain of high-treaſon, which was a great ſurpriſe to all the auditors, and ſo vehemently urged, and ſo paſſionately expreſſed, as ſeemed rather the language of a Romiſh inquiſitor, than a Proteſtant judge; and then adjourned until eight o'clock next morning, when a bill was found againſt thirty perſons charged with high-treaſon, for aiding and aſſiſting the late duke of Monmouth; who put themſelves on their trials, notwithſtanding my lord's threatening, That if any did put themſelves on trial, and the country found them guilty, they ſhould have but a little time to live. And at the ſame time inſinuated, That it were better to plead guilty, if they expected any favour.

"Now theſe thirty being on trial, the evidences being ſworn and examined before the jury; by the violent deportment of the lord chief juſtice, and ſharpneſs of the jury, they found twenty-nine guilty, though ſome of them were very hardly dealt with, and not ſo criminal as my lord and the country imagined. Particularly amongſt the twenty-nine, were Mr. Matthew Bragg, of Thorncomb, and Joſeph Speed, of Culliton, in the county of Devonſhire, and Mr. Smith, conſtable of Chardſtock, in the ſaid county, and George Steward, of Culliton aforeſaid.

"Theſe perſons being found (as before) guilty, my lord immediately pronounced ſentence of death on them all, as is uſual in caſes of high-treaſon, and did the ſame night give a warrant to the ſheriff for the execution of thirteen of the twenty-nine on Monday following; which acordingly was done, notwithſtanding great application was made to the lord chief juſtice by gentlemen of the beſt quality, in this and the neighbouring counties, for a reprieve for Mr. Bragg, to all which he was deaf, and not to be prevailed upon, though he was aſſured of his honeſty, and true conformity to the church of England, yet it availed nothing. At laſt it was only requeſted for ten days reſpite, yet that had no better effect; but on Monday he with twelve more of that number were accordingly executed at Dorcheſter.

In the interim this proceeding was deſigned to ſhorten buſineſs, and to wheedle the reſt that were to follow to a confeſſion, without which the tenth part of them could not be proved guilty. A method was alſo taken without precedent, to entrap many poor ignorant people, by a couple of officers that were ſent into the gaol, to call over, and to take the names of the priſoners, on promiſe, if they confeſſed, they might expect mercy, otherwiſe not; which many did. And this was written ſo, that had they pleaded not guilty, theſe two were deſigned to have been evidences againſt them from their own confeſſions, which ſo diſpoſed the remaining great numbers, that all, except a very few, pleaded guilty, which put an end to any further trial.

Now the only thing remaining, was the pronouncing ſentence on them, which were in number 292, who received ſentence of death all at once. One Mr. Lawrence put himſelf on trial, but by the jury found guilty, whoſe caſe was hard, his circumſtances being ſo ſmall to be condemned to die; and had actually ſuffered, had not application been made to my lord's favourites, and with the payment and ſecuring of 400l. preſerved him from execution.

When this matter was adjuſted, and execution awarded to about 80, which were executed, and their quarters ſet up and down the country to the dread of the ſpectators, as well as the annoyance of the travellers; his extraordinary whippings, though unmerciful, are not to be taken notice of. So we leave this place, and proceed towards the city of Exon: in their way thither, lying at an honourable gentleman's houſe, divers of the neighbouring pariſhes made their petitions to the lord chief juſtice in the behalf of ſome relations concerned. It happened, that through ſome diſorder amongſt his ſervants, ſome piſtols were fired that night, which gave him a ſuſpicion, or at leaſt he took it, of ſome deſign upon him; on which at parting he ſaid, Not a man of all thoſe pariſhes that were of that vicinity, if found guilty, ſhould eſcape. And ſo we proceed, and arrive at Exon, where to the number of 243 priſoners being in cuſtody for aſſiſting the ſaid duke of Monmouth, one amongſt the reſt, Mr. Fower Acers, pleading not guilty, he being found by the jury, the ſaid lord chief juſtice immediately pronounced ſentence upon him, and immediate execution, which was done to terrify the reſt, who all pleaded guilty; ſo that theſe unfortunate people had not time to have the fairneſs of trials allowed them, which is a right due by the laws of God and man. The remaining number he all condemned; and here was a little ſparing, not ſo many ordered for execution as were in the other county, but thoſe that were executed, were hung up and down in moſt towns of the county, and their quarters and heads ſcattered up and down the highways and public places. An extraordinary ſentence of ſevere whipping was pronounced againſt Mr. Samuel Staple, of Thorncomb, in the ſaid county; but theſe are trifles, and we ſhall endeavour to purſue our deſign, and make as quick diſpatch as we can, that time may not be loſt, the king ſerved, and this miſcreant's thirſt quenched with Proteſtant blood, which is always well pleaſing to inquiſitors, and ſo proceed to the town of Taunton, at which place being arrived, it was thought fit by the lord chief juſtice to be as expeditious as might be; ſo that late in the afternoon the court ſat, where the commiſſion being read, he proceeded to give charge, which was ſo very keen and full of ſharp invectives, as if the country itſelf had not been able to make expiation to his lordſhip, to quench his thirſt in the blood of thoſe that ventured their all in defence of the Proteſtant religion; and here we enter upon the bloodieſt part of the tragedy; in this town, and at Wells in the ſaid county, were more than 500 priſoners.

Now to begin at Taunton; the next morning after the charge given, the aſſizes began, where ſome few put themſelves

ſelves on trial, who were found guilty, and immediately ordered to be executed: of which number one Mr. Simon Hambling was one, who was a zealous worthy good man, and his caſe no way dangerous, but on the contrary, had he had to do with a judge of another ſtamp. To proceed to the reſt: this firſt cruelty cauſed the reſt to plead guilty in hopes of favour, which was only a few days to live, which thoſe that pleaded had not. Amongſt theſe at Taunton were divers eminent perſons that had been taken in the Weſt, and carried to London, and brought down there to complete the bloody tragedy in thoſe parts: Mr. Parrot, Mr. Hewling, the elder, Mr. Liſle, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Hucker, and divers others were very eminent. To take notice of every particular in this matter, will alter our deſign, and ſwell the account to too great a bulk, being only deſigned for a ſhort ſketch; and uſeful it may be to ſee the cruelty of men when in their power, and how the devil ſtirreth up his inſtruments, to purſue thoſe that adventure for the cauſe of God and religion. Here were in this country executed 239, the reſt that were condemned were tranſported, except ſuch as were able to furniſh coin, and that not a little: for an account was taken of men's abilities, according to which the purchaſe for life muſt be managed by two of his favourites, who had a ſmall ſhare, the reſt went into his lordſhip's pocket; according to the actions of Rome, where ſins of any kind may be pardoned for money. This indeed was a glorious deſign in the eye of the mother church, to root out hereſy by executions and tranſportations, to make room for a pack; here expedition muſt be made to conclude at Wells, for that a great man being fallen, our great judge deſigning his chair, which in ſhort he had, as the reward of ſo eminent and extraordinary a piece of ſervice as he did for the advancement of the Roman-Catholics intereſt, which is cruel always where it prevails.

Here we leave the town of Taunton, after awarding execution to many there, and their quarters to be ſcattered up and down the country; ſo we proceed to Wells, where divers priſoners that had been carried from gaol to gaol, in expectation of evidence againſt them, were in carts removed to Wells: in which place, to finiſh this expedition, the ſame method as was at the former aſſizes, was alſo taken here by a ſevere charge, affronting the gentlemen of this county, as he had done in all the counties before, terrifying the juries (when any pleaded) to make them bring in the perſons guilty; ſome of which were over-awed, and it is doubted contrary to their judgments; which if ſo, the Lord forgive them.

Many eminent and worthy perſons that received the ſentence of death were among this number, but the executions of the county being put together, as you have before ſeen, we make no particular diviſion of the number here, and the number at Taunton, the whole being recited before: we ſhall therefore endeavour to be as brief as we can, to give you what we think material, and truly matter of fact; my lord now being come to conclude this extraordinary commiſſion, and in haſte to be elevated, maketh all manner of diſpatch to repair to the king then at Windſor, to give an account of his tranſactions, and to receive the reward of his meritorious ſervice, in this butchering of Proteſtants, which is ſo acceptable to his holineſs, and his bigotted diſciples, as nothing can be more; and indeed, if you will believe them, a work that merits heaven at laſt, beſides what temporal preferments are thought fit in this world. If this judge were a true Proteſtant, his caſe is much the worſe, being made uſe of as a tool to deſtroy, and carry on Popiſh deſigns. Thus the affairs being ended, the country filled with heads and quarters of thoſe that were executed, the reſt that had not wherewith to purchaſe their lives, left in cuſtody in order for tranſportation.

When this bloody tragedy in the Weſt was over, our Proteſtant judge returns to London: ſoon after which alderman Corniſh felt the anger of ſomebody behind the curtain; for it is to be noted, that he was ſheriff when Beſt prayed an indictment might be preferred, and was, as well as ſheriff Bethel, earneſt in promoting it; alleging, that it was no ways reaſonable that the juries of London ſhould lie under ſuch a reproach, &c. But paſſing this over, we now find this perſon arrived at the pinnacle of honour: the purſe and mace were reſerved for him, vacant by the death of the lord-keeper North, and he advanced to the lord-chancellorſhip of England; raiſed by this means, as one might think, above the envy of the crowd; and it might be wiſhed, in ſo dangerous a height he had looked better to his foot-ſteps; for now being created baron of Wem, we find him in a high commiſſion, or eccleſiaſtical court, ſuſpending the honourable the lord biſhop of London, from performing the epiſcopal office and function of that ſee, and for no other default, than not readily complying with the king's letter, in ſuſpending Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, for preaching a ſermon in the pariſh church of St. Giles's in the Fields, at the requeſt of the pariſhioners, ſhewing the errors and fallacies of the Romiſh religion; the better to confirm them in the faith and doctrine of the church of England. Nor was it this good biſhop alone that was aimed at; for Magdalen-College, at Oxford, was next attempted, and in that very mother of learning, and chief ſeminary of our church, ſuch alterations were made as ſtartled the kingdom; by whoſe counſel I undertake not to determine: but in the midſt of liberty of conſcience, as twice declared, the church of England had a teſt put upon her ſons, which ſeemed ſuch a paradox that has been rarely heard of, viz. To read the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience in the churches, during the time of divine ſervice, and a mark, and penalties threatened to the refuſers; which was evidently demonſtrated by the impriſonment of thoſe worthy patriots of the church, his grace the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord biſhops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Peterborough, Chicheſter, St. Aſaph, and Briſtol; who for ſhewing their reaſons why they could not comply with this command, by way of humble petition, were ſent to the Tower, and afterwards tried upon information of high miſdemeanor, at the court of King's-Bench; where their innocence appearing in a plain manner, they were acquitted, to the ſcandal of their accuſers: yet orders were ſent into all parts of England, to return an account to the lord-chancellor, of thoſe that refuſed to read the declaration, that they might be proceeded againſt, for a contempt of what their conſciences would not permit them to do; and for a time they were extremely hot upon it. Much about this time there was a conſiderable ſuit depending before him in chancery, between a great heireſs and others, which was ſufficiently talked of in the world, not without loud and deep reflection on his honeſty and honour; for having given the cauſe for the young lady, he very ſpeedily afterwards married her to his ſon; with this remarkable circumſtance, ſhe being a Papiſt, to make ſure work, he married them both ways, both by a prieſt of the church of Rome, and a divine of the church of England. And here, I think, we may place the height of his honour and happineſs, where he is not like to tarry long; for on the news of the great preparations in Holland, and that the prince of Orange was certainly deſigned for England, the determined councils cooled, and then quite ceaſed, ſo that the church of England men, whoſe cauſe the prince had eſpouſed, were reſtored again to the commiſſions and truſts they had been lately deprived of; and amongſt other charters that were on this occaſion reſtored, was that of the city of London; and that which makes it more memorable, was, that it was brought to Guildhall by this perſon, though he was not attended by the ſhouts and acclamations he expected, nor ſeemed ſo florid or frolickſome as heretofore, which ſome looked upon as a bad omen; and it is reported, that ſoon after, he being aſked by a courtier, What the heads of the prince's declaration were? he ſhould anſwer, He was ſure his was one, whatever the reſt were.

As ſoon as the late king James was ſecured at Feverſham, he deſired to ſee his landlord, and demanded his name, who proved to be a perſon who had turned himſelf over to the King's-Bench, for a fine which fell upon him (and captain Stanbrooke, in Weſtminſter) by the lord-chancellor's means at the board; when king James calling for a pen and ink, bid the gentleman write the diſcharge as effectually as he would; which he ſigned: adding, that he was now ſenſible my lord-chancellor had been a very ill man, and done very ill things. If he was thus cenſured by his maſter for his former ſervices, and he had a bad opinion of him; without prophecy any man might predict his ſervice and intereſt was ceaſed; and his life would have been like the ſcape-goat, he muſt have borne all their crimes, and been beheaded for his own, for no leſs indignation than death was couched in the words. Thus may be ſeen what would have been his cataſtrophe.

By this time the court beginning to ſcatter, and the prince of Orange approaching, the king thought fit to withdraw himſelf; upon notice of which the lord-chancellor betook himſelf to Wapping, diſguiſed like a ſeaman, in order to effect his eſcape to Hamburgh in a collier; but being diſcovered, he was brought before ſir J. Chapman, lord-mayor of the city of London, in a ſtrange diſguiſe, very different from the habit in which he formerly appeared: and by reaſon of the lord mayor's indiſpoſition, he not being able to commit him, he offered to go to the Tower, to be out of the hands of the rabble, who there in great numbers with clubs and ſtaves, threatened him with preſent deſtruction; but having a guard of the trained-bands to conduct him, he got thither ſafe, and ſoon after was charged in cuſtody, by a warrant of commitment from the lords at Whitehall, where he continued under much affliction and indiſpoſition, having moved for his *Habeas Corpus* to be bailed, but was not able to attain it. He had not been in the Tower many days, but as it is ſaid (whether or no, I cannot affirm) he had a barrel of oyſters ſent him, upon ſight of which he ſaid to the bearer, I ſee I have ſome friends left ſtill; but upon opening the barrel, he found them to be only friends that were impatient till they gave him a proſpect of his future deſtiny, for verily the mighty preſent was nothing but a good ſtout halter. Now as I ſaid before, whether this paſſage be true or no, I cannot ſay, but this I am ſure (if we conſider his lordſhip's life and cruelties) the moral of it is moſt excellent.

In this manner he continued for ſome months in the Tower, his chronical indiſpoſitions, the ſtone, &c. increaſing very faſt upon him.

Dr. Lower (a very ingenious man) was his phyſician: but nature being now tired out by a tedious combat with his diſeaſe, and the guilt of his former bloody life, notoriouſly known, he contracted an ill habit of body, and at laſt very happily for himſelf, if not his relations too, died in the Tower, about nine o'clock in the morning, *Anno Domini* 1689.

A full Account of the direct Perſecution of the Right Hon. Lord GEORGE GORDON, *Preſident of the* Proteſtant Aſſociation, *and of the indirect Stigma thrown on that Body in General, through the Artifices of Romiſh Emiſſaries.*

THE better to trace this nefarious buſineſs to it's original, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that in the year 1778 a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons by ſir George Savile, and afterwards paſſed into an act, for the repeal of certain proviſions and penal laws, affecting the Roman-Catholics in this country; which ſaid proviſions and penal laws were contained in an act of parliament paſſed in the 11th and 12th years of the reign of king William the Third. This obnoxious act being now ſet aſide by the late repeal, every Popiſh prieſt is conſequently permitted to exerciſe any part of his function in this kingdom; Papiſts are allowed to keep ſchools, and take upon them the education, government, or boarding of youth, to purchaſe eſtates, with other indulgences and immunities.

It is further obſervable that it being propoſed, the following winter, to bring a ſimilar bill into parliament, to take off ſome penalties which were inflicted by the laws of Scotland upon the Roman Catholics of that country; this meaſure was ſo reſented by the Scots, that on the 2d of February an inſurrection happened in the city of Edinburgh; in conſequence whereof, two Popiſh chapels were attacked and ſet on fire; the houſes of the Roman-Catholics in different parts of the town were ranſacked and demoliſhed; and the tumult roſe to ſuch a height, that the utmoſt exertions of the civil magiſtrate, aſſiſted by ſome of the fencibles, were not able to ſuppreſs it, till the provoſt of the city gave aſſurances, in the moſt public manner, that the ſcheme was dropped, and no act of parliament would be applied for, reſpecting the Roman-Catholics of Scotland. Such was the effectual oppoſition the proceedings of the then violent Britiſh miniſter and parliament met with in the North, on the very firſt appearance of countenancing the Papiſts there.

Affairs remained quiet for ſome time in England, but at length the fears and jealouſies of the people were rouſed, from a belief (too juſtly founded) that the late repeal of the ſtatute of king William would be attended with immediate danger to the ſtate, and to the Proteſtant religion; whereupon an aſſociation, called THE PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION, was formed; whoſe main object was, to defend the Proteſtant religion, as by law eſtabliſhed, againſt the encroachments of Popery; and alſo to prepare and preſent a petition to parliament, for a repeal of the late act in favour of the Roman-Catholics. The right honourable lord George Gordon was preſident of this aſſociation; and many reſpectable and pious miniſters, with a great number of worthy private Chriſtians, compoſed a conſiderable part of the aſſembly.

By means of previous notice given in the public prints, upwards of 40,000 perſons, with the members of the Proteſtant Aſſociation of London, Weſtminſter, Southwark, &c. aſſembled in St. George's Fields, on Friday, the 2d of June 1780, in the morning, from whence they proceeded peaceably, and in regular order, to the Houſe of Commons with their petition, which was carried by Mr. Hodgkinſon. They conſiſted of four diviſions; namely, the London, the Scotch, the Weſtminſter, and the Southwark. When they arrived at the Parliament-Houſe, their petition, praying for a repeal of the acts lately paſſed in favour of the Roman-Catholics, was preſented by lord George Gordon, the preſident; and, being received, the ſubject matter of it was referred to the conſideration of the Houſe.

On this, however, as on other occaſions of the like nature, where a mixed multitude is collected together, many evil-minded perſons, unknown to the aſſociation, began to be very riotous, and committed awful outrages, by attacking and ſetting fire to Newgate and other priſons, releaſing the perſons confined in them, and demoliſhed the houſes and deſtroyed the goods of ſeveral Roman-Catholics, and others, on pretence of a zeal for the Proteſtant religion, but in fact for the ſole purpoſe of indulging themſelves in rioting, exceſs, and robbery. Theſe lawleſs miſcreants continued their enormities till Tueſday evening; when a tremendous ſcene opened, and the whole city of London was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, on account of the many gaols and houſes that were burning at one and the ſame time; and had not his majeſty collected together a military force on the next day to protect the city, it was apprehended that the conflagration would have been univerſal.

During the perpetration of theſe horrid acts by an abandoned rabble, lord George Gordon, accompanied by one of the ſheriffs, went in perſon to ſeveral places where the tumults were ſubſiſting, to harangue the outrageous banditti, and exhort them to a peaceable deportment; but all without effect. Such, however, was the malice of his enemies, who were bent on his deſtruction, that notwithſtanding he employed every effort in his power to ſuppreſs the rage, and prevent the miſchievous deſigns of the rioters, they did not ſcruple to accuſe him of being their ringleader and principal abettor

In conſequence of this unjuſt accuſation, his lordſhip was apprehended on Friday, the 9th of June 1780, by a warrant under the hand of one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and was the ſame day committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower, where he was debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and no perſon of his acquaintance was ſuffered to enter the room, or to ſpeak to him; and a keeper was appointed to watch him night and day, to carry the above rigorous order into ſtrict execution.

His lordſhip was treated and confined in this ſevere manner till Michaelmas term of the ſaid year; on the firſt day of which he applied to the court of King's-Bench, by petition founded upon the *Habeas-Corpus* act, to be either tried or ſet at liberty: a few days after which, in the ſame term, an indictment for high-treaſon was framed againſt him, and preſented to the gentlemen grand jurors for the county of Middleſex, who returned it into the court of King's-Bench A TRUE BILL.

We ſhall here, in order to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs, not to ſay injuſtice and cruelty, of theſe proceedings againſt his lordſhip, who was deſirous, throughout the whole affair, of preſerving the utmoſt order and decorum, inſert ſome of the reſolutions of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, iſſued for that purpoſe, previous to the ſetting out of the proceſſion.

"Reſolved, for the ſake of good order and regularity, that this Aſſociation, in coming to the ground, do ſeparate themſelves into four diſtinct diviſions, viz. the London diviſion, the Weſtminſter diviſion, the Southwark diviſion, and the Scotch diviſion.

"Reſolved, that the London diviſion do take place upon the right of the ground towards Southwark, the Weſtminſter diviſion ſecond, the Southwark diviſion third, and the Scotch diviſion upon the left, all wearing blue cockades, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Papiſts, and thoſe who approve of the late act in favour of Popery.

"Reſolved, that the magiſtrates of London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark, be requeſted to attend, that their preſence may over-awe and control any riotous or evil-minded perſons, who may wiſh to diſturb the legal and peaceable deportment of his Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects.

"By order of the Aſſociation, ſigned G. Gordon, Preſident. Dated London, May 29."

By authority we add to this, that on his lordſhip's arrival at St. George's-Fields, the people there aſſembled formed a ring around him; in which ſituation, he made a ſhort ſpeech to them, ſtrongly recommending a peaceable deportment and behaviour, and that in this diſpoſition they would proceed to the houſe with their petition. A hand-bill inculcating the ſame pacific temper and conduct was likewiſe diſtributed.

Furthermore, to make it evident that neither lord Gordon, nor any of his friends, could with any degree of juſtice or propriety be charged as the promoters or encouragers of the horrid enormities afterwards committed by a lawleſs and abandoned rabble (which atrocious practices they utterly abhorred); the Proteſtant Aſſociation thought fit to publiſh the following advertiſement by order of the committee, and ſigned by Mr. Fiſher, their ſecretary:

"The Proteſtant Aſſociation think it their duty, as loyal ſubjects and members of civil ſociety, in the moſt public manner to diſavow any connection with thoſe lawleſs rioters, who have for ſeveral days paſt, under pretence of oppoſing Popery, and promoting the ſucceſs of the Proteſtant petitions, committed the moſt flagrant and dreadful depredations in and about the metropolis. They cannot but feel the deepeſt concern for the diſtreſs that has been brought on many individuals by ſuch unprecedented and illegal proceedings, and hereby publicly declare their abhorrence of ſuch atrocious conduct."

This full and clear vindication of his lordſhip and his Proteſtant adherents, will, we humbly truſt, to every unprejudiced mind, prove a ſufficient teſtimony of their Chriſtian moderation, and united deſire to maintain the public tranquillity by every expedient poſſible.

But the perſecuting rage exerted againſt lord George Gordon, the iniquity of which was manifeſted in his impriſonment and trial, will appear the more glaring, when we conſider the characters of the evidence upon which the indictment was found. They are thus deſcribed, and their accounts repreſented as follow:

Mr. Chamberlayne, ſolicitor to the treaſury, produced a paper, ſigned "G. Gordon," which had been given to a man, by way of certificate, of his being a Proteſtant, to prevent his houſe from being deſtroyed by the rioters. He ſwore that he had ſeen lord George Gordon's writing, and did believe that this letter was written by him.

William Hay ſwore, that he heard lord George Gordon ſay publicly, at a meeting at Coach-Makers-Hall, that the king had forfeited his crown, and therefore they had a right to take up arms to recover their religious liberties.

The Rev. Thomas Bowen ſwore, that he heard lord George Gordon (out of the houſe) ſay to the people, They muſt be firm, and ſtand by him, for that the Scotch did not obtain their religious liberty till they had pulled down the maſs houſes: and that he came a ſecond time, and declared to the people, that alderman Bull and alderman Sawbridge were violent againſt their petition.

M'Ray (an Iriſh chairman) ſwore, that he heard lord George Gordon ſay, the petition ſhould be granted, or elſe——. On being aſked, What elſe? He anſwered, *Elſe! elſe!*——He was diſmiſſed.

Mr. Juſtice Wright ſwore, that his houſe was deſtroyed by the rioters, but could not ſay whether at the inſtigation of lord George Gordon or not.

Jealous, Parrat, and M'Manus (three of ſir John Fielding's runners) ſwore, that they ſaw lord George Gordon in St. George's-Fields, with a great number of people around him, and that he remained there ſome time, but they could not ſay how long.

The other witneſſes were William Metcalf, John Anſtruther, John Caler, Eſq. Mr. Joſeph Pearſon, Sampſon Rainsford, Thomas Baker, David Miles, Mr. Thomas Gates, William Hyde, Eſq. right honourable lord Porcheſter, John Lucy, Barnard Turner (a ſugar-refiner) Richard Pond, John Dingwell, &c.

His lordſhip's trial came on in the court of King's-Bench, on Monday, the 6th of February 1781. The council for the crown were, Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Howarth, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Norton. The council for the priſoner were Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erſkine.

Mr. Kenyon made a very able defence in behalf of the noble priſoner, and ſeveral gentlemen were called to the ſupport of what he had urged in favour of his lordſhip, and in contradiction to every fact aſſerted for the proſecution.

The names of the witneſſes on behalf of the priſoner were, the Rev. Eraſmus Middleton, Mr. T. Evans, lord viſcount Stormont, ſir Philip Jennings Clerke, Bart. ſir James Lowther, Bart. William Smith, Mrs. Whittingham, Alexander Johnſtone, Alexander Frazer, John Humphries, Sampſon Hodgkinſon, John Robinſon, Mrs. Yaud, and Mr. alderman Pugh.

Mr. Erſkine then ſpoke, for he begged to be permitted to reſerve what he had to ſay till after the evidence on their part ſhould be examined, which was granted. This gentleman diſplayed both his eloquence and underſtanding on the occaſion. The Solicitor-General replied, and lord Mansfield then ſummed up the evidence, but declined making any comments, and as ſoon as he had delivered his charge he left the court.

The jury withdrew, and in about twenty minutes returned. Juſt as they were taking their ſeats, Mr. Erſkine fainted away. Some time was loſt by this accident. The verdict was then pronounced—NOT GUILTY.

The burſt of applauſe that took place on this was very great, and attended by circumſtances that made it highly affecting; lord William Gordon fainted away, and the old faithful ſervant of lord George fell into fits.

After the tumult had ſubſided, lord George Gordon, being reſcued from the numbers that preſſed upon him with their congratulations, came forward and addreſſed the jury in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the jury, you have done perfectly right in the verdict you have given. I am not the perſon I was charged to be. I declare to God, that I am as innocent as any one of you, and never deſigned any thing of treaſon againſt my king or country. Gentlemen, it has been a wicked and infamous proſecution—

His lordſhip was interrupted by the jury, upon which he concluded, "Gentlemen, I beg your pardon; excuſe my warmth. I heartily thank you, and God bleſs you."

Judge Willes then informed lord George that he was diſcharged, and of courſe at liberty to depart, and his lordſhip, at near ſix o'clock on Tueſday morning (the 6th) went from the hall, attended by his brothers, the duke of Gordon and lord William Gordon. The duke of Richmond, lord Derby, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and many other public gentlemen, were alſo preſent.

The futility and contradictory nature of many of the evidence, collected together to procure the conviction and death of lord Gordon, for a crime of which he had always retained an utter deteſtation; together with the very able and clear juſtification of his conduct by his learned counſel, ſet his innocence in ſo conſpicuous a point of view, as to bring about an honourable acquittal, to the confuſion of his enemies, and the entire ſatisfaction of all real friends to civil and religious liberty, and the Proteſtant cauſe; and we have the pleaſure to obſerve, that his lordſhip was much indebted to the very juſt and ſenſible deſcription of the Proteſtant Aſſociation given by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, who was a member thereof.

And there never was a ſingle perſon either convicted, tried, or even apprehended, on ſuſpicion of being acceſſary to, or any ways promoting the riots, who was a member of that reſpectable body, the Proteſtant Aſſociation; this circumſtance muſt therefore afford a ſatisfactory proof that the perſecution of lord George Gordon was ſet on foot and carried on by unprincipled Proteſtants, and avowed Papiſts, in order to take away the life of this truly honourable man, who had always approved himſelf a hearty and zealous friend to his king and country, a warm defender of its civil and religious liberties, and a ſtrenuous oppoſer and deteſter of the tenets and practices of the Roman-Catholics, as inimical to the beſt and deareſt intereſts of mankind in general.

Such being the amiable diſpoſition of mind poſſeſſed by his lordſhip, and ſo pure and well-directed were his views and intention reſpecting the important cauſe in which he engaged, that it is matter of aſtoniſhment ſuch a ſpirit of perſecution, nearly allied to that of a Popiſh inquiſition, ſhould go forth againſt him, were we not aſſured, from the ſacred records, that the ſeed of the ſerpent will never ceaſe to perſecute and haraſs the feed of the woman. But as truth and innocence always have, and ever will, prove victorious over error and malevolence, ſo it happened in this inſtance.

As a further exculpation of his lordſhip, and the members of the Proteſtant Aſſociation, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, in general, that there was not one man of character or condition, of any deſcription, who abetted the rioters in the commiſſion of ſuch dreadful enormities and exceſſes; nor was there any man among the Aſſociation who was either tried, or taken up on ſuſpicion, except his lordſhip, whoſe too forward zeal might perhaps precipitate him into meaſures which he was far from imagining would be productive of thoſe dreadful conſequences by which the whole metropolis, and its environs, were thrown into a ſtate of convulſion unparalleled in the annals of hiſtory. The horrid outrages committed by thoſe abandoned wretches, the rioters, were ſo numerous and terrifying, and the further miſchiefs dreaded from their menaces were ſo tremendous, that (as was remarked of one of the cruel Roman emperors) one would almoſt think the Divine Being had ſuffered thoſe miſcreants to run ſuch ſhocking lengths, to ſhew what horrid exceſſes the human mind is capable of, when left without reſtraint to its own evil bias. But the puniſhment due to ſuch heinous crimes ſoon overtook many of them, though it is to be feared not all of the moſt guilty; ſince ſeveral imprudent and over-curious perſons, by mixing with the principal actors, had involved themſelves in the ſame puniſhment. But, however, the ſufferings of ſome of the moſt notorious offenders, at the ſame time that it may ſerve as an example of terror to evil doers, ſufficiently proves, that how daringly ſoever wickedneſs may triumph for a ſeaſon, it will draw after it the puniſhment juſtly due to the tranſgreſſion of human laws, and, without repentance, an obnoxiouſneſs to the Almighty's vengeance.

All perſecutions, particularly thoſe on the ſcore of religion, are in themſelves diabolical, and therefore diametrically oppoſite to the mild and benign ſpirit of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, who, when he was reviled and maltreated, returned not evil for evil, but contrariwiſe bleſſing. In theſe enlightened days, perſecution is conſidered as an abominable and deteſtable crime: its firſt principle was, to increaſe morality, by enforcing one opinion, and exterminating all others; but, like madneſs, its characteriſtic was, acting conſiſtently upon wrong principles; it went on this grand error, that a man could judge of the opinion of another, better than he who entertained it: it might naturally have been imagined, that the philanthropic doctrines of Chriſtianity would have proved a remedy for this error; but, through the depravity of the human heart, the reverſe had turned out to be the fact, and torture and death had been introduced, to force men from their religious opinions into ſuch as thoſe in power entertained.

Perſecution (if in the milder ſenſe it may be ſo called) went originally upon a principle of kindneſs: its primary intention was, to promote unity of opinion with regard to the truth, as handed down to us by Chriſt and his apoſtles, and the extinction of thoſe opinions which were conceived to be erroneous: but in proceſs of time, perſecution became a moſt cruel and inſupportable tyrant, the very reverſe of toleration, which is founded, and that ſucceſsfully, on philoſophy and reaſon. The language of perſecution is arrogant, contracted, and haughty: it ſays, "I know the conſequences of your opinions better than you know them yourſelf." The mild language of toleration is far different: that may indeed expreſs a diſlike of a certain opinion, but ſays, "Since you profeſs ſuch and ſuch an opinion, I will not believe that you think ſuch dangerous inferences may be drawn from it, as I do." The latter mode of judging is leſs liable to error than the former, and far more adapted to promote the happineſs and peace of the community. It is right to judge, by the fruit of the tree, from the effect of the cauſe: other modes of judging are liable to continual error; inaſmuch as men muſt judge of acts, and not merely of opinions.

Impreſſed with theſe ideas, we may ſafely infer, that a perſecuting Chriſtian is a contradiction in terms; for the weapons of Chriſt's ſoldiers are not carnal, much leſs diabolical and infernal; ſuch being injurious to a good cauſe, and ſcandalous to true religion. The word and Spirit of God are the moſt proper inſtruments for propagating and impreſſing the truth as it is in Jeſus, who, being himſelf meek and lowly in heart, requires all that bear his name to be like-minded—not only to commit no evil themſelves, but to bear it patiently from others, who will, by obſerving ſuch a ſuitable conduct in real Chriſtians, be convinced that they are governed by the dictates of ſcripture, right reaſon, good ſenſe, and ſound policy; thus rendering Chriſtianity ſo amiable in the eyes even of its oppoſers and perſecutors, that its enemies may be conſtrained to throw down their arms, and enliſt under its banner.

THE
NEW AND COMPLETE
BOOK of MARTYRS,
OR, AN
Univerſal Hiſtory of Martyrdom:
BEING AN ENTIRE NEW EDITION OF
FOX's BOOK OF MARTYRS,
Newly Reviſed and Corrected, with Additions and great Improvements.

PART II. Being a Supplement.
CONTAINING
COMPLETE HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS of the LIVES, SUFFERINGS,
and DEATHS, of the
PRIMITIVE AND EARLY MARTYRS,
From the CREATION of the WORLD, to the Time of Queen MARY I.

CHAP. I.

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in the* FIRST AGES *of the* WORLD.

SHORTLY after the creation the ſpirit of perſecution began to ſhew itſelf in the world. Of this we have a lamentable account given by Moſes. The righteous Abel was the firſt martyr who fell a ſacrifice to the envy and cruelty of his brother Cain. Afterwards commenced the perſecution of Noah by his ſon Ham; the perſecution of Lot at Sodom; of Joſeph by his brethren, &c.

The firſt general perſecution in theſe early ages, may be deemed that of the children of Iſrael by Pharaoh. This tyrant not only afflicted both ſexes of all ages by means of the moſt cruel taſk-maſters, but even ordered the new-born infants of the Hebrew women to be murdered. He was, however, puniſhed for his perſecutions; firſt by ten dreadful plagues, and afterwards by being ſwallowed up in the Red Sea, with all his people.

The children of Iſrael, after being freed from bondage, were ſucceſſively perſecuted by the Philiſtines, Ammonites, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Arabians, and Aſſyrians; and many of the prophets and choſen of God were perſecuted by ſeveral of the kings of Judah and Iſrael.

Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, the three righteous children were thrown into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel was caſt into the lion's den by order of Darius; and Mordecai was perſecuted by the malicious Haman: but theſe were all reſpectively ſaved by the Almighty, and their perſecutors puniſhed for their perfidy.

Likewiſe, the Jews were perſecuted by the neighbouring idolators during the time of their building and fortifying Jeruſalem, till that great work was finiſhed by the care of Nehemiah; but after its completion they were frequently diſturbed by the Perſians, and the ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great, though that monarch himſelf had granted favours the moſt unlimited.

About a little more than a century and a half before the birth of Chriſt, Antiochus ſeized upon and ſacked the city of Jeruſalem, plundered the temple, and murdered many of the Jews who refuſed to conform to his idolatry, by ſcourging, ſtrangling, crucifying, and ſtifling them, and by cloſing up the mouths of the caves to which they fled for refuge.

However, Antiochus and the idolatrous tormentors were at length bravely oppoſed by Matthias a prieſt, and his valiant ſons, the principal of whom was Judas Maccabeus. This able commander Judas, with his brave brothers, inſpired the diſpirited Jews with new courage, defeated the generals of Antiochus, freed their country from bondage, and afterwards turned their arms againſt the Edomites and Ammonites, over whom they were equally ſucceſsful.

Antiochus at length died a terrible death, his fleſh having been ſome time before quite putrid, and producing maggots; ſo that he became loathſome to himſelf, and nauſeous to all about him. His ſucceſſors, however, continued their enmity to the Jews; but they were oppoſed by the Maccabees with various ſucceſs.

Now the Jews entered into a treaty offenſive and defenſive with the Romans; but ſoon after loſt their worthy champion Judas Maccabeus, who was ſlain in a bloody battle fought with the Greeks, under the command of their general Bacchides.

While Antiochus Epiphanes reigned in Syria, having ſome ſucceſs againſt the Jews, he went to Jeruſalem, where he ordered Eleazer the prieſt to be put to death in the moſt cruel manner, for refuſing to eat ſwine's fleſh. Then ſeizing on a family of Maccabees, conſiſting of a matron named Salamona, and her ſeven ſons, he carried them all to Antioch. Here he would fain have perſuaded them to embrace his idolatry, which they nobly and unanimouſly refuſing, he ordered them all to be put to death.

Accordingly Maccabeus, the eldeſt, was ſtripped, ſtretched on the rack, and ſeverely beaten. He was next faſtened to a wheel, and weights hung to his feet till his ſinews cracked. Afterwards his tormentors threw him into a fire till he was dreadfully ſcorched; then they drew him out, cut out his tongue, and put him into a frying-pan, with a ſlow fire under it, till he died. As long as he had life, and power of expreſſion, under theſe exquiſite torments, he fervently called upon God, and exhorted his brothers to a ſimilar perſeverance.

When the ſecond ſon had his hands faſtened with chains, with which he was hung up, his ſkin was flayed off from the crown of his head to his knees. He was then caſt to a leopard, but the beaſt refuſing to touch him, he was ſuffered to languiſh till he expired with the excruciating pain, and loſs of blood.

Machir, the third ſon, was bound to a globe till his bones were all diſlocated; his head and face were then flayed, his tongue cut out, and being caſt into a pan he was fried to death.

Judas, the fourth ſon, after having his tongue cut out, was beat with ropes, and then racked upon a wheel.

Achas, the fifth ſon, was pounded in a large brazen mortar.

Areth, the ſixth ſon, was faſtened to a pillar with his head downwards, ſlowly roaſted by a fire kindled at ſome diſtance; his tongue was then cut out, and he was laſtly fried in a pan.

Jacob, the ſeventh and youngeſt ſon, had his arms cut off, his tongue plucked out, and was then fried to death.

They all bore their fate with the ſame intrepidity as their elder brother, and called upon the Almighty to receive them into heaven.

Salamona, their mother, after having in a manner died ſeven deaths in beholding the martyrdom of her children, was, by the tyrant's order, ſtripped naked, ſeverely ſcourged, her breaſts cut off, and her body fried till ſhe expired.

The inhuman tyrant who inflicted theſe cruelties, was afterwards ſtruck with madneſs; and then his fleſh became corrupted, and his bowels mortified, which put an end to himſelf and his wickedneſs.

C H A P. II.

Containing a full and particular Account of the LIFE, SUFFERINGS, *and cruel* MARTYRDOM *of Our Bleſſed* LORD *and* SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST; *together with that of his* APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, &c. *the* TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS *in the* PRIMITIVE CHURCH, &c. &c.

WHEN Herod the Great was informed that a king of the Jews ſhould be born in Bethlehem, he ſent a number of troops to deſtroy all the children under two years of age, in that place, and throughout the neighbouring coaſt. By this cruel order he hoped to have deſtroyed the child Jeſus; but in this he was not only diſappointed, but puniſhed with ſuch a ſpirit of lunacy, that he ſlew his own wife, children, relations, friends, &c. He was afterwards viſited by the moſt grievous maladies, particularly an inward burning, ſlow, but unremitting; an uncommon appetite, continually craving, but ever unſatisfied; a cramp that racked him with pain; a flux that reduced him to weakneſs; worms that bred in him and gnawed him; vermin that engendered about him and devoured him; a general putrefaction that conſumed him; and, in fine, all thoſe complicated diſorders which could poſſibly render him hateful to himſelf, and odious to others. His torments at length became ſo intolerable, that not having either the comforts of religion, or the ſupport of a good conſcience to ſuſtain his ſinking ſpirits, he attempted to lay violent hands upon himſelf. Being prevented in this attempt by thoſe about him, he at laſt ſunk under the oppreſſion of his afflictions, and in the moſt miſerable manner expired.

Now when Herod the Leſs married the daughter of the king of Arabia, he repudiated her, and eſpouſed Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: for which marriage, full of inceſt and adultery, John the Baptiſt boldly and ſeverely reproved him. This freedom greatly incenſed Herodias; for we are informed by St. Matthew, in the xiv. chapter of his goſpel, that "when Herod's birth-day was kept, the daughter of Herodias danced before them, and pleaſed Herod: whereupon he promiſed with an oath, to give her whatſoever ſhe would aſk. And ſhe being before inſtructed of her mother, ſaid, Give me here John Baptiſt's head in a charger. And the king was ſorry: nevertheleſs, for the oath's ſake, and them which ſat with him at meat, he commanded it to be given her; and he ſent and beheaded John in the priſon. And his head was brought in a charger, and given to the damſel: and ſhe brought it to her mother." The authors of this cruelty were, however, all ſeverely puniſhed; for the daughter of Herodias being afterwards dancing upon the ice, it broke, and ſhe falling in, had her head ſevered from her body by its again cloſing; and Herod, with the inceſtuous adultreſs Herodias, falling under the diſpleaſure of the Roman emperor, were baniſhed, and died miſerably in exile. As this martyr's nativity happened on the 24th of June, accordingly on that day the church celebrates his memory.

Let us now proceed with the hiſtory of our Bleſſed Redeemer. In the reign of Herod the Great already mentioned, the angel Gabriel was ſent by the Almighty to a holy virgin, called Mary. This maiden was betrothed to a carpenter named Joſeph, who reſided at Nazareth, a city of Galilee, but the conſummation had not then taken place; for it was the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations to contract perſons of each ſex from their childhood, though the cohabitation was not permitted till years of maturity.

Upon this the angel informed Mary how highly ſhe was favoured of God, and that ſhe ſhould conceive a ſon by the Holy Spirit, which happened accordingly: for travelling to Bethlehem to pay the capitation-tax then levied, the town was ſo crowded that they could only get lodgings in a ſtable, where the holy virgin brought forth our Bleſſed Redeemer, which was announced to the world by a ſtar and an angel: the wiſe men of the Eaſt ſaw the firſt, and the ſhepherd's the latter. After Jeſus had been circumciſed, he was preſented in the temple by the holy virgin; upon which occaſion Simeon broke out into the celebrated words mentioned in the Liturgy: "Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace according to thy word: for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation." Luke ii. 29, 30.

In his youth, Jeſus diſputed with the moſt learned doctors in the temple, and ſoon after was baptized in the river Jordan by John, when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon him in the form of a dove, and a voice was heard audibly to pronounce theſe words: "This is my beloved ſon in whom I am well pleaſed."

After this Chriſt faſted forty days and nights in the wilderneſs, when he was tempted by the Devil, but reſiſted all his allurements. He then performed his firſt miracle at Cana in Galilee; he likewiſe converſed with the good Samaritan, and reſtored to life a nobleman's dead child. Travelling through Galilee, he reſtored the blind to ſight, cured the lame, the lepers, &c. &c. &c. likewiſe among other benevolent actions, at the pool of Betheſda, he cured a paralytic man who had been lame thirty-eight years, bidding him take up his bed and walk; and he afterwards cured a man, whoſe right hand was ſhrunk up and withered.

When he had choſen his twelve apoſtles, he preached the celebrated ſermon upon the Mount; after which he performed ſeveral miracles, particularly the feeding of the multitude, and the walking on the ſurface of the water.

When the paſſover was celebrated, Jeſus ſupped with his diſciples; informed them, that one of them would betray him, and another deny him, and preached his farewell ſermon. Soon after, a multitude of armed men ſurrounded him, and Judas kiſſed him, in order to point him out to the ſoldiers who did not know him perſonally. In the ſcuffle occaſioned by the apprehending of Jeſus, Peter cut off the ear of Malchus the ſervant of the high-prieſt, for which Jeſus reproved him, and healed the wound by touching it. Peter and John followed Jeſus to the houſe of Annas, who refuſing to judge him, ſent him bound to Caiaphas, where Peter denied Chriſt, as the latter had predicted; but on Chriſt's reminding him of his perfidy, Peter went out and wept bitterly.

As ſoon as the council aſſembled in the morning, the Jews mocked Jeſus, and the elders ſuborned falſe witneſſes againſt him: the principal accuſation againſt him being, that he had ſaid, "I will deſtroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands," Mark xiv. 58. Caiaphas then aſked him if he was Chriſt, the Son of God, or no; being anſwered in the affirmative, he was accuſed of blaſphemy, and condemned to death by Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, who, though conſcious of his innocence, yielded to the ſolicitations of the Jews, and condemned him to be crucified.

The Jews previous to the crucifixion, by way of deriſion, clothed Chriſt in a regal robe, put a crown of thorns upon his head, and a reed for a ſceptre, in his hand: they then mocked him with ironical compliments, ſpit in his face, ſlapped his cheeks, and taking the reed out of his hand, they ſtruck him with it upon the head. Pilate would fain have releaſed him, but the general cry was, Crucify him, Crucify him; which occaſioned the governor to call for a baſon of water, and having waſhed his hands, he declared himſelf innocent of the blood of Chriſt, whom he juſtly termed a juſt perſon. The Jews, however, ſaid, let his blood be upon us, and our children; which wiſh has manifeſtly taken place, as they have never ſince been a collected people.

While leading Chriſt to the place of crucifixion, they obliged him to bear the croſs, which he being afterwards unable to ſuſtain, they compelled one Simon, a native of Cyrenia, to carry the croſs the reſt of the way. Mount Calvary was the place of execution, where being arrived, the ſoldiers offered him a mixture of gall and vinegar to drink, which he refuſed. Having ſtripped him, they nailed him to the croſs, and crucified him between two malefactors. After being faſtened to the croſs, he uttered this benevolent prayer for his enemies: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The ſoldiers who crucified him being four in number, now cut his mantle to pieces, and divided it between them; but his coat being without ſeam, they caſt lots for it. Whilſt Chriſt remained in the agonies of death, the Jews mocked him, and ſaid, "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the croſs." The chief prieſts and ſcribes alſo reviled him, and ſaid, "He ſaved others, but cannot ſave himſelf." Indeed, one of the malefactors who was crucified with him, cried out, and ſaid, "If you are the Meſſiah, ſave yourſelf and us;" but the other malefactor, having the greateſt reliance upon Jeſus, exclaimed, "Lord, remember me when thou comeſt into thy kingdom." To which Chriſt replied, "This day ſhalt thou be with me in paradiſe."

When Chriſt was upon the croſs, the earth was covered with darkneſs, and the ſtars appeared at noonday, which ſtruck even the Jews with terror. In the midſt of his tortures Chriſt cried out, "My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me;" and then expreſſed a deſire to drink, when one of the ſoldiers gave him, upon the point of a reed, a ſponge dipped in vinegar, which, however, Jeſus refuſed. About three o'clock in the afternoon he gave up the ghoſt, and at the ſame time a violent earthquake happened, when the rocks were rent, the mountains trembled, and the graves gave up their dead. Theſe were the ſignal prodigies that attended the death of Chriſt, and ſuch was the mortal end of the Redeemer of mankind—*Hominum Salvator!!!*

A Particular Account of the LIVES, SUFFERINGS, *and* MARTYRDOM *of the* APOSTLES, EVANGELISTS, *&c.*

I. ST. STEPHEN,

THE Proto, or firſt martyr, was elected, with ſix others, as a deacon, out of the Lord's ſeventy diſciples. Stephen was an able and ſucceſsful preacher. The principal perſons belonging to five Jewiſh ſynagogues entered into many altercations with him; but he, by the ſoundneſs of his doctrine, and the ſtrength of his arguments, overcame them all, which ſo much irritated them, that they ſuborned falſe witneſſes to accuſe him of blaſpheming God and Moſes. Being carried before the council, he made a noble defence, but that ſo much exaſperated his judges, that they reſolved to condemn him. At this inſtant Stephen ſaw a viſion from heaven of Jeſus, in his glorified ſtate, ſitting at the right hand of God. This viſion ſo greatly rejoiced him, that he exclaimed in raptures, "Behold, I ſee the heavens opened, and the Son of Man ſtanding on the right hand of God." They then condemned him, and having dragged him out of the city, ſtoned him to death. On the ſpot where he was martyred, Eudocia, the empreſs of the emperor Theodoſius, erected a ſuperb church, and the memory of him is annually celebrated on the 26th day of December.

The death of Stephen was ſucceeded by a ſevere perſecution in Jeruſalem, in which 2000 Chriſtians, with Nicar the deacon, were martyred; and many others obliged to leave that country.

II. ST. JAMES the GREAT, a Galilean, was the ſon of Zebedee, a fiſherman, the elder brother of St. John, and a relation to Chriſt himſelf; for his mother Salome was couſin-german to the Virgin Mary. Being one day with his father fiſhing in the ſea of Galilee, he and his brother John, were called by our Saviour to become his diſciples. They cheerfully obeyed the mandate, and leaving their father, followed Jeſus. It is to be obſerved, that Chriſt placed a greater confidence in them, than in any other of the apoſtles, Peter excepted.

Chriſt called theſe brothers Boanerges, or the ſons of thunder, on account of their fiery ſpirits, and impetuous tempers.

When Herod Agrippa, was made governor of Judea by the emperor Caligula, he raiſed a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and particularly ſingled out James as an object of his vengeance.

When James was condemned to death, he ſhewed ſuch an intrepidity of ſpirit, and conſtancy of mind, that his very accuſer was ſtruck with admiration, and became a convert to Chriſtianity. This tranſition ſo enraged the people in power, that they likewiſe condemned him to death; when James the apoſtle, and his penitent accuſer, were both beheaded on the ſame day, and with the ſame ſword. Theſe events took place in the year of Chriſt 44; and the 25th of July was fixed by the church for the commemoration of this ſaint's martyrdom.

About the ſame period, Timon and Parmenas, two of the ſeven deacons, ſuffered martyrdom; the former at Corinth, and the latter at Philippi, in Macedonia.

III. St. PHILIP. This apoſtle and martyr was born at Bethſaida, in Galilee, and was the firſt called by the name of Diſciple. He was honoured with ſeveral important commiſſions by Chriſt, and being deputed to preach in Upper Aſia, laboured very diligently in his apoſtleſhip. He then travelled into Phrygia, and arriving at Heliopolis, was greatly grieved to find the inhabitants ſo ſunk in idolatry, as to worſhip a large ſerpent. St. Philip, however, converted many of them to Chriſtianity, and even procured the death of the ſerpent. This ſo enraged the magiſtrates, that they committed him to priſon, had him ſeverely ſcourged, and afterwards crucified. His friend, St. Bartholomew, found an opportunity of taking down the body, and burying it; for which however, he was very near ſuffering the ſame fate. His martyrdom happened eight years after that of St. James the Great, A. D. 52; and his name, together with that of St. James the Leſs, is commemorated on the 1ſt of May.

IV. St. MATTHEW. This evangeliſt, apoſtle, and martyr, was born at Nazareth in Galilee, but reſided chiefly at Capernaum, on account of his buſineſs, which was that of a toll-gatherer, to collect tribute of ſuch as had occaſion to paſs the ſea of Galilee. On being called as a diſciple, he immediately complied, and left every thing to follow Chriſt. After the aſcenſion of his maſter, he continued preaching the goſpel in Judea about nine years. Deſigning to leave Judea, in order to go and preach among the Gentiles, he wrote his goſpel in Hebrew, for the uſe of the Jewiſh converts; but it was afterwards tranſlated into Greek by St. James the Leſs. Going to Ethiopia he ordained preachers, ſettled churches, and made many converts. He then proceeded to Parthia, where he had the ſame ſucceſs; but returning to Ethiopia, he was ſlain by a halbert in the city of Nadabar, about the year of Chriſt 60; and his feſtival is kept by the church on the 21ſt day of September. He was inoffenſive in his conduct, and in his mode of living remarkably temperate.

V. St. MARK. This evangeliſt and martyr was born of Jewiſh parents, of the tribe of Levi. It is imagined, that he was converted to Chriſtianity by St. Peter, whom he ſerved as an amanuenſis, and whom he attended in all his travels. Being entreated by the converts at Rome to commit to writing the admirable diſcourſes they had heard from St. Peter and himſelf: this requeſt he complied with, and compoſed his goſpel accordingly, in the Greek language. He then went to Egypt, and conſtituted a biſhopric at Alexandria: afterwards he proceeded to Lybia, where he made many converts. Returning to Alexandria, ſome of the Egyptians, exaſperated at his ſucceſs, determined on his death. To accompliſh this they tied his feet, dragged him through the ſtreets, left him to remain bruiſed as he was, in a dungeon all night, and the next day burned his body. This happened on the 25th of April, on which day the church commemorates his martyrdom. His bones were carefully gathered up by the Chriſtians, decently interred, and afterwards removed to Venice, where he is conſidered as the tutelar ſaint, and patron of the ſtate.

VI. St. JAMES the Leſs. This apoſtle and martyr was called ſo, to diſtinguiſh him from St. James the Great. He was the ſon, by a firſt wife, of Joſeph, the reputed father of Chriſt: he was, after the Lord's aſcenſion, elected biſhop of Jeruſalem: he wrote his general epiſtle to all Chriſtians, and converts whatever, to ſuppreſs a dangerous error then propagating, viz. "That a faith in Chriſt was alone ſufficient for ſalvation, without good works." The Jews, being at this time, greatly enraged that St. Paul had eſcaped their fury, by appealing to Rome, determined to wreak their vengeance on James, who was now ninety-four years of age: they accordingly threw him down, beat, bruiſed, and ſtoned him; and then daſhed out his brains with a club, ſuch as was uſed by fullers in dreſſing cloths. His feſtival, together with that of St. Philip, is kept on the firſt of May.

VII. St. MATTHIAS. This apoſtle and martyr was called to the apoſtleſhip after the death of Chriſt, to ſupply the vacant place of Judas, who had betrayed his maſter, and was likewiſe one of the ſeventy diſciples. He was martyred at Jeruſalem, being firſt ſtoned, and then beheaded; and the 24th of February is obſerved for the celebration of his feſtival.

VIII. St. ANDREW. This apoſtle and martyr was the brother of St. Peter, and preached the goſpel to many Aſiatic nations. Arriving at Edeſſa, the governor of the country, named Egeas, threatened him very hard for preaching againſt the idols there worſhipped. St. Andrew perſiſting in the propagation of his doctrines, he was ordered to be crucified on a croſs, two ends of which were tranſverſely fixed in the ground. He boldly told his accuſers, that he would not have preached the glory of the croſs, had he feared to die on it. And again, when they came to crucify him, he ſaid, that he coveted the croſs, and longed to embrace it. He was faſtened to the croſs, not with nails but cords, that his death might be more lingering. In this ſituation he continued two days, preaching the greateſt part of the time to the people; and expired on the 30th of November, which is commemorated as his feſtival.

IX. St. PETER. This great apoſtle and martyr was born at Bethſaida in Galilee, being the ſon of Jonah, a fiſherman, which employment St. Peter himſelf followed. He was perſuaded by his brother to turn Chriſtian, when Chriſt gave him the name of Cephas, implying in the Syriac language, a rock. He was called, at the ſame time as his brother, to be an apoſtle; gave uncommon proofs of his zeal for the ſervice of Chriſt, and always appeared as the principal ſpeaker among the apoſtles. He had, however the weakneſs to deny his maſter, after his apprehenſion, though he defended him at the time; but the ſincerity of his repentance made an atonement for the atrociouſneſs of his crime.

After the death of Chriſt, the Jews ſtill continued to perſecute the Chriſtians, and even went ſo far as to order ſeveral of the apoſtles, among whom was Peter, to be ſcourged. This puniſhment they bore with the greateſt fortitude, and rejoiced that they were thought worthy to ſuffer for the ſake of their Redeemer.

When Herod Agrippa cauſed St. James the Great to be put to death, and found that it pleaſed the Jews, he reſolved in order to ingratiate himſelf further with the people, that Peter ſhould fall the next ſacrifice to his malice. He was accordingly apprehended, and thrown into priſon; but an angel of the Lord releaſed him, which ſo enraged Herod, that he ordered the centinels, who guarded the dungeon in which he had been confined, to be put to death. St. Peter after various other miracles, retired to Rome, where he defeated all the artifices, and confounded the magic of Simon, the magician, a great favourite of the emperor Nero: he likewiſe converted to Chriſtianity one of the concubines of that monarch, which ſo exaſperated the tyrant, that he ordered both St. Peter and St. Paul to be apprehended. During the time of their confinement, they converted two of the captains of the guard, and forty-ſeven other perſons to Chriſtianity. Having been nine months in priſon, Peter was brought out from thence for execution, when after being ſeverely ſcourged, he was crucified with his head downwards; which poſition, however, was at his own requeſt. His feſtival is obſerved on the 29th of June, on which day he, as well as Paul, ſuffered. His body being taken down, embalmed, and buried in the vatican, a church was afterwards erected on the ſpot; but this being deſtroyed by the emperor Heliogabalus, the body was removed, till the 20th biſhop of Rome, called Cornelius, conveyed it again to the vatican: afterwards Conſtantine the great erected one of the moſt ſtately churches in the univerſe over the place. Before we quit this article, it is requiſite to obſerve, that previous to the death of St. Peter, his wife ſuffered martyrdom for the faith of Chriſt, and was exhorted, when going to be put to death, to remember her Saviour.

X. St. PAUL, the apoſtle and martyr, was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarſus, in Cilicia. He was at firſt a great enemy to, and perſecutor of the Chriſtians; but after his miraculous converſion, he became a ſtrenuous preacher of Chriſt's goſpel. At Iconium, St. Paul and St. Barnabas were near being ſtoned to death by the enraged Jews; wherefore they fled to Lycaonia. At Lyſtra, St. Paul was ſtoned, dragged out of the city, and left for dead. He, however, happily revived, and eſcaped to Derbe. At Philippi, Paul and Silas were impriſoned and whipped; and both were again perſecuted at Theſſalonica. Being afterwards taken at Jeruſalem, he was ſent to Ceſarea, but appealed to Cæſar at Rome. Here he continued priſoner at large for two years. Being releaſed, he viſited the churches of Greece and Rome, and preached in France and Spain. Returning to Rome, he was again apprehended, and, by the order of Nero, martyred, by being beheaded. Two days are dedicated to the commemoration of this apoſtle; the one for his converſion, which is on the 25th of January, and the other for his martyrdom, which is on the 29th of June.

XI. St. JUDE, the apoſtle and martyr, the brother of James, was commonly called Thaddæus. Being ſent to Edeſa, he wrought many miracles, and made many converts, which ſtirring up the reſentment of people in power, he was crucified, A. D. 72; and the 28th of October is, by the church, dedicated to his memory.

XII. St. BARTHOLOMEW the apoſtle and martyr, preached in ſeveral countries, performed many miracles, and healed various diſeaſes. He tranſlated St. Matthew's goſpel into the Indian language, and propagated it in that country: but at length, the idolators growing impatient with his doctrines, ſeverely beat, crucified, and flayed him, and then cut off his head. The anniverſary of his martyrdom is on the 24th of Auguſt.

XIII. St. THOMAS, as he was called in Syriac, but Didymus in Greek, was an apoſtle and martyr. He preached in Parthia and India, where diſpleaſing the Pagan prieſts, he was martyred by being thruſt through with a ſpear. His death is commemorated on the 21ſt of December.

XIV. St. LUKE, the evangeliſt and martyr, was the author of a moſt excellent goſpel. He travelled with St. Paul to Rome, and preached to divers barbarous nations, till the prieſts in Greece hanged him on an olive-tree. The anniverſary of his martyrdom is on the 18th of October.

XV. St. SIMON, the apoſtle and martyr, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Zelotes, from his zeal. He preached with great ſucceſs in Mauritania, and other parts of Africa, and even in Britain, where, though he made many converts, he was crucified by the then barbarous inhabitants of this iſland, A. D. 74; and the church joining him with St. Jude, commemorates his feſtival on the 28th of October.

XVI. St. JOHN was diſtinguiſhed for being at once, a prophet, apoſtle, divine, evangeliſt, and martyr. He is called the beloved diſciple, and was brother to James the great. He was previouſly a diſciple of John the Baptiſt, and afterwards not only one of the twelve apoſtles, but one of the three to whom Chriſt communicated the moſt ſecret paſſages of his life. The churches in Aſia founded by St. John were, Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his book of Revelations. Being at Epheſus, he was ordered by the emperor Domitian to be ſent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be caſt into a cauldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favour; the oil did him no injury, and Domitian therefore not being able to put him to death, baniſhed him to Patmos to work at the mines. He was however, recalled by Nerva, who ſucceeded Domitian after his deceaſe, but was deemed a martyr on account of his having undergone the mode of an execution, though it did not take effect. He wrote his epiſtles, goſpel, and revelations, all in a different ſtyle; but they are all equally admired. He was the only apoſtle who eſcaped a violent death: lived the longeſt of any of them, being near 100 years of age at the time of his death; and the church commemorates the 27th day of December to his memory.

XVII. St. BARNABAS was a native of Cyprus, but of Jewiſh parents: the time of his death is uncertain, but ſuppoſed to be about the year of Chriſt 73; and his feſtival is kept on the 11th of June.

Particular Account of the FIRST PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, *which began in the Year* 67, *under the Reign of* NERO, *Emperor of Rome.*

THE firſt perſecution in the primitive ages of the church, was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero, the ſixth emperor of Rome. This monarch reigned, for the ſpace of five years, with tolerable credit to himſelf, but then gave way to the greateſt extravagancy of temper, and to the moſt atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical whims, he took it into his head to order, that the city of Rome ſhould be ſet on fire, which was done by his officers, guards, and ſervants, accordingly. While the imperial city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenas, played upon his harp, ſung the ſong of the burning of Troy, and openly declared, "That he wiſhed the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the Circus, or place appropriated to horſe-races: it was half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of ſeats riſing above each other, and capable of receiving, with eaſe, upwards of 100,000 ſpectators. Beſides this noble pile, many other palaces and houſes were conſumed; ſeveral thouſands periſhed in the flames, were ſmothered in the ſmoke, or buried beneath the ruins.

Nine days this dreadful conflagration continued; when Nero, finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a ſevere odium caſt upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Chriſtians, at once to excuſe himſelf, and have an opportunity of glutting his ſight with new cruelties. This was the occaſion of the firſt perſecution; and the barbarities exerciſed upon the Chriſtians were ſuch as even excited the commiſeration of the Romans themſelves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of puniſhments for the Chriſtians that the moſt infernal imagination could deſign. In particular, he had ſome ſewed up in the ſkins of wild beaſts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dreſſed in ſhirts made ſtiff with wax, fixed to axle-trees, and ſet on fire in his gardens in order to illuminate them. This perſecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increaſed than diminiſhed the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. In the courſe of it, St. Paul and St. Peter were martyred (as we have already mentioned in our account of the lives, ſufferings, and martyrdom of the apoſtles, evangeliſts, &c. in the foregoing order) and beſide many others whoſe names have not been tranſmitted to poſterity, were ſome of their converts and followers, the circumſtances concerning the principal of whom ſhall be our preſent ſubject.

ERASTUS, the chamberlain of Corinth, was converted by St. Paul, and determined to follow the fortune of that apoſtle. For this reaſon he reſigned his office, and accompanied St. Paul in his voyages and travels, till the latter left him in Macedonia, where he was firſt made biſhop of that province by the Chriſtians; and afterwards ſuffered martyrdom, being tortured to death by the Pagans at Philippi.

ARISTARCHUS, the Macedonian, was born in Theſſalonica, and being converted by St. Paul became his conſtant companion.

He was with that apoſtle at Epheſus, during a commotion raiſed in that city by Demetrius the ſilverſmith. They both received ſeveral inſults upon the occaſion from the populace, which they bore with a true Chriſtian patience, giving good advice in return for ill uſage, and not in the leaſt reſenting any indignity put upon them.

Ariſtarchus accompanied St. Paul from Epheſus into Greece, where they were very ſucceſsful in propagating the goſpel, and bringing over many from ignorance to a ſaving knowledge, and from Pagan darkneſs to the glorious light of Chriſtianity.

Having left Greece they traverſed a great part of Aſia, and made a conſiderable ſtay in Judea, where they were ſo ſucceſsful in making converts in thoſe parts, that idolatry ſeemed to fly before them, and truth to diffuſe it's rays wherever they came.

After this Ariſtarchus went with St. Paul to Rome, where he ſuffered the ſame fate as the apoſtle; for being ſeized as a Chriſtian, he was beheaded by the command of Nero.

TROPHIMUS, an Epheſian by birth, and a Gentile by religion, was converted by St. Paul to the Chriſtian faith.

When converted he accompanied his maſter in his voyages and travels; and upon his account the Jews raiſed a great diſturbance in the temple at Jeruſalem, the laſt time St. Paul was in that city. They proceeded ſo far in their malice againſt the apoſtle, that they attempted to murder him, for having introduced a Greek into the temple; for Trophimus being a Greek, was looked upon by the Jews with deteſtation. Lyſias, the captain of the guard, however, interpoſed his authority, and by force reſcued St. Paul from the hands of the Jews.

Upon quitting Jeruſalem, Trophimus followed his maſter to Rome, and did him every eſſential ſervice in his power. He then attended him to Spain, and paſſing through Gaul, the apoſtle made him biſhop of that province, and left him behind in the city of Arles.

He paid a viſit to St. Paul in Aſia about a twelvemonth after, and went with him, for the laſt time, to Rome, where he was witneſs to the martyrdom of his maſter; which was but the fore-runner of his own; for being ſoon after ſeized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by the emperor Nero's expreſs orders.

JOSEPH, commonly called **BARSABAS**, was a primitive diſciple, and is uſually deemed one of the Seventy. He was, in ſome degree, related to our bleſſed Redeemer, and became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the vacant place of Judas Iſcariot, the traitor.

The goſpel and eccleſiaſtical writers make very little other mention of him; but Papias informs us, that he was once compelled to drink poiſon, which did not do him the leaſt injury, agreeable to the promiſe of the Lord to thoſe who believe in him.

He was during his life a zealous preacher of the goſpel; and having received many inſults from the Jews, at length received the crown of martyrdom, being murdered by the Pagans in Judea.

ANANIAS, biſhop of Damaſcus, is celebrated in the ſacred writings for being the perſon who cured St. Paul of the blindneſs with which he was ſtruck by the amazing brightneſs which happened at his converſion. He was one of the Seventy, and martyred in the city of Damaſcus. After his death a Chriſtian church was built over the place of his burial, which is now converted into a Turkiſh moſque.

Particular Account of the SECOND PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION, *under the Emperor* DOMITIAN.

THE emperor Domitian, being naturally inclined to cruelty, firſt ſlew his brother, and then raiſed the ſecond perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. His rage was ſuch, that he even put to death ſome of the Roman ſenators; ſome through malice, and others to confiſcate their eſtates. He then commanded all the lineage of David to be put to death. Two Chriſtians were brought before the emperor, and accuſed of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their anſwers, he deſpiſed them as ideots and diſmiſſed them accordingly. He, however, for his lenity here, was determined to be more ſecure upon other occaſions: for he took away the ſubſtance of many Chriſtians, put ſeveral to death and baniſhed others.

In all which the numerous martyrs that ſuffered during this perſecution was Simeon, biſhop of Jeruſalem, who was crucified; and St. John, who was boiled in oil, and afterwards baniſhed to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman ſenator, was likewiſe baniſhed to Pontus; and a law was made, "That no Chriſtian, once brought before the tribunal, ſhould be exempted from puniſhment without renouncing his religion."

There were a variety of fabricated tales during this reign, compoſed in order to injure the Chriſtians. Among other falſehoods, they were accuſed of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious turbulent ſpirit, of being pernicious to the Roman empire, of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals. Such was the infatuation of the Pagans, that if famine, peſtilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was laid upon the Chriſtians. Theſe perſecutions among the Chriſtians increaſed the number of informers; and many, for the ſake of gain, ſwore away the lives of the innocent.

Another hardſhip was, that when any Chriſtians were brought before the magiſtrates, a teſt oath was propoſed, when, if they refuſed to take it, death was pronounced againſt them; and if they confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, the ſentence was the ſame. The various kinds of puniſhments and inflicted cruelties were, during this perſecution, impriſonment, racking, ſearing, broiling, burning, ſcourging, ſtoning, ſtrangling, hanging, worrying.

Many indeed were torn piecemeal, with red hot pincers, and others were thown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having ſuffered theſe cruelties, the friends of the deceaſed Chriſtians were refuſed the privilege of burying their poor remains.

The following were the moſt remarkable among the numerous martyrs who ſuffered during this perſecution.

DIONYSIUS, the Areopagite, was an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the uſeful and ornamental literature of Greece. He then travelled to Egypt to ſtudy aſtronomy, and made very particular obſervations on the great and ſupernatural eclipſe, which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

Upon his return to Athens, he was highly honoured by the people, and at length promoted to the dignity of ſenator of that celebrated city. Becoming a convert to the goſpel, he changed from the worthy Pagan magiſtrate to the pious Chriſtian paſtor; for even while involved in the darkneſs of idolatry, he was as juſt as he poſſibly could be in the groſs errors of Paganiſm.

It is eaſy to be imagined, that a ſoul which could appear with ſome luſtre while loaded with original ſin, and tainted with ſuperſtition, muſt, when illuminated with the light of the goſpel, ſhine with the moſt ſplended brilliancy.

The ſanctity of his converſation, and purity of his manners, recommended him ſo ſtrongly to the Chriſtians in general, that he was appointed biſhop of Athens. He diſcharged his duty with the utmoſt diligence till the ſecond year of this perſecution, viz. A. D. 69, when he was apprehended, and received the crown of martyrdom, by being beheaded.

NICOMEDES, a Chriſtian of ſome diſtinction at Rome, during the rage of Domitian's perſecution, did all he could to ſerve the afflicted; comforting the poor, viſiting thoſe confined, exhorting the wavering, and confirming the faithful. For thoſe and other pious actions he was ſeized as a Chriſtian, and being ſentenced, was ſcourged to death.

PROTASIUS and **GERVASIUS** were martyred at Milan; but the particular circumſtances of their deaths are not recorded.

TIMOTHY, the celebrated diſciple of St. Paul, and biſhop of Epheſus, was born at Lyſtra, in the province of Lycaonia, his father being a Gentile, and his mother a Jeweſs. But both his parents and his grandmother embraced Chriſtianity, by which means young Timothy was taught the precepts of the goſpel from his infancy.

Upon St. Paul's arrival at Lycaonia, he ordained Timothy, and then made him the companion of his pious labours. It appears, that while he attended the apoſtle, his zeal could be only equalled by his fidelity; for St. Paul mentions him with peculiar reſpect, and declares, that he could find none ſo truly united to him, both in heart and mind, as Timothy. Indeed, the apoſtle, upon various occaſions, ſpeaks of him in the moſt affectionate terms, which is a ſufficient proof of his great merit, and evinces, that he was a diſintereſted and diligent ſervant of Chriſt.

Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, and there with the apoſtle and Silas, he laboured with aſſiduity in the propagation of the goſpel. When St. Paul went to Achaia, Timothy was left behind to ſtrengthen the faith of thoſe already converted, or to induce others to quit the darkneſs of ignorance for the light of goſpel-knowledge.

St. Paul at length ſent for Timothy to Athens, and then diſpatched him to Theſſalonica, to ſtrengthen the ſuffering Chriſtians there againſt the terrors of the perſecution which then raged.

As ſoon as Timothy arrived at the place of his deſtination, he did all that a zealous Chriſtian could for the ſervice of his Redeemer. Having performed his miſſion, he returned to Athens, and there aſſiſted St. Paul and Silas, in compoſing the two epiſtles to the Thaſſalonians. He then accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, Jeruſalem, and Epheſus.

After performing ſeveral other commiſſions for St. Paul, and attending him upon various other journeys, the apoſtle conſtituted him biſhop of Epheſus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epiſtles gave him proper inſtructions for his conduct in ſo important a charge.

Timothy was ſo very temperate in his living, that St. Paul blames him for being too abſtemious, and recommends to him the moderate uſe of wine to recruit his ſtrength and ſpirits.

St. Paul ſent to Timothy while he was in his laſt confinement at Rome to come to him; and, after that great apoſtle's martyrdom, he returned to Epheſus, where he zealouſly governed the church till A. D. 97. At this period the Pagans were about to celebrate a feaſt called Catagogion, the principal ceremonies of which were, that the people ſhould carry battons in their hands, go maſked, and bear about the ſtreets the images of their gods.

When Timothy met the proceſſion, he ſeverely reproved them for their ridiculous idolatry, which ſo exaſperated the people, that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in ſo dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruiſes two days after.

Particular Account of the THIRD PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION *under the Roman Emperors.*

UPON Nerva's ſucceeding Domitian, he gave a reſpite to the Chriſtians; but reigning only thirteen months, his ſucceſſor Trajan, ~~in the 10th~~ year of his reign, and in A. D. 108, began the third perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. While the perſecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philoſopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Chriſtians; to whoſe epiſtle Trajan returned this indeciſive anſwer, "The Chriſtians ought not to be ſought after, but when brought before the magiſtracy, they ſhould be puniſhed."

Provoked by this abſurd reply, Tertullian exclaimed in the following words: "O confuſed ſentence! he would not have them ſought for as innocent, and yet would have them puniſhed as guilty." The emperor's incoherent anſwer, however, occaſioned the perſecution in ſome meaſure to abate, as his officers were uncertain if they carried it on with ſeverity, how he might chuſe to wreſt his own meaning. Trajan, however, ſoon after wrote to Jeruſalem, and gave orders to his officers to exterminate the ſtock of David; in conſequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

SYMPHOROSA, a widow, and her ſeven ſons were commanded by the emperor to ſacrifice to the heathen deities. Unanimouſly refuſing to comply with ſuch an impious requeſt, the emperor, in a rage, told her, that for her obſtinacy, herſelf and her ſons ſhould be ſlain, to appeaſe the wrath of his offended deities: to which ſhe anſwered, that if he murdered her and her children, the idols he adored would only be held in the greateſt deteſtation and contempt.

Now the emperor, being greatly exaſperated at this, ordered her to be carried to the Temple of Hercules, where ſhe was ſcourged, and hung up, for ſome time, by the hair of her head; then being taken down, a large ſtone was faſtened to her neck, and ſhe was thrown into the river, where ſhe expired. With reſpect to the ſons, they were faſtened to ſeven poſts, and being drawn up by pullies, their limbs were diſlocated; theſe tortures, not affecting their reſolution, they were thus martyred; Creſentius, the eldeſt, was ſtabbed in the throat; Julian, the ſecond, in the breaſt; Nemeſius, the third, in the heart; Primitius, the fourth, in the navel; Juſtice, the fifth, in the back; Stacteus, the ſixth, in the ſide; and Eugenius, the youngeſt, was ſawed aſunder.

PHOCAS, biſhop of Pontus, refuſing to ſacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, caſt firſt into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a ſcalding bath till he expired.

Trajan likewiſe commanded the martyrdom of Ignatius, biſhop of Antioch. This holy man was the perſon whom, when an infant, Chriſt took into his arms, and ſhewed to his diſciples, as one that would be a pattern of humility and innocence. He received the goſpel afterwards from St. John the Evangeliſt, and was exceedingly zealous in his miſſion. He boldly vindicated the faith of Chriſt before the emperor, for which being caſt into priſon, he was tormented in a moſt cruel manner; for after being dreadfully ſcourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and at the ſame time, papers dipped in oil were put to his ſides, and ſet on light. His fleſh was then torn with red hot pincers, and at laſt he was diſpatched by being torn to pieces by wild beaſts.

Adrian having ſucceeded Trajan, he continued this third perſecution with as much ſeverity as his predeceſſor. About this time Alexander, biſhop of Rome, with his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thouſand other Chriſtians.

Many were crucified in Mount Ararat, crowned with thorns, and ſpears run into their ſides, in imitation of Chriſt's paſſion. Euſtachius, a brave and ſucceſsful Roman commander, was by the emperor ordered to join in an idolatrous ſacrifice, to celebrate ſome of his own victories; but his faith (being a Chriſtian in his heart) was ſo much greater than his vanity, that he nobly refuſed it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forgot the ſervices of this ſkilful commander, and ordered him and his whole family to be martyred.

During the martyrdom of Fauſtines and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Breſſia, their torments were ſo many, and their patience ſo great, that Calocerius, a Pagan, beholding them, was ſtruck with admiration, and exclaimed in a kind of ecſtaſy, "Great is the God of the Chriſtians!" for which he was apprehended, and ſuffered a fate ſimilar to others.

Several other cruelties and rigours were exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians, till Quadratus, biſhop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Ariſtides, a philoſopher of the ſame city, wrote an elegant epiſtle, which cauſed Adrian to relax in his ſeverities, and relent in their favour. He indeed went ſo far as to command, that no Chriſtian ſhould be puniſhed on the ſcore of religion or opinion only; but this gave other handles againſt them to the Jews and Pagans, for then they began to employ and ſuborn falſe witneſſes, to accuſe them of crimes againſt the ſtate, or civil authority.

Adrian dying in the year 138, was ſucceeded by Antoninus Pius, one of the moſt amiable monarchs that ever reigned; for his people gave him a title which he juſtly deſerved, viz. The Father of Virtues. Immediately upon his acceſſion to the imperial throne he publiſhed an edict, forbidding any further perſecutions againſt the Chriſtians, and concluded it in theſe words: "If any hereafter ſhall vex or trouble the Chriſtians, having no other cauſe but that they are ſuch, let the accuſed be releaſed, and the accuſers be puniſhed." This ſtopped the perſecution, and the Chriſtians enjoyed a reſpite from their ſufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occaſion to do them what injuries they could in an underhand manner.

Particular Account of the FOURTH PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION *under the Roman Emperors, which commenced* A. D. 162.

ANTONINUS PIUS was ſucceeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philoſophus, who, being a ſtrong Pagan, began the fourth perſecution, in which many Chriſtians were martyred, particularly in ſeveral parts of Aſia, and in France.

Such were the cruelties uſed in this perſecution, that many of the ſpectators ſhuddered with horror at the ſight, and were aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of the ſufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to paſs with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, ſharp ſhells, &c. with their points; others were ſcourged till their ſinews and veins lay bare; and after ſuffering the moſt excruciating tortures that could be deviſed, they were deſtroyed by the moſt terrible deaths.

GERMANICUS, a young man, but true Chriſtian, being delivered to the wild beaſts on account of his faith, behaved with ſuch aſtoniſhing courage, that ſeveral Pagans became converts to a faith which inſpired ſuch fortitude. This enraged others ſo much, that they cried he merited death, as they did alſo of Polycarp, the pious and venerable biſhop of Smyrna.

POLYCARP, hearing that perſons were after him to apprehend him, eſcaped, but was diſcovered by a child. From this circumſtance, and having dreamed that his bed ſuddenly became on fire, and was conſumed in a moment, he concluded that it was God's will that he ſhould ſeal his faith with martyrdom. He therefore would not attempt to make a ſecond eſcape when he had an opportunity of ſo doing. Thoſe who apprehended him were amazed at his ſerene countenance, and comely gravity. After feaſting them, he deſired an hour in prayer, which being allowed, he prayed with ſuch fervency, that his guards repented they had been inſtrumental in taking him. He was, however, carried before the proconſul, condemned, and conducted to the market-place. Wood being provided, the holy man earneſtly prayed to heaven, after being bound to the ſtake; and as the flames grew vehement, the tormentors gave way on each ſide, the heat now becoming intolerable. In the mean time the biſhop ſung praiſes to God in the midſt of the flames, but remained unconſumed therein, and the burning of the wood ſpreading a fragrance around, the guards were much ſurpriſed. Determined, however, to put an end to his life, they ſtruck ſpears into his body, when the quantity of blood that iſſued from the wounds extinguiſhed the flames. After conſiderable attempts, however, they put him to death, and burnt his body when dead, not being able to conſume it while living. Twelve other Chriſtians, who had been intimate with Polycarp, were ſoon after martyred.

METRODORUS, a miniſter, who preached boldly, and Pionius, who made ſome excellent apologies for the Chriſtian faith, were likewiſe burnt. Carpus and Papilus, two worthy Chriſtians, and Agathonica, a pious woman, ſuffered martyrdom at Pergamopolis, in Aſia.

FELICITATIS, an illuſtrious Roman lady of a conſiderable family, and the moſt ſhining virtues, was a devout Chriſtian. She had ſeven ſons, whom ſhe had educated with the moſt exemplary piety. The empire having been, about this time, grievouſly troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the Chriſtians were accuſed as the cauſe, and Felicitatis was included in the accuſation. The lady and her family being ſeized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed againſt her.

Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the example would have great influence with her ſons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with deſtruction to herſelf and family. She deſpiſed his threats as ſhe had done his promiſes; on which he changed his battery, and began with the ſons, whom he examined ſeparately. They all, however, remained ſtedfaſt in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution.

Januarius, the eldeſt, was ſcourged, and preſſed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains daſhed out with clubs; Silvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger ſons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were all beheaded. With reſpect to the mother, ſhe ſuffered the ſame fate, and was beheaded with the ſame ſword as the three latter.

JUSTIN, the celebrated philoſopher, fell a martyr in this perſecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the beſt education thoſe times could afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the ſeventy interpreters of the ſacred writings, and ſhewn the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Juſtin was a great lover of truth, and an univerſal ſcholar; he inveſtigated the Stoic and Peripatetic philoſophy, and attempted the Pythagorean; but the behaviour of one of its profeſſors diſguſting him, he applied himſelf to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to Chriſtianity, and then, for the firſt time, perceived the real nature of truth.

Juſtin wrote an elegant epiſtle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired, and lived in ſo pure and innocent a manner, that it was evident he merited the title of a Chriſtian philoſopher.

This man likewiſe employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the Chriſtian rites, and ſpent a great deal of time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Viminal mount.

He kept a public ſchool, taught many who afterwards

wards became great men, and wrote a treatiſe to confute hereſies of all kinds. As the Pagans began to treat the Chriſtians with great ſeverity, Juſtin wrote his firſt apology in their favour, and addreſſed it to the emperor, to two princes whom he had adopted as his ſons, and to the ſenate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occaſioned the emperor to publiſh an edict in favour of the Chriſtians, diſplays great learning and genius, and is written with manly elegance.

A ſhort time after, he entered into frequent conteſts with Creſens, a perſon of a vitious life and converſation, but a celebrated cynic philoſopher; and his arguments appeared ſo powerful, yet diſguſting to the cynic, that he reſolved on his deſtruction, which in the ſequel he accompliſhed.

The ſecond apology of Juſtin's was occaſioned by the following circumſtances: a man and his wife, who were both bad livers, reſided at Rome. The woman, however, becoming a convert to Chriſtianity, attempted to reclaim her huſband: but not ſucceeding, ſhe ſued for a divorce, which ſo exaſperated him, that he accuſed her of being a Chriſtian. Upon her petition, however, he dropped the proſecution, and levelled his malice at Ptolemeus, who had converted her. Ptolemeus was condemned to die; and one Lucius, with another perſon, for expreſſing themſelves too freely upon the occaſion, met with the ſame fate.

Juſtin's apology upon theſe ſeverities, gave Creſcens the cynic an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor againſt the writer of it: upon which Juſtin, and ſix of his companions, were apprehended. Being commanded as uſual to deny their faith, and ſacrifice to the Pagan idols, they abſolutely refuſed to do either; on their refuſal, they were condemned to be firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded; which ſentence was with all imaginable ſeverity executed.

Only ſeven pieces of the writings of this celebrated martyr, and great philoſopher, are now extant, viz. The two Apologies; an Exhortation to the Gentiles; an Oration to the Greeks; a Treatiſe on Divine Monarchy; a Dialogue with Trypho the Jew; and an Epiſtle to Diagnetus.

A great many were beheaded for refuſing to ſacrifice to the image of Jupiter; in particular Concordus, a deacon of the city of Spoleto, being carried before the image, and ordered to worſhip it, not only refuſed, but ſpit in it's face; for which he was ſeverely tormented, and afterwards had his head cut off with a ſword.

At this time, ſome of the northern nations being in arms againſt Rome, the emperor marched to encounter them. He was, however, drawn into an ambuſcade, and dreaded the loſs of his whole army. Enveloped with mountains, ſurrounded by enemies, and periſhing with thirſt, the troops were driven to the laſt extremities. All the Pagan deities were invoked in vain; when the men belonging to the militine, or thundering legion, who were all Chriſtians, were commanded to call upon their God for ſuccour: they immediately withdrew from the reſt, proſtrated themſelves upon the earth, and prayed fervently. A miraculous deliverance immediately enſued; a prodigious quantity of rain fell, which being caught by the men, and filling the dykes, afforded a ſudden and aſtoniſhing relief. The emperor, in his epiſtle to the Roman ſenate, wherein the expedition is deſcribed, after mentioning the difficulties to which he had been driven, ſpeaks of the Chriſtians in the following manner.

"When I ſaw myſelf not able to encounter with the enemies, I craved aid of our country gods; but finding no relief at their hands, and being cooped up by the enemy, I cauſed thoſe men, whom we call Chriſtians, to be ſent for; who being muſtered, I found a conſiderable number of them, againſt whom I was more incenſed than I had juſt cauſe, as I found afterwards: for, by a marvellous power, they forthwith uſed their endeavours, not with ammunition, drums, and trumpets, abhorring ſuch preparations and furniture, but only praying unto, and truſting in their God, whom they carry about with them in their conſciences. It is therefore to be believed, although we call them wicked men, that they worſhip God in their hearts; for they, falling proſtrate on the ground, prayed, not only for me, but for the army alſo which was with me, beſeeching God to help me in that our extreme want of victuals and freſh water (for we had been five days without water, and in our enemies land, even in the midſt of Germany); I ſay, falling upon their faces, they prayed to a God unknown to me, and immediately thereupon fell from heaven a moſt pleaſant and cool ſhower; but amongſt our enemies great ſtore of hail, mixed with thunder and lightning: ſo that we ſoon perceived the invincible aid of the moſt mighty God to be with us; therefore we give theſe men leave to profeſs Chriſtianity, leſt, by their prayers, we be puniſhed by the like: and I thereby make myſelf the author of all the evil that ſhall accrue by the perſecution of the Chriſtian religion."

It appears, that the ſtorm which ſo miraculouſly flaſhed in the faces of the enemy, ſo intimidated them, that part deſerted to the Roman army, the reſt were with eaſe defeated, and the revolted provinces were entirely recovered. This affair occaſioned the perſecution to ſubſide for ſome time, at leaſt in thoſe parts immediately under the inſpection of the emperor; for we find that it ſoon after raged in France, particularly at Lyons, where the tortures, to which many of the Chriſtians were put, almoſt exceed the powers of deſcription. The aſperſions, falſe accuſations, taunts, threats, revilings, menacings, which were but forerunners to all manner of puniſhments, torments, and painful deaths; ſuch as being baniſhed, plundered, hanged, burnt, &c. and even the ſervants and ſlaves of opulent Chriſtians were racked and tortured, to make them accuſe their maſters and employers. The following were the principal of theſe martyrs:

Vetius Agathus, a young man, who having boldly pleaded the Chriſtian cauſe, was aſked if he was a Chriſtian? To which anſwering in the affirmative, he was condemned to death, and received the crown of martyrdom accordingly. Many, animated by this young man's intrepidity, boldly owned their faith, and ſuffered in like manner.

Blandinia, a Chriſtian, but of a weak conſtitution, being ſeized and tortured upon the account of her religion, received ſo much ſtrength from heaven, that her torturers became tired frequently, and were ſurpriſed at her being able to bear her torments for ſo great a length of time, and with ſuch reſolution.

Sanctus, a deacon of Vienna, was put to the torture, which he bore with great fortitude, and only cried, "I am a Chriſtian." Red hot plates of braſs were placed upon thoſe parts of the body that were tendereſt, which contracted the ſinews; but he remaining inflexible, was re-conducted to priſon. Being brought out from his place of confinement a few days afterwards, his tormentors were aſtoniſhed to find his wounds healed, and his perſon as perfect as before they tormented him: they, however, again proceeded to torture him; but not being able, at that time, to take away a life which was miraculouſly preſerved, they only remanded him to priſon, where he remained for ſome time after; and having had this reſpite, received, by being beheaded, the crown of martyrdom.

Biblias, a weak woman, had been an apoſtate, but having returned to the faith was martyred, and bore her ſufferings with great patience. Attalus, of Pergamus, was another ſufferer; and Pothinus, the venerable biſhop of Lyons, who was ninety years of age, was ſo unmercifully treated by the enraged Pagan mob, that he expired two days after in the priſon.

The Chriſtians, upon theſe occaſions, having received martyrdom, were ornamented, and crowned with garlands of flowers; for which they received eternal crowns of glory in heaven.

Various were the torments; and, excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, the martyrs of Lyons were compelled

pelled to ſit in red hot iron chairs till their fleſh broiled. This was inflicted with peculiar ſeverity on Sanctus already mentioned, and ſome others. Some were ſewed up in nets, and thrown on the horns of wild bulls; and the carcaſes of thoſe who died in priſon, previous to the appointed time of execution, were thrown to dogs. Indeed, ſo far did the malice of the Pagans proceed, that they ſet guards over the bodies while the beaſts were devouring them, leaſt the friends of the deceaſed ſhould get them away by ſtealth; and the offals left by the dogs were ordered to be burnt.

The martyrs of Lyons, according to the beſt accounts we could obtain, who ſuffered for the goſpel, were forty-eight in number, and their executions happened in the year of Chriſt 177. They all died with great fortitude and ſerenity of mind, evidently evincing, that they preferred the everlaſting pleaſures of an immortal and happy life, to the tranſitory ſcenes of one that was precarious, daſhed with afflictions, and at beſt but ſhort and tranſitory.

Others, beſides the above martyrs of Lyons, who are uſually enumerated together, ſuffered in that city, and in the different parts of the empire, ſoon after. Of theſe, the principal were as follows:

Epipodius and Alexander, celebrated for their great friendſhip, and their Chriſtian union with each other. The firſt was born at Lyons, the latter in Greece; they were of mutual aſſiſtance to each other, and prepared themſelves for receiving a crown of martyrdom in this world, and a crown of glory in the next, by the continual practice of all manner of Chriſtian virtues and godlineſs.

At the time the perſecution began firſt to rage at Lyons, they were in the prime of life, and to avoid the effects of it's ſeverities, they thought proper to withdraw to a neighbouring village. Here they were, for ſome time, concealed by a Chriſtian widow, whoſe piety protected, while her obſcurity gave a ſanction to their concealment.

Being eminent perſons, the malice of their perſecutors ſought after them with indefatigable induſtry, and purſued them to their place of concealment with unremitting aſſiduity. Dragged from their retirement, they were committed to priſon without examination; but their misfortunes did not oppreſs their ſpirits; for, ſhielded by the goſpel, they were ſecure againſt the woes to which this life is expoſed.

At the expiration of three days, being brought before the governor, they were examined in the preſence of a crowd of Pagans. They confeſſed the divinity of Chriſt, when the governor being enraged at what he termed their inſolence, abſurdly ſaid, "What ſignifies all the former executions, if ſome yet remain who dare acknowledge Chriſt."

Being ſeparated, that they ſhould not conſole with, or fortify each other, he began to tamper with Epipodius, the youngeſt of the two. With a diſſembled kindneſs, he pretended to pity his condition, and entreated him not to ruin himſelf by obſtinacy. "Our deities (continued he) are worſhipped by the greater part of the people in the univerſe, and their rulers; we adore them with feaſting and mirth, while you adore a crucified man; we, to honour them, launch into pleaſures; you, by your faith, are debarred from all that indulges the ſenſes. Our religion enjoins feaſting, your's faſting; our's the joys of licentious blandiſhments, your's the barren virtue of chaſtity. Can you expect protection from one, who could not ſecure himſelf from the perſecutions of a contemptible people? Then quit a profeſſion of ſuch auſterity, and enjoy thoſe gratifications which the world affords, and which your youthful years demand."

In reply to this illuſive harangue, Epipodius contemned his compaſſion, as a heart full of faith could not want it. "Your pretended tenderneſs, ſaid he, is actual cruelty; and the agreeable life you deſcribe, is replete with everlaſting death. Chriſt ſuffered for us, that our pleaſures ſhould be immortal, and hath prepared for his followers an eternity of bliſs. The frame of man being compoſed of two parts, body and ſoul; the firſt, as mean and periſhable, ſhould be rendered ſubſervient to the intereſts of the laſt. Your idolatrous feaſts may gratify the mortal, but they injure the immortal part: that cannot therefore be enjoying life, which deſtroys the moſt valuable moiety of your frame. Your pleaſures lead to eternal death, and our pains to perpetual happineſs."

Epipodius, for this manly and rational ſpeech, was ſeverely beaten, and then put to the rack, upon which being ſtretched, his fleſh was torn with iron hooks. Having borne his torments with incredible patience, and unſhaken fortitude, he was taken from the rack, and beheaded.

Alexander, the companion of Epipodius, was brought before the judge, two days after the execution of that excellent young man. On his abſolute refuſal to renounce Chriſtianity, he was placed upon the rack, and beat by three executioners, who relieved each other alternately. He bore his ſufferings with as much fortitude as his friend had done, and at length received the concluſion of his glorious martyrdom, by being crucified. Theſe martyrs ſuffered A. D. 179; the firſt on the 20th of April, and the other in two days after.

Valerian and Marcellus, who were nearly related to each other, were impriſoned at Lyons, in the year 177, for being Chriſtians. By ſome means, however, of which we are not informed, they made their eſcape, and travelled different roads.

The latter made ſeveral converts in the territories of Beſançon and Chalons, but being apprehended, was carried before Priſcus, the governor of thoſe parts.

Priſcus, the magiſtrate, knowing Marcellus to be a Chriſtian, ordered him to be faſtened to ſome branches of a tree, which were drawn down for that purpoſe. When he was tied to different branches, they were let go, with a deſign, to tear him to pieces by the ſuddenneſs of the jerks.

But this invention failing in it's propoſed end, he was conducted to Chalons, to be preſent at ſome idolatrous ſacrifices, at which, refuſing to aſſiſt, he was put to the torture, and afterwards fixed up to the waiſt in the ground; in which poſition he expired, A. D. 179, after remaining three days.

Soon after, Valerian was apprehended, and, by the order of Priſcus, was firſt brought to the rack, and then beheaded in the ſame year as his friend and relation Marcellus.

About the ſame time the following martyrs ſuffered, but no circumſtantial or particular accounts of their death have been aſcertained.

Benignus, at Dijon; Speuſippus, and others at Langres; Androches, Thyrſeus, and Fexlic, at Salieu; Sympoviam and Florella, at Antun; Severinus, Felician, and Exuperus, at Vienna; Cecilia, the virgin, at Sicily; and Thraſeus, biſhop of Phrygia, at Smyrna.

The emperor Antoninus dying, was ſucceeded A. D. 180, by his ſon Commodus, who did not ſeem to copy his father in any particular. He had neither his virtues nor his vices: he was without his learning and morality, and, at the ſame time without his prejudices againſt Chriſtianity. His principal foible was pride, and to that we chiefly aſcribe the errors of his reign; for having taken it into his head to fancy himſelf Hercules, he ſacrificed thoſe to his vanity, who refuſed to ſubſcribe to his abſurd imagination.

In this reign Apollonius, a Roman ſenator, became a martyr. This eminent perſon was, at once, ſkilled in all the polite literature of thoſe times, and in all the pureſt precepts taught by our bleſſed Redeemer. He was, indeed, a ſincere Chriſtian and an accompliſhed gentleman.

This juſt perſon was accuſed by his own ſlave Severus, upon an unjuſt and contradictory, but unrepealed edict, of the emperor Trajan's. This inconſiſtent law condemned the accuſed to die, unleſs he recanted his opinion; and at the ſame time ordered the execution of the accuſer for ſlander.

Apollonius upon this ridiculous ſtatute was accuſed; for though his ſlave Severus knew he muſt die for the accuſation, yet ſuch was his diabolical malice, and deſire of revenge, that he courted death in order to involve his maſter in the ſame deſtruction.

As the accuſed Apollonius refuſed to recant his opinions, he was, by order of his peers, the Roman ſenators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The ſentence was executed on the 18th day of April, A. D. 186, his accuſer having previouſly had his legs broken, and been put to death.

Euſebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, and Peregrinus, for refuſing to worſhip Commodus as Hercules, were likewiſe martyred.

Julius, a Roman ſenator, becoming a convert to Chriſtianity, was ordered by the emperor, to ſacrifice to him as Hercules. This Julius abſolutely refuſed, and publicly profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian. On this account, after remaining in priſon a conſiderable time, he was in the year 190, purſuant to his ſentence, beat to death with cudgels. Virtue, whoſe eſſence is religion, ſupported him, however, to the laſt, and he became a glorious martyr to the truth with fortitude and patience.

A full and particular Account of the Fifth General Persecution *under the Roman Emperors.*

THE emperor Commodus dying in the year 191, was ſucceeded by the ſhort-reigned Pertinax; and he was again ſucceeded by the ſtill ſhorter-reigned Julianus. On the death of the laſt, Severus became emperor in the year 192.

When Severus was recovered from a ſevere fit of ſickneſs by a Chriſtian, he became a great favourer of Chriſtians in general; and even permitted his ſon Caracalla to be nurſed by a female Chriſtian. Hence, during the reigns of the two emperors already mentioned, who ſucceſſively ſucceeded Commodus, and ſome years of the latter's reign, the Chriſtians had a reſpite of ſeveral years, and conſequently ſuffered no perſecution.

But at length the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude prevailed, and obſolete laws were revived, and put in execution againſt the Chriſtians.

The Pagans were alarmed at the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and they revived the ſtate calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of it's profeſſors. Fire, ſword, ſcourges, wild beaſts, and cruel impriſonments, were now uſed; and even the dead bodies of Chriſtians were torn from their graves with Pagan prejudice, to be mangled by popular rage.

Yet, though perſecuting malice raged, the goſpel ſhone with reſplendent brightneſs; and, firm as an impregnable rock, withſtood the attacks of it's boiſterous enemies with ſucceſs. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Chriſtians had collectively withdrawn themſelves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Victor, biſhop of Rome, ſuffered martyrdom in the firſt year of the third century, viz. A. D. 201, though the circumſtances are not aſcertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Chriſtian. Previous to the execution, the ſon, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in theſe remarkable words: "Beware, ſir, that your care for us does not make you change your reſolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewiſe ſuffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus, and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides, were beheaded; Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother.

Potamiena, the ſiſter of Rhais, was executed in the ſame manner as Rhais had been; but Baſilides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became her convert.

When Baſilides, as an officer, was required to take a certain oath, he refuſed, ſaying, that he could not ſwear by the Roman idols, as he was a Chriſtian. Struck with ſurpriſe, the people could not, at firſt, believe what they heard; but he had no ſooner confirmed the ſame, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to priſon, and beheaded immediately afterwards.

Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received both a polite and a Chriſtian education. It is generally ſuppoſed, that the account of the perſecutions at Lyons was written by himſelf. He ſucceeded the martyr Pothinus as biſhop of Lyons, and ruled his dioceſe with great propriety: he was a zealous oppoſer of hereſies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract againſt hereſy about A. D. 187.

Victor, the biſhop of Rome, wanting to impoſe the mode of keeping Eaſter there, above all other places, it occaſioned ſome diſorders among the Chriſtians. In particular, Irenæus wrote him a ſynodical epiſtle, in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal, in favour of Chriſtianity, pointed him out as an object of reſentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded in A. D. 202.

Now the perſecutions extending to Africa, many were martyred in that quarter of the globe; the moſt particular of whom we ſhall mention.

Perpetua, a married lady, of about twenty-two years of age, with a young ſucking child at her breaſt, was ſeized upon for being a Chriſtian.

Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to conſole with her during her confinement; and at the ſame time would fain have perſuaded her to renounce Chriſtianity. Perpetua, however, preſerving all the reſpect due to a parent, maintained the character of a Chriſtian.

This her reſolution ſo much incenſed her father, that he beat her unmercifully, and did not viſit her for ſome days after. This gave her, and ſome others who were confined at the ſame time, an opportunity of being baptized, as they were only Catechumens before.

When carried before the pro-conſul Minutius, ſhe was commanded to ſacrifice to idols; but refuſing, ſhe was ordered to a dark dungeon. The gloom of this place was of itſelf diſagreeable, but the being deprived of her child was much more ſo. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of perſecuted Chriſtians, procured her ſome few hours daily to breathe the freſh air, during which time ſhe had the ſatisfaction of being allowed to ſuckle her child. Foreſeeing, however, that ſhe ſhould not long be permitted to take care of it, ſhe recommended it ſtrongly to her mother's attention.

Perpetua's father paid her a ſecond viſit, and again beſought her to renounce Chriſtianity. His behaviour now was all paternal tenderneſs, and endearing humanity. If any thing worldly could have ſoftened her, this would; but inflexible to all things but Chriſt, ſhe knew ſhe muſt leave every thing for his ſake; and ſhe only ſaid to him, "God's will muſt be done." With an heart almoſt burſting he left her, and only in tears found conſolation.

Perpetua gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of fortitude on her trial, though of a ſex naturally timorous; and exhibited to her friends, as well as a great number of ſpectators, an amazing ſtrength of mind.

At the ſame time the judge entreated her to conſider her father's tears, her infant's helpleſſneſs, and her own life; but triumphing over the ſofter ſentiments of nature, ſhe forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain; and determined to ſacrifice all the feelings of human ſenſibility, to that immortality offered by Chriſt. In vain did they attempt to perſuade her, that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwiſe.

Perceiving that ſhe muſt die, the father's parental tenderneſs returned, and in the fury of his anxiety, he attempted to carry her off; on which account he received a ſevere blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter ſhewed that ſhe had not loſt all natural ſentiments of filial duty; for ſhe immediately declared, that ſhe felt that blow more ſeverely, than if ſhe had received it herſelf. Being conducted back to priſon, ſhe remained for the day of execution, when ſeveral other perſons were to be executed with her, of whom we muſt give an account as follows:

Felicitas, a married Chriſtian lady, was big with child at the time of her being apprehended. The procurator, when he examined her, begged that ſhe would have ſome pity upon herſelf, and the child within her, and conſider the condition ſhe was in; but ſhe replied, that his compaſſion was thrown away, for no thought of ſelf-preſervation could ever induce her to ſubmit to any idolatrous terms. She was delivered in priſon of a girl, which was adopted by a Chriſtian woman as her own, and alſo brought up by her as ſuch.

Revocatus was a Catechumen of Carthage, and a ſlave. The names of the other priſoners, who were to ſuffer upon this occaſion, were Satur, Saturninus, and Secundulus.

When the day appointed for the execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturninus, and Revocatus, being bold enough to denounce God's judgments upon their perſecutors, they were ordered to run the gantelope between the hunters, or ſuch as had the care of the wild beaſts. The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and as they paſſed were ſeverely laſhed.

Felicitas and Perpetua were ſtripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull: but ſome of the ſpectators, through decency, deſired that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which requeſt was granted.

The bull made his firſt attack upon Perpetua, and ſtunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a ſword. Revocatus and Satur were deſtroyed by wild beaſts; Saturninus was beheaded; and Secundulus died in priſon. Theſe executions were on the 8th day of March, A. D. 205.

Speratus, and twelve others, were likewiſe beheaded; as was Andoclus in France. Aſclepiades, biſhop of antioch, ſuffered many tortures, but they ſpared his life.

Cecilia, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman named Valerian. Being a Chriſtian herſelf, ſhe ſoon perſuaded her huſband to embrace the ſame faith; and his converſion was ſpeedily followed by that of Tiburtius his brother.

This information drew upon them all the vengeance of the civil magiſtrate: the two brothers were beheaded; and the maximus, or officer, who led them to execution, becoming their convert, ſuffered in like manner.

When the lady was apprehended, ſhe was doomed to death; the manner of which was thus: ſhe was placed naked in a ſcalding bath, and having continued there a conſiderable time, her head was ſtruck off with a ſword, A. D. 222.

Caliſtus, biſhop of Rome, was martyred A. D. 224; but the manner of his death is not recorded: and A. D. 232, Urban, biſhop of Rome, met the ſame fate.

Agapetus, a boy of Præneſte, in Italy, who was only fifteen years of age, abſolutely refuſing to ſacrifice to the idols, was ſeverely ſcourged, and then hanged up by the feet, and boiling water poured over him. He was afterwards worried by wild beaſts, and at laſt beheaded. The officer, named Antiochus, who ſuperintended this execution, while it was performing, fell ſuddenly from his judical ſeat, cried out that his bowels burnt him, and expired; feeling, miraculouſly, in this world, a ſample of the torments due to ſuch cruelty in the next: while the martyr patiently ſuffered, in hopes of a glorious reward.

A full and particular Account of the SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTOIN, *under the Roman Emperors.*

IN A. D. 235, Maximinus being emperor, he raiſed a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. In Cappadocia, the preſident, Seremianus, did all he could to exterminate the Chriſtians from that kingdom.

A Roman ſoldier, refuſing to were a laurel crown beſtowed on him by the emperor, and confeſſing himſelf a Chriſtian, was ſcourged, impriſoned, and put to death afterwards.

Pontianus, biſhop of Rome, for preaching againſt idolatry, was baniſhed to Sardinia, and there deſtroyed.

Anteros, a Grecian, who ſucceeded the laſt-mentioned biſhop in the ſee of Rome, gave ſo much offence to the government, by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only forty days, he ſuffered martyrdom himſelf.

Pammachius, a Roman ſenator, with his family and other Chriſtians, to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads ſet up on the city gates.

Simplicius, another ſenator, ſuffered martyrdom in a ſimilar way.

Calepodius, a Chriſtian miniſter, after being inhumanly treated, and barbarouſly dragged about the ſtreets, was thrown into the river Tyber with a millſtone faſtened about his neck.

Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domeſtics, were, on account of being all Chriſtians, put to the moſt excruciating tortures, and then to the moſt painful deaths. Thus this nobleman ſuffered the confiſcation of his effects, poverty, revilings, impriſonment, ſcourging, tortures, and loſs of his life, for the ſake of his bleſſed Redeemer and Mediator.

Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, likewiſe ſuffered martyrdom for the ſake of Chriſt, being variouſly tortured, and afterwards beheaded.

Hippolitus, a Chriſtian prelate, was tied to a wild horſe, and dragged through fields, ſtony places, buſhes, &c. till he died.

While this perſecution, raiſed by Maximinus, laſted, numberleſs Chriſtians were ſlain without trial, and buried indiſcriminately in heaps; ſometimes fifty or ſixty being caſt into a pit together, without the leaſt decency.

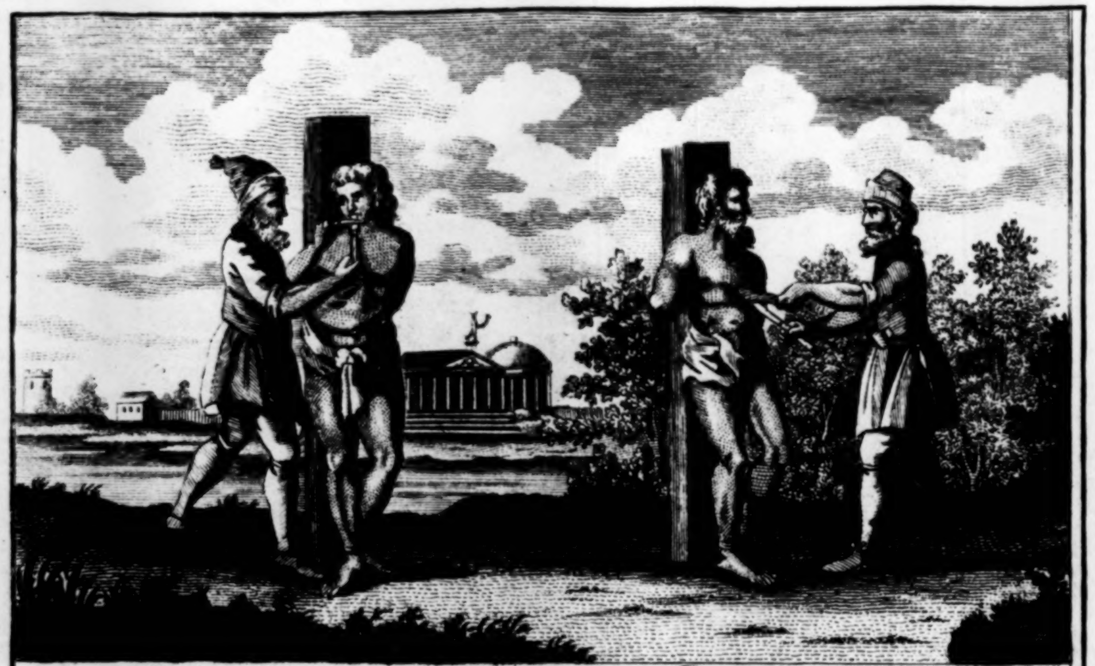
When the tyrant Maximinus died, A. D. 238, he was ſucceeded by Gordian, during whoſe reign, and that of his ſucceſſor Philip, the church was free from perſecution for the ſpace of more than ten years; but A. D. 249, a violent perſecution broke out in Alexandria. It is to be obſerved, however, that this was done at the inſtigation of a Pagan prieſt, without the emperor's knowledge.

The fury of the people being let looſe againſt the Chriſtians, the mob broke open their houſes, ſtole away the beſt of their property, deſtroyed the reſt, and murdered the owners: the univerſal cry being, "Burn them, burn them; Kill them, kill them." The names of the martyrs (three excepted) and the particulars o this affair, however, have not been recorded.

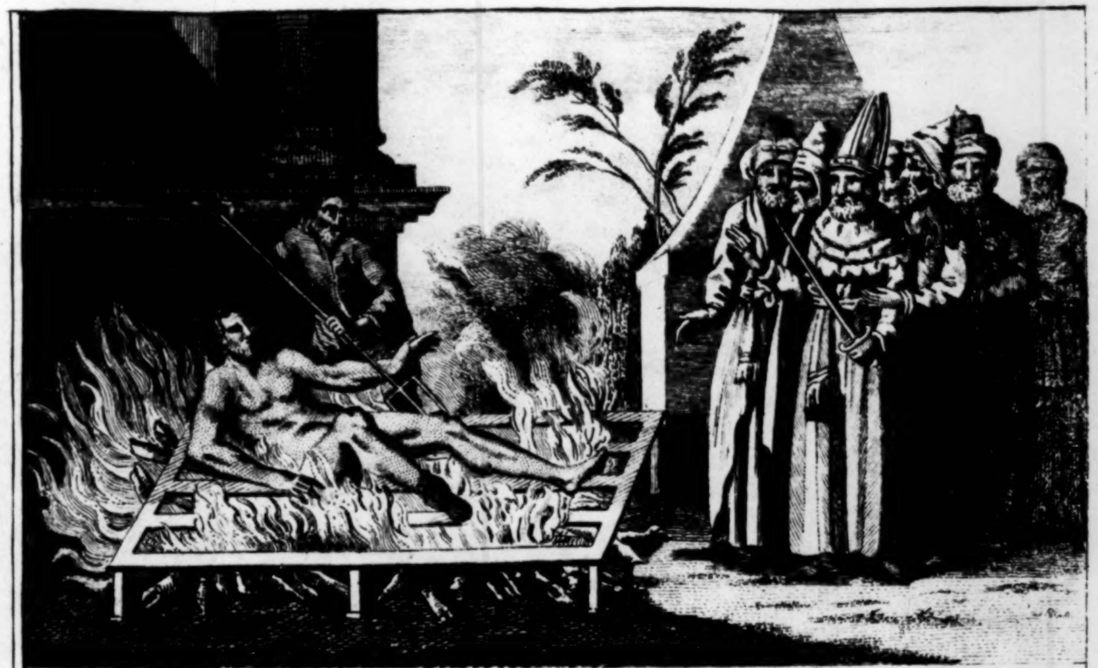
The three martyrs alluded to were as follow:

Metus, an aged and venerable Chriſtian, refuſin to blaſpheme his Saviour, was beaten with clubs, pricke with ſharp reeds, and at length ſtoned to death.

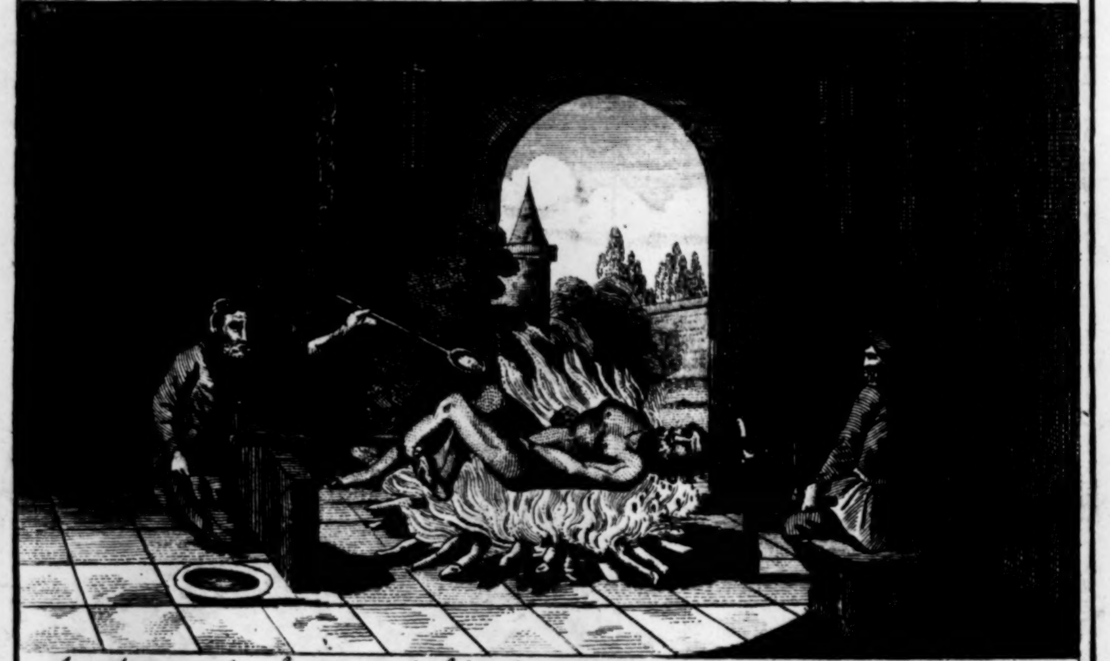
Quinta



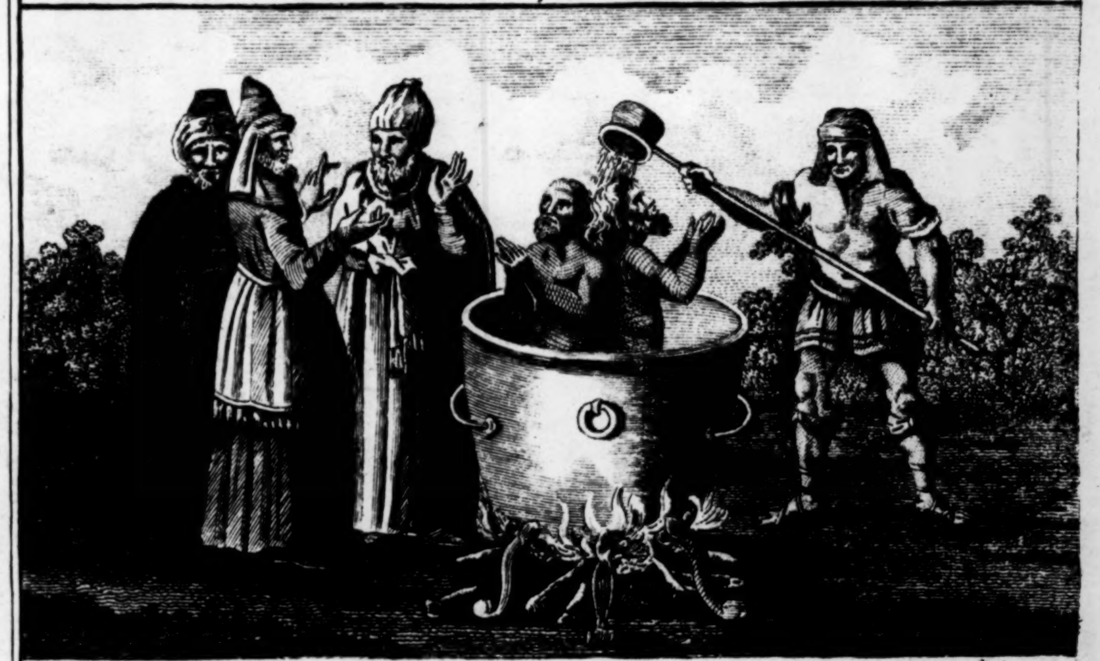
Flaying PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS alive, *and* cutting out *their* Tongues *during the 10th fiery Persecution.*



St. LAWRANCE Burnt on a GRIDIRON, *by order of the Emperor* Valerianus. *in the 8th Roman Persecution of the Christian Church.*



Another mode of Torture *inflicted on the* Primitive Martyrs. *by the Emperor* Dioclesian. *Vinegar & Salt* being poured on *the most tender parts while roasting.*



Two Primitive Martyrs *put into a* Copper *of* Boiling Oil *by order of the Proconsul of Ephesus during the Reign of* Nero A.D. 69

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Quinta, a Chriſtian woman, being carried to the temple, and refuſing to worſhip the idols there, was dragged by her feet over ſharp flint ſtones, ſcourged with whips, and at laſt diſpatched in the ſame manner as Metrus was.

Apollonia, an ancient maiden lady, confeſſing herſelf a Chriſtian, the mob daſhed out her teeth with their fiſts, and threatened to burn her alive. A fire was accordingly prepared for the purpoſe, and ſhe faſtened to a ſtake; but requeſting to be unlooſed, it was granted on a ſuppoſition that ſhe meant to recant, when to their great ſurpriſe, ſhe immediately threw herſelf into the flames, and was there conſumed, which plainly evinced that ſhe contemned the fears of death, and truſted to a laſting future reward, for a temporary puniſhment in this world.

A full and particular Account of the SEVENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, *under the Roman Emperors.*

NOW Decius, being emperor of Rome, began a dreadful perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, A. D. 249. This was occaſioned, partly by the hatred he bore to his predeceſſor Philip, who was deemed a Chriſtian, and partly to his jealouſy concerning the amazing increaſe of Chriſtianity; for the heathen temples began to be forſaken, and the Chriſtian churches crowded.

Provoked at this, Decius attempted the very extirpation of the name of Chriſtian; and it was unfortunate for the cauſe of the goſpel, that many errors had, about this time, crept into the church: the Chriſtians were at variance with each other; ſelf-intereſt divided thoſe whom ſocial love ought to have united; and the virulence of pride occaſioned a variety of contentions.

The heathens in general were ambitious to enforce the imperial decrees upon this occaſion, and looked upon the murder of a Chriſtian as a merit in themſelves. The martyrs, upon this occaſion, were innumerable; but the principal we ſhall give ſome account of in rotation.

Fabian, the biſhop of Rome, was the firſt perſon of eminence who felt the ſeverity of this perſecution. The deceaſed emperor Philip had, on account of his integrity, committed his treaſure to the care of this good man. But Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly ſeized; and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, ſuffered martyrdom, by loſing his head.

Abdon and Semen, two Perſians, were ſeized on as ſtrangers; but being found Chriſtians, were put to death, on account of their faith; and Moyſes, a prieſt, was beheaded on the ſame account.

Julian, a native of Cilicia, as we are informed by St. Chryſoſtom, was ſeized upon for being a Chriſtian. He was frequently tortured, but ſtill remained inflexible; and though often brought from priſon for execution, was again remanded, to be the object of greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be expoſed to the inſults of the ignorant people.

Perceiving all endeavours to make him recant his religion ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, ſtripped, and whipped in a moſt dreadful manner. He was put into a leather bag, together with a number of ſerpents and ſcorpions, and in that condition thrown into the ſea.

Peter, a young man, amiable for the ſuperior qualities of his body and mind, was apprehended for being a Chriſtian at Lampſacus, or the Helleſpont, and carried before Optimus, pro-conſul of Aſia.

When commanded to ſacrifice to Venus, he ſaid, "I am aſtoniſhed that you ſhould wiſh me to ſacrifice to an infamous woman, whoſe debaucheries even your own hiſtorians record, and whoſe life conſiſted of ſuch actions, as your laws would puniſh.—No! I ſhall offer the true God the acceptable ſacrifice of praiſe and prayers."

When Optimus heard this he ordered the priſoner to be ſtretched upon a wheel, by which all his bones were broken in a ſhocking manner.

Notwithſtanding, his torments inſpired him with freſh courage; he ſmiled on his perſecutors, and ſeemed, by the ſerenity of his countenance, not to upbraid, but to applaud his tormentors for his ſufferings.

At length the pro-conſul, tired with tormenting him, ordered him to be beheaded; which command was immediately executed.

Nichomachus, being brought before the pro-conſul as a Chriſtian, was ordered to ſacrifice to the pagan idols. Nichomachus replied, "I cannot pay that reſpect to devils, which is only due to the Almighty." This ſpeech ſo much enraged the pro-conſul, that Nichomachus was put to the rack. He bore the torments, for ſome time, with patience and great reſolution; but, at length, when ready to expire with pain, he forfeited all the advantages he had gained in his former ſufferings, by abjuring his faith, and becoming an apoſtate. He had no ſooner given this proof of his frailty, than he fell into the greateſt agonies, dropped down on the ground, and immediately expired.

Deniſa, a young woman of only ſixteen years of age, who beheld this terrible judgment, ſuddenly exclaimed; "O, unhappy wretch, why would you buy a moment's eaſe, at the expence of a miſerable eternity?" Optimus hearing this, called to her, and aſked if ſhe was a Chriſtian? She replied in the affirmative; and being commanded to ſacrifice to the idols, refuſed to comply.

Enraged at her reſolution, Optimus gave her up to two libertines, to become the object of their luſt. Theſe took her to their own home, and made many attempts upon her chaſtity, but without effect. At midnight they were deterred from further attempts by a frightful viſion, which ſo amazed them, that they fell at the feet of Deniſa, and implored her prayers, that they might not feel the effects of divine vengeance for their brutality. This deliverance, however, did not ſoften the heart of Optimus; for the damſel was beheaded ſoon after by his order.

Andrew and Paul, two companions of Nichomachus the martyr, on confeſſing themſelves Chriſtians, were condemned to die, and delivered to the multitude to be ſtoned. Accordingly, A. D. 251, they ſuffered martyrdom by ſtoning, and expired, calling on their bleſſed Redeemer and Mediator.

Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Chriſtians; and confeſſing the accuſation, were beat with ſtaves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt in the fire; and we are informed, in a fragment preſerved by Euſebius, that four female martyrs ſuffered on the ſame day, and at the ſame place, but not in the ſame manner; for theſe were beheaded.

Lucian and Marcian, two wicked Pagans, though ſkilful magicians, becoming converts to Chriſtianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and ſubſiſted upon bread and water only. After ſome time ſpent in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their ſolitude in order to bring others to Chriſtianity. Purſuant to this pious and laudable reſolution they became zealous preachers, and made many converts. The perſecution, however, raging at this time, they were ſeized upon, and carried immediately before Sabinus, the governor of Bithynia. On being aſked by what authority they took upon themſelves to preach, Lucian anſwered, "That the laws of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour the converſion of their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to reſcue them from the ſnares of the devil."

Lucian having ſpoken in this manner, Marcian alſo ſaid, that "Their converſion was by the ſame grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous perſecutor of the church, became a preacher of the goſpel."

When the pro-conſul found that he could not prevail with them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, which ſentence was executed ſoon after.

Trypho and Reſpicius, two eminent men, were ſeized as Chriſtians, and impriſoned at Nice. They were ſoon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praiſes of the Almighty the whole time. They were then expoſed naked to the ſeverity of the open air, which benumbed all their limbs, as it was the very depth of the cold ſeaſon.

When remanded to priſon, they remained there for a conſiderable time; and then the cruelties of their perſecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails; they were dragged through the ſtreets, ſcourged, torn with iron hooks, ſcorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, A. D. 251, on the firſt day of Feb.

Agtha, a Sicilian lady, was not more remarkable for her perſonal and acquired endowments, than her piety: her beauty was ſuch that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her virtue.

The governor being reputed to be a great libertine, and a bigotted Pagan, the lady very diſcreetly thought proper to withdraw from two ſuch dangerous enemies, as luſt and ſuperſtition. She accordingly retired from the town, but being diſcovered in her retreat, ſhe was apprehended and brought to Catana immediately.

Now finding herſelf in the power of an enemy, both to her ſoul and body, ſhe recommended herſelf to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death, as a relief from her afflictions.

In order to gratify his paſſions with the greater conveniency, the governor put the virtuous lady into the hands of Aphrodica, a very infamous and licentious woman. This wretch tried every artifice to win her to the deſired proſtitution; but found all her efforts were vain; for her chaſtity was impregnable, and ſhe well knew that virtue alone could procure true felicity.

Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, who, enraged to be foiled in his deſigns, changed his luſt into reſentment. On her confeſſing that ſhe was a Chriſtian, he determined to gratify his revenge, ſince he could not his baſe love.

Agreeable to his orders ſhe was ſcourged, burnt with red hot irons, and torn with ſharp hooks. Having borne theſe torments with admirable fortitude, ſhe was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glaſs, and then being carried back to priſon, ſhe there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

Cyril, biſhop of Gortyna, was ſeized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who, nevertheleſs, exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the ſacrifices, and ſave his venerable perſon from deſtruction; for he was now eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any ſuch requiſitions. But as he had long taught others to ſave their ſouls, that now he ſhould only think of his own ſalvation and everlaſting welfare.

When the governor found all his perſuaſions in vain, he pronounced ſentence againſt the venerable Chriſtian, in words to the following effect.

"I order and appoint, that Cyril, who has loſt his ſenſes, and is a declared enemy of our gods, ſhall be burnt alive."

The good worthy prelate heard this ſentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with great reſolution.

The perſecution raged in no place more than in the iſland of Crete; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place ſtreamed with the pious blood of many.

The principal Cretan martyrs, whoſe names have been tranſmitted to us, are as follow:

Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, were inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, biſhop of that city; and Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenes, Agathopas, Baſtides, and Euariſtus, were brought from different parts of the iſland on accuſations relative to their profeſſing Chriſtianity.

When brought into court, they were commanded to ſacrifice to Jupiter, which declining, the judge threatened them with the ſevereſt tortures imaginable. To theſe menaces they unanimouſly anſwered, "That to ſuffer, for the ſake of the Supreme Being, would to them be the ſublimeſt of pleaſures."

The judge's threats failing, he attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by diſcanting on their merits, and recounting ſome of their mythological hiſtories. This gave the priſoners an opportunity of remarking on the abſurdity of ſuch fictions, and of pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images.

Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they ſuſtained with ſurpriſing fortitude. They at length ſuffered the period of their martyrdom, A. D. 251: being all beheaded at the ſame time.

Babylas, a Chriſtian of a liberal education, became biſhop of Antioch, A. D. 237, on the demiſe of Zebinus. He acted with inimitable zeal, and governed the church during the moſt tempeſtuous times with admirable prudence.

The firſt misfortune that happened to Antioch during his miſſion, was the ſiege of it by Sapor, king of Perſia; who having over-run all Syria, took and plundered this city among others, and uſed the Chriſtian inhabitants with greater ſeverity than the reſt.

However, his cruelties were not laſting; for Gordian, the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Perſians driven entirely out of Syria, purſued into their own country, and ſeveral places in the Perſian territories fell into the hands of the emperor.

On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, that emperor came to Antioch, where, having a deſire to viſit an aſſembly of Chriſtians, Babylas oppoſed him, and abſolutely refuſed to let him come in. The emperor diſſembled his anger at that time; but ſoon ſending for the biſhop, he ſharply reproved him for his inſolence, and then ordered him to ſacrifice to the Pagan deities as an expiation for his ſuppoſed crime.

Having refuſed this, he was committed to priſon, loaded with chains, treated with great ſeverities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils.

When they went to the place of execution, the biſhop exclaimed, "Behold me, and the children that the Lord hath given me." They were martyred, A. D. 251; and the chains worn by the biſhop in priſon were buried with him.

Alexander, biſhop of Jeruſalem, about this time was caſt into priſon on account of his religion, where he died through the ſeverity of his confinement.

When Serapian was apprehended at Alexandria, he had all his bones broken, and was then thrown from a high loft, when he was killed by the fall.

Julianus, an old man, lame with the gout, and Cronion, another Chriſtian, were bound on the backs of camels, ſeverely ſcourged, and then thrown into a fire and conſumed. A perſon who ſtood by, and ſeemed to commiſerate them, was ordered to be beheaded, as a puniſhment for entertaining ſentiments of tenderneſs and lenity.

Macar, a Lybian Chriſtian, was burnt: Heron-Ater, and Iſidorus, Egyptians; with Dioſchorus, a boy of fifteen, after ſuffering many other torments, met with a ſimilar fate; and Nemeſion, another Egyptian, was firſt tried as a thief; but being acquitted, was accuſed of Chriſtianity, which confeſſing, he was ſcourged, tortured, and finally burnt.

Iſehyrian, the Chriſtian ſervant of an Egyptian nobleman, and magiſtrate, was run through with a pike by his own maſter, for refuſing to ſacrifice to idols; Venatius, a youth of fifteen, was martyred in Italy; and forty virgins, at Antioch, after being impriſoned and ſcourged, were deſtroyed by fire.

The emperor Decius having erected a Pagan temple at Epheſus, in the year of our Lord 251, he commanded all who were in that city to ſacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refuſed by ſeven of his own ſoldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malchus, Dionyſius, Conſtantinus, and Seraion.

The emperor, wiſhing to win theſe ſoldiers to renounce their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a conſiderable reſpite till he returned from a journey.

While the emperor was abſent, they eſcaped, and hid themſelves in a cavern; which the emperor being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was cloſed up, and they all periſhed with hunger.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refuſing to ſacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the ſtews, that her virtue might be ſacrificed to the brutality of luſt. Didymus, a Chriſtian, diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Roman ſoldier, went to the houſe, informed Theodora who he was, and adviſed her to make her eſcape in his dreſs.

Having effected this, and a man found in the brothel inſtead of a beautiful lady, Didymus was taken before the preſident, to whom confeſſing the truth, and owning that he was a Chriſtian, the ſentence of death was immediately pronounced againſt him. In the mean time Theodora, hearing that her deliverer was likely to ſuffer, came to the judge, threw herſelf at his feet, and begged that the ſentence might fall only on her as the guilty perſon; but deaf to the cries of the innocent, and inſenſible to the calls of juſtice, the inflexible judge condemned both; when they were executed accordingly, being firſt beheaded, and their bodies afterwards conſumed with fire.

Secundianus having been accuſed as a Chriſtian, was conveyed to priſon by ſome ſoldiers. On the way, Verianus and Marcellinus ſaid, "Where are you carrying the innocent?" This interrogatory occaſioned them to be ſeized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged, and their heads were cut off when they were dead.

Origen, the celebrated preſbyter and catechiſt of Alexandria, at the age of ſixty-four, was ſeized, thrown into a loathſome priſon, laden with heavy fetters, his feet placed in the ſtocks, and his legs extended to the utmoſt for ſeveral ſucceſſive days. He was threatened with fire, and tormented by every means that the moſt infernal imaginations could ſuggeſt. But unappalled with dangers, and unſhaken by ſufferings, his Chriſtian fortitude bore him through all. Indeed, ſuch was the rigour of his judge, that his tortures were ordered to be lingering, that death might not too ſoon put a period to his miſeries. During this cruel temporiſing, the emperor Decius died, and Gallus, who ſucceeded him, engaging in a war with the Goths, the Chriſtians met with a reſpite. In this interim Origen obtained his enlargement, and retiring to Tyre, he there remained till his death, which happened when he was in the ſixty-ninth year of his age.

The emperor Gallus having concluded his wars, a plague broke out in the empire: ſacrifices to the Pagan deities were ordered by the emperor, and ſuperſtition immediately bowed the knee to falſe gods.

On the Chriſtians refuſing to comply with theſe rites, they were charged with being the authors of the calamity. Hence the ſtorm of perſecution ſpread, from the interior to the extreme parts of the empire, and many fell martyrs to the impetuoſity of the rabble, as well as the prejudice of the magiſtrates.

Cornelius, the Chriſtian biſhop of Rome, was, among others, ſeized upon this occaſion. He was firſt baniſhed to Centum-Cellæ, Civita Vecchia, as it is now called; and after having been cruelly ſcourged, was, on the 14th of September, A. D. 252, beheaded, after having been biſhop fifteen months and ten days.

Lucius, who ſucceeded Cornelius as biſhop of Rome, was the ſon of Porphyrius, and a Roman by birth. His vigilance, as a paſtor, rendered him obnoxious to the foes of Chriſtianity, which occaſioned him to be baniſhed: but in a ſhort time, he was permitted to return from baniſhment.

He was, not long after, however, apprehended, after having been biſhop about ſix months, and beheaded March the 4th, A. D. 253. This biſhop was ſucceeded by Stephanus, a man of a fiery temper, who held the dignity a few years, and might probably have fallen a martyr, had not the emperor been murdered by his general Æmilian, when a profound peace ſucceeded throughout the whole empire, and the perſecution of courſe terminated.

Several of the errors which crept into the church at this time aroſe from placing human reaſon in competition with revelation; but the fallacy of ſuch arguments being proved by the moſt able divines, the opinions they had created vaniſhed away like ſtars before the ſun.

A full and particular Account of the EIGHTH GENERAL PERESCUTION *under the Roman Emperors.*

ÆMILIAN, the general, not being properly ſupported by the army, was ſlain, and Valerian elected to the empire.

This emperor, for the ſpace of four years, governed with moderation, and treated the Chriſtians with peculiar lenity and reſpect. But A. D. 257, an Egyptian magician, named Macrianus, gained a great aſcendancy over him, and perſuaded him to perſecute the Chriſtians.

Accordingly edicts were publiſhed, and the ungovernable rage of ignorance and ſuperſtition was let looſe againſt the Chriſtians. The perſecution began in the month of April, and continued for three years and ſix months.

Innumerable were the martyrs that fell in this perſecution, and their tortures and deaths as various and painful. The moſt eminent martyrs were the following, though neither rank, ſex, nor age met with reſpect.

Rufina and Secunda were two beautiful and accompliſhed ladies, daughters of Aſterius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was deſigned in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a perſon of rank and immenſe wealth.

Theſe ſuitors, at the time of the perſecution's commencing, were both Chriſtians; but when danger appeared, to ſave their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to perſuade the ladies to do the ſame, but failed in their purpoſe. Rufina and Secunda, though too juſt to change their religious ſentiments, were too diffident of their own ſtrength to remain longer the objects of ſuch ſolicitations; on which account they left the kingdom.

The lovers diſappointed in their purpoſe, were baſe enough to inform againſt the ladies, who being apprehended as Chriſtians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome.

Now being inflexible to all remonſtrances, and having paſſed through ſeveral tortures, they ſealed their martyrdom with their blood, by being beheaded A. D. 257.

Stephen, biſhop of Rome, was beheaded in the ſame year; and about that time Saturnius, biſhop of Thoulouſe, was ſet upon and ſeized by the rabble of that place, for preventing as they alleged, their oracles from ſpeaking. On refuſing to ſacrifice to the idols, he was treated with all the barbarous indignities imaginable, and then faſtened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a ſignal given, the enraged animal was driven down the ſteps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were daſhed out. The ſmall number of Chriſtians in Thoulouſe had not courage ſufficient to carry off the dead body, till two women conveyed it away, and depoſited it in a deep ditch.

This martyr was a moſt orthodox and worthy primitive Chriſtian, and his doctrines are to be firmly depended upon.

Stephen was ſucceeded by Sextus as biſhop of Rome. He is ſuppoſed to have been a Greek by birth, or by extraction, and had for ſome time ſerved in the capacity of a deacon under Stephen. His great fidelity, ſingular wiſdom, and uncommon courage, diſtinguiſhed him upon many occaſions; and the happy concluſion of a controverſy with ſome heretics, is generally aſcribed to his prudence.

Marcianus, who had the management of the Roman government in the year 258, procured an order from the emperor Valerian, to put to death all the Chriſtian clergy in Rome.

The ſenate having teſtified their obedience to the imperial mandate, Sextus was one of the firſt who felt the ſeverity of the reſcript. Cyprian tells us, that he was beheaded Auguſt 6, A. D. 258. We are likewiſe informed, that ſix of his deacons ſuffered with him.

Laurentius, generally called St. Laurence, the principal of the deacons, who taught and preached under Sextus, followed him to the place of execution; when Sextus predicted, that he ſhould meet him in heaven three days after.

Laurentius looking upon this as a certain indication of his own approaching martyrdom, at his return gathered together all the Chriſtian poor, and diſtributed the treaſures of the church, which had been committed to his care, among them; thinking the money could not be better diſpoſed of, or leſs liable to fall into the hands of the Heathens.

Such liberality alarmed the perſecutors, who ſeized on him to make a diſcovery from whence it aroſe, and commanded him to give an immediate account to the emperor, of the church treaſures.

Laurentius promiſed he would do this, but begged a ſhort reſpite to put things in proper order; when three days being granted him, he was ſuffered to depart; whereupon, with great diligence, he collected together a great number of aged, helpleſs, and impotent poor, and repaired to the magiſtrate, preſenting them to him, ſaying, "Theſe are the true treaſures of the church."

Provoked at the diſappointment, and fancying the matter meant in ridicule, the governor ordered him to be immediately ſcourged. He was then beat with iron rods, ſet upon a wooden horſe, and had his limbs diſlocated.

He endured theſe tortures with fortitude and perſeverance; when he was ordered to be faſtened to a large gridiron, with a ſlow fire under it, that his death might be the more tedious.

But his aſtoniſhing conſtancy during theſe trials, and ſerenity of countenance while under ſuch excruciating torments, gave the ſpectators ſo exalted an idea of the dignity and truth of the Chriſtian religion, that many became converts at the ſame time.

Having lain, for ſome time, upon this burning bed, the martyr called out to the emperor, who was preſent, in a kind of jocoſe diſtich, made extempore, which may be tranſlated thus:

"This ſide enough is toaſted,
"Then turn me, tyrant, and eat;
"And ſee, whether raw or roaſted,
"I ſeem the better meat."

Accordingly the executioner turned him, and after having lain a conſiderable time longer, he had ſtill ſtrength and ſpirits ſufficient left to triumph over the tyrant, by telling him, with great ſerenity, that he was dreſſed enough, and only wanted ſerving up. He then cheerfully lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with calmneſs yielded his ſpirit to the Almighty, on Auguſt 10, A. D. 258.

Romanus, a ſoldier, who attended the martyrdom of Laurentius, was one of the converts to his ſufferings and fortitude; for he could not help feeling the greateſt veneration for a God, who inſpired his votaries with ſuch courage, and rendered his martyrs ſuperior to all the cruelties of their enemies.

When the martyr Laurentius was remanded to priſon, the brave Romanus took that opportunity of fully inquiring into the nature of the Chriſtian faith; and being entirely ſatisfied by Laurentius, became firmly a Chriſtian, received his baptiſm from the captive, and ſeemed to have his mind impreſſed with a lively idea of the kingdom of Chriſt; a kingdom replete with eternal joys, and everlaſting felicity.

Romanus's ſudden change was ſoon known, when he was apprehended, ſcourged ſeverely, and afterwards beheaded.

Hypolitus was another, who, for the ſame crime, was ſeized in like manner, and ſuffered a ſimilar fate.

The perſecution raged in Africa with peculiar violence; many thouſands received the crown of martyrdom, among whom the following were the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters:

Cyprian, biſhop of Carthage, was an eminent prelate, and a pious ornament of the church. The brightneſs of his genius was tempered by the ſolidity of his judgment; and with all the accompliſhments of the gentleman he blended the virtues of the Chriſtian. His doctrines were orthodox and pure; his language eaſy and elegant; and his manners graceful and winning: in fine, he was both the pious and polite preacher. Indeed, an eaſy delivery, and poliſhed manner, are requiſite in every preacher, who would make an impreſſion on the hearts of his audience. This was the practice of St. Paul, and this was the accompliſhment of Cyprian.

It is ſaid, the latter was ſo perfectly a maſter of the rules of rhetoric, and the precepts of logic, and ſo complete in the practice of elocution, and the principles of philoſophy, that he was made profeſſor of thoſe ſciences in his native city of Carthage, where he became ſo popular, and taught with ſuch ſucceſs, that many of his ſtudents afterwards became ſhining ornaments of polite erudition.

He was educated in his youth in the principles of Gentiliſm, and having a conſiderable fortune, he lived in the very extravagance of ſplendour, and all the dignity of pomp. Gorgeous in attire, luxurious in feaſting, vain of a numerous retinue, and fond of every kind of faſhionable parade, he ſeemed to fancy that man was born to gratify all his appetites, and created for pleaſure only.

In or about the year 246, Cœlius, a Chriſtian miniſter of Carthage, became the happy inſtrument of Cyprian's converſion; on which account, and for the great love that he always afterwards bore for the author of his converſion, he was termed Cœcilius Cyprian.

Before his baptiſm he ſtudied the ſcriptures with care, and being ſtruck with the beauties of the truths they contained, he determined to practiſe the virtues therein recommended. After his baptiſm he ſold his eſtate, diſtributed the money among the poor, dreſſed himſelf in plain attire, and commenced a life of auſterity and ſolitude.

Soon after he was made a preſbyter; and being greatly admired for his virtues, and his works, on the death of Donatus, in A. D. 248, he was almoſt unanimouſly elected biſhop of Carthage.

The care of Cyprian not only extended over Carthage, but to Numidia and Mauritania. In all his tranſactions he took great care to aſk the advice of his clergy, knowing, that unanimity alone could be of ſervice to the church: this being one of his maxims, "That the biſhop was in the church, and the church in the biſhop; ſo that unity can only be preſerved by a cloſe connection between the paſtor and his flock."

Cyprian was publicly proſcribed A. D. 250, by the emperor Decius, under the appellation of Cœcilius Cyprian, biſhop of the Chriſtians: and the univerſal cry of the Pagans, was, "Cyprian to the lions, Cyprian to the beaſts."

However, the biſhop withdrew himſelf from the rage of the populace, and his effects were immediately confiſcated thereupon.

In his retirement he wrote thirty pious and elegant letters to his flock; but ſeveral ſchiſms that then crept into the church gave him great uneaſineſs. The rigour of the perſecution abating, he returned to Carthage, and did every thing in his power to expunge erroneous opinions and falſe doctrines.

A terrible plague breaking out at Carthage, it was, as uſual, laid to the charge of the Chriſtians; and the magiſtrates,

giſtrates began to perſecute accordingly, which occaſioned an epiſtle from them to Cyprian, in anſwer to which he vindicates the cauſe of Chriſtianity.

Cyprian was brought before the pro-conſul Aſpaſius Paternus, A. D. 257, when being commanded to conform to the religion of the empire, he boldly made a confeſſion of his faith, and owned himſelf a Chriſtian. This confeſſion, however, did not occaſion his death, but an order for his baniſhment, which exiled him to a little city on the Lybian ſea. On the death of the pro-conſul who baniſhed him, he returned to Carthage, but was ſoon after ſeized, and carried before the new governor, who condemned him to be beheaded; on the 14th of September, A. D. 258, this ſentence was executed.

Certainly this biſhop was a moſt valuable paſtor of the church, a pious Chriſtian, an excellent philoſopher, and an accurate preacher. Before we quit this article, we think it neceſſary to inſert his own account of his converſion, which is as follows:

"While I laid in darkneſs and uncertainty, I thought on what I had heard of, a ſecond birth, propoſed by the divine goodneſs; but could not comprehend how a man could receive a new life from his being ſprinkled with water; ceaſe to be what he was before, and ſtill remain the ſame body. How, ſaid I, can ſuch a change be poſſible? How can he, who is grown old in a worldly way of living, ſtrip himſelf of his former inclinations, and inveterate habits? Can he, who has ſpent his whole time in plenty, and indulged his appetite without reſtraint, ever be transformed into an example of frugality and ſobriety? Or he who has always appeared in ſplendid apparel, ſtoop to the plain, ſimple, and unornamented dreſs of the common people? It is impoſſible for a man, who has borne the moſt honourable poſts, ever to ſubmit to lead a private and an obſcure life: or that he who was never ſeen in public without a crowd of attendants, and perſons who endeavoured to make their fortunes by attending him, ſhould ever bear to be alone. This (continues he) was my way of arguing; I thought it was impoſſible for me to leave my former courſe of life, and the habits I was then engaged in, and accuſtomed to: but no ſooner did the life-giving water waſh the ſpots of my ſoul, than my heart received the heavenly light of the Holy Spirit, which transformed me into a new creature; all my difficulties were cleared, my doubts diſſolved, and my darkneſs diſpelled. I was then able to do what before ſeemed impoſſible; could diſcern that my former life was earthly and ſinful, according to the impurity of my birth; but that my ſpiritual birth gave me new ideas and inclinations, and directed all my views to God."

Cyprian's diſciples who were martyred in this perſecution were, Lucius, Flavian, Victoricus, Remus, Montanus, Donatian, Julian, Primolus.

A moſt terrible tragedy was exhibited at Utica, 300 Chriſtians were, by the orders of the pro-conſul, placed round a burning lime-kiln. A pan of coals and incenſe being prepared, they were commanded either to ſacrifice to Jupiter, or to be thrown into the kiln. Unanimouſly refuſing, they bravely jumped into the pit, and were ſuffocated immediately.

Fructuoſus, biſhop of Tarragon, in Spain, and his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, for avowing themſelves Chriſtians, were conſumed by fire.

Malchus, Alexander, and Priſcus, three Chriſtians of Paleſtine, with a woman of the ſame place, voluntarily accuſed themſelves of being Chriſtians; on which account they were ſentenced to be devoured by tygers, which ſentence was accordingly executed.

Donatilla, Maxima, and Secunda, three virgins of Tuburga, had gall and vinegar given them to drink, were then ſeverely ſcourged, tormented on a gibbet, rubbed with lime, ſcorched on a gridiron, worried by wild beaſts, and beheaded at laſt.

Pontius a native of the city of Simela, near the Alps, being apprehended as a Chriſtian, was tortured on the rack, worried by wild beaſts, half burnt, then beheaded, and laſtly thrown into the river; and Protus and Hyacinthus likewiſe ſuffered martyrdom for the ſake of their bleſſed Redeemer.

Here it is proper to take notice of the ſingular but miſerable fate of the emperor Valerian, who had ſo long and ſo terribly perſecuted the Chriſtians.

At length this tyrant, by a ſtratagem, was taken priſoner by Saphores, emperor of Perſia, who carried him into his own country, and there treated him with the moſt unexampled indignity, making him kneel down, as the meaneſt ſlave, and treading upon him as a footſtool when he mounted his horſe, ſaying, in a vaunting manner, "This poſture is a greater proof which way the victory went, than all the pictures the Roman artiſts can draw."

Having kept him, for the ſpace of ſeven years, in this abject ſtate of ſlavery, he at laſt cauſed his eyes to be put out, though he was then eighty-three years of age.

His deſire of revenge being not yet ſatisfied, he ſoon after ordered his body to be flayed alive, and rubbed with ſalt, under which torments he expired; and thus fell one of the moſt tyrannical emperors of Rome, and one of the greateſt perſecutors of the Chriſtians.

Gallienus, the ſon of Valerian, ſucceeded him A. D. 260, and, during his reign, the empire ſuffered many commotions, particularly earthquakes, peſtilence, inundations, inteſtine broils, and incurſions of barbarians.

Gallienus upon this reflecting, that when his father favoured the Chriſtians he proſpered, and that when he perſecuted them he was unſucceſsful, he determined to relax the perſecution; ſo that (a few martyrs excepted) the church enjoyed peace for ſome years. The chief of the few martyrs alluded to, is as follows:

Marnius, a centurion, who being apprehended as a Chriſtian, had but three hours allowed him to deliberate, whether he would ſacrifice to the Pagan deities, or become a martyr? Being wavering during this interval, a Chriſtian prelate placed the goſpel and a ſword before him, and demanding which he would chuſe, Marnius took the ſword without heſitation.

Again meeting with the governor, he made a noble confeſſion of his faith, and was ſpeedily after beheaded, in the year 262.

A full and particular Account of the NINTH GENERAL PERSECUTION *under the Roman Emperors.*

A. D. 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; the principal ſufferers are as follow:

Felix, biſhop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman ſee in 274. He was the firſt martyr to Aurelian's petulancy, being beheaded in the ſame year on the 22d of December.

Agapetus, a young gentleman, who ſold his eſtate, and gave the money to the poor, was ſeized as a Chriſtian, tortured, and then brought to Præneſte, a city within a days journey of Rome, where he was beheaded.

Theſe are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was ſoon put a ſtop to by the emperor's being murdered by his own domeſtics, at Byzantium.

Aurelian was ſucceeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as the latter was by Carus: this emperor being killed by a thunder ſtorm, his ſons, Carnius and Numerian, ſucceeded him; and during all theſe reigns the church enjoyed reſt.

Diocleſian mounting the imperial throne, A. D. 284, at firſt ſhewed great favour to the Chriſtians. In the year 286, he aſſociated Maximian with him, in the empire; and the following Chriſtians were put to death before any general perſecution broke out.

Felician and Primus, two brothers. Theſe Chriſtians were ſeized by an order from the imperial court: they owned themſelves Chriſtians, and were accordingly ſcourged, tortured, and finally beheaded.

Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble deſcent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors, to whom the education of the children were intruſted, brought them up as Chriſtians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were ſeverely tortured and then condemned to be beheaded.

A reſpite of a month was obtained for them by their friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to Paganiſm, but in vain; the calls of nature were overcome by piety, and religion got the better of worldly feelings.

At laſt their conſtancy ſubdued their perſuaders, and their parents and whole family became converts to a faith they had juſt before ſatirized.

Tranquillinus, the father of the two young men, was ſent for by the præfect to give him an account of the ſucceſs of his endeavours. Appearing before the magiſtrate he confeſſed, that ſo far from having perſuaded his ſons to forſake the faith they had embraced, he was become a Chriſtian himſelf.

This ſaid, he ſtopped till the magiſtrate had overcome his ſurpriſe, and then reſuming his diſcourſe, he uſed ſuch powerful arguments that he made a convert of the præfect, who ſoon after ſold his eſtate, reſigned his command, and ſpent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

The præfect, who ſucceeded the above-mentioned convert, had nothing of the diſpoſition of his predeceſſor: he was moroſe and ſevere, and ſoon ſeized upon the whole of this Chriſtian race, who were accordingly martyred by being tied to poſts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this ſituation for a day and night, their ſufferings were put an end to by thruſting lances through their bodies.

Zoe, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of the before-mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their diſcourſes, had a deſire to become a Chriſtian: this, as ſhe was dumb with a palſy, ſhe could only expreſs by geſtures.

Lamenting her condition, they gave her full inſtructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her diſorder. She complied with their requeſt, and was at length relieved; for her paralytic diſorder by degrees left her, and her ſpeech returned again.

This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Chriſtian; and her huſband, finding her cured, ſoon became a convert to Chriſtianity. Theſe converſions made a great noiſe, and the converts were ſoon apprehended. Zoe, was commanded to ſacrifice to Mars, which refuſing, ſhe was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of ſtraw lighted under her. When her body was taken down it was thrown into a river, with a large ſtone tied to it, in order to ſink it.

Tibertius, a native of Rome, was deſcended from a family of rank and diſtinction. Being accuſed as a Chriſtian, he was commanded either to ſacrifice to idols, or to walk upon burning coals. He choſe the latter, and paſſed over them without damage, when Fabian paſſed ſentence upon him that he ſhould be beheaded: which ſentence was performed in the month of Auguſt, A. D. 286, and his body was afterwards buried by ſome pious Chriſtians.

A moſt remarkable affair occurred in A. D. 286, a legion of ſoldiers, conſiſting of 6666 men, contained none but Chriſtians. This legion was called the Theban legion, becauſe the men had been raiſed in Thebaus: they were quartered in the Eaſt till the emperor Maximian ordered them to march to Gaul, to aſſiſt him againſt the rebels of Burgundy.

They paſſed the Alps into Gaul, under the command of Mauritius, Candidus, and Exupernis, their worthy commanders, and at length joined the emperor.

About this time, Maximian ordered a general ſacrifice, at which the whole army were to aſſiſt; and likewiſe he commanded, that they ſhould take oaths of allegiance, and ſwear, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt him in the extirpation of Chriſtianity in Gaul.

Terrified at theſe orders, each individual of the Theban legion, abſolutely refuſed either to ſacrifice, or take the oaths preſcribed. This ſo greatly enraged Maximian, that he ordered the legion to be decimated, that is, every tenth man to be ſelected from the reſt, and put to the ſword.

This cruel order having been put into execution, thoſe who remained alive were ſtill inflexible, when a ſecond decimation took place, and every tenth man of thoſe living were again put to the ſword.

But this ſecond ſeverity made no more impreſſion than the firſt had done; the ſoldiers preſerved their fortitude and their principles, but by the advice of their officers, drew up a remonſtrance to the emperor, in which they told him, "that they were his ſubjects and his ſoldiers, but could not at the ſame time forget the Almighty; that they received their pay from him, and their exiſtence from God. While your commands (ſaid they) are not contradictory to thoſe of our common maſter, we ſhall always be ready to obey, as we have been hitherto; but when the orders of our prince and thoſe of the Almighty differ, we muſt always obey the latter. Our arms are devoted to the emperor's uſe, and ſhall be directed againſt his enemies; but we cannot ſubmit to ſtain our hands with effuſion of Chriſtian blood; and how, indeed, could you, O emperor! be ſure of our allegiance and fidelity, ſhould we violate our obligation to our God, in whoſe ſervice we were ſolemnly engaged before we entered the army? You command us to ſearch out and to deſtroy the Chriſtians: it is not neceſſary to look any further for perſons of that denomination, we ourſelves are ſuch, and we glory in the name. We ſaw our companions fall without the leaſt oppoſition or murmuring, and thought them happy in dying for the ſake of Chriſt. Nothing ſhall make us lift up our hands againſt our ſovereign; we had rather die wrongfully, and by that means preſerve our innocence, than live under a load of guilt: whatever you command we are ready to ſuffer; we confeſs ourſelves to be Chriſtians, and therefore cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor ſacrifice to idols."

It might be preſumed, a declaration like this, would have ſoftened the emperor, but it had the contrary effect: for, enraged at their perſeverance and unanimity, he commanded that the whole legion ſhould be put to death, which was accordingly executed by the other troops, who cut them to pieces with their ſwords.

This inhuman affair happened on the 22d of September, A. D. 286; and ſuch was the inveterate malice of Maximian, that he ſent to deſtroy every man of a few detachments, that had been drafted from the Theban legion, and diſpatched to Italy.

An old veteran ſoldier of another legion, whoſe name was Victor, met the executioners of this bloody buſineſs. As they appeared rather merry, he inquired into the cauſe of their jocularity, and being informed of the whole affair, he ſharply reproved them for their barbarity. This excited their curioſity to aſk him if he was of the ſame faith as thoſe who had ſuffered? On anſwering in the affirmative, ſeveral of the ſoldiers fell upon him, and diſpatched him in a very ſhort time.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordſhire, received it's name, was the firſt Britiſh martyr. This iſland had received the goſpel of Chriſt from Lucius, the firſt Chriſtian king, but did not ſuffer by the rage of perſecution for many years after.

This man was originally a Pagan, but being naturally of a very humane and tender diſpoſition, he ſheltered a Chriſtian eccleſiaſtic, named Amphibalus, when ſome officers were in purſuit of him on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying diſcourſes of the refugee, made a great impreſſion on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member of a religion which charmed him, and to imitate what he admired. The fugitive miniſter, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to inſtruct him; and, before his diſcovery, perfected Alban's converſion, which afforded him no little ſatisfaction.

Alban now took a firm reſolution to preſerve the ſentiments of a Chriſtian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was ſecreted, came to the houſe of Alban, in order to apprehend him. The noble hoſt deſirous of protecting his gueſt and convert, changed clothes with him, in order to facilitate his eſcape; and when the ſoldiers came, offered himſelf up as the perſon for whom they were ſeeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately diſcovered; and Amphibalus being abſent, that officer determined to wreak all his vengeance upon Alban:

with this view he ſternly commanded the priſoner to advance to the altar, and to ſacrifice to the Pagan deities; or threatened, in caſe of refuſal, with the vengeance intended to be exerciſed againſt the perſon who had eſcaped by his contrivance. The brave Alban however unterrified by theſe menaces, declared that he would not comply with ſuch idolatrous injunctions, but freely profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian. Hereupon the governor ordered him to be ſcourged, which he bore with great fortitude, and ſeemed to acquire new reſolution from his ſufferings: he then was ſentenced to be beheaded.

The venerable Bede aſſures us, that, upon this occaſion, the executioner ſuddenly became a convert to Chriſtianity, and entreated permiſſion either to die for Alban, or with him. Obtaining the latter requeſt, they were beheaded by a ſoldier, who voluntarily undertook the taſk of executioner. This happened on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, at Verulam, now St. Alban's, in Hertfordſhire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory, about the time of Conſtantine the Great. This edifice being deſtroyed in the Saxon wars, was rebuilt by Offa, king of Mercia, and a monaſtery erected adjoining to it, ſome remains of which are ſtill viſible, and the church is a noble Gothic ſtructure.

Faith was a Chriſtian female, of Acquitain, in France. Dacian, the Roman governor of Gaul, in the time of Maximian, reſided at Agen, in Acquitain, and was very active in perſecuting the Chriſtians.

Faith being informed that there was a deſign to ſeize her, foreſtalled the intention, by ſurrendering herſelf up as a priſoner; and being inflexible in her faith, was ordered to be broiled upon a gridiron, and then beheaded; which ſentence was executed A. D. 287.

Capacius was one who had concealed himſelf from the perſecutors of Chriſtianity, but being informed of the fortitude of Faith, he openly avowed his religion, and delivered himſelf up to the governor, who had him firſt tortured, and then beheaded.

Quintin was a Chriſtian, and a native of Rome, but determined to attempt the propagation of the goſpel in Gaul. He accordingly went to Picardy, attended by one Lucian: they preached together at Amiens; after which Lucian went to Beawaris, where he ſuffered martyrdom for the truth.

Quintin remained in Picardy, and was very zealous in his miniſtry. His continual prayers to the Almighty were, to increaſe his faith, and ſtrengthen his faculties to propagate the goſpel. Being ſeized upon as a Chriſtian, he was ſtretched with pullies till his joints were diſlocated: his body was then torn with wire ſcourges, and boiling oil and pitch poured on his naked fleſh: lighted torches were applied to his ſides and arm-pits; and after he had been thus tortured, he was remanded back to priſon.

Varus, the governor, being obliged to repair to Vermandois, ordered Quintin to be conducted thither under a ſtrong guard, where he died of the barbarities he had ſuffered, on the 31ſt of October, A. D. 287; and his body was ſunk in the Somme.

A full and particular Account of the TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION *under the Roman Emperors, commonly called the* ÆRA *of the* MARTYRS.

VARIOUS reaſons have been aſſigned for the occaſion of this perſecution, particularly the great increaſe of the Chriſtians, whoſe numbers rendered them formidable; many of them having loſt their humility, and given themſelves up to vanity, by dreſſing gay, living ſumptuouſly, building ſtately edifices for churches, &c. which created envy; and the hatred of Galerius, the adopted ſon of Diocleſian, who being ſtimulated by his mother, a bigotted Pagan, never ceaſed perſuading the emperor to enter upon the perſecution, till he had accompliſhed his determination.

The fatal day fixed upon to commence the bloody work, was the 23d of February, A. D. 303, that being the day in which the Terminalia were celebrated, and on which, as the Pagans boaſted, they hoped to put a termination to Chriſtianity and faith.

When the day appointed arrived, the perſecution began in Nicomedia, on the morning of which the præfect of that city repaired, with a great number of officers and aſſiſtants, to the church of the Chriſtians, where having forced open the doors, they ſeized upon all the ſacred books, and committed them to the flames.

The whole of this tranſaction was in the preſence of Diocleſian and Galerius, who not contented with burning the books, had the church levelled with the ground. This was followed by a ſevere edict commanding the deſtruction of all other Chriſtian churches and books; and an order ſoon ſucceeded to render Chriſtians of all denominations outlaws, and conſequently to make them incapable of holding any place of truſt, profit, or dignity, or of receiving any protection from the legal inſtitutions of the realm.

An immediate martyrdom was the conſequence of the publication of this edict; for a bold Chriſtian not only tore it down from the place to which it was affixed, but execrated the name of the emperor for his injuſtice and cruelty. A provocation like this was ſufficient to call down Pagan vengeance upon his head; he was accordingly ſeized, very ſeverely tortured, and then burnt alive.

After this, all the Chriſtian prelates were apprehended and impriſoned; and Galerius privately ordered the imperial palace to be ſet on fire, that the Chriſtians might be charged as the incendiaries, and a plauſible pretence given for carrying on the perſecution with the greateſt ſeverity and rigour.

Now a general ſacrifice was commanded, which occaſioned various martyrdoms. Among others, a Chriſtian, named Peter, was tortured, broiled, and then burnt; ſeveral deacons and preſbyters were ſeized upon, and executed by various means; and the biſhop of Nicomedia, named Anthimus, was beheaded.

There was no diſtinction made of age, or ſex; the name of Chriſtian was ſo obnoxious to the Pagans, that all fell indiſcriminately ſacrifices to their opinions. Many houſes were ſet on fire, and whole Chriſtian families periſhed in the flames; and others had ſtones faſtened about their necks, and being tied together were driven into the ſea. The perſecution became general in all the Roman provinces, but more particularly in the Eaſt; and as it laſted ten years, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the numbers martyred, or to enumerate the various modes of martyrdom: ſome were beheaded in Arabia; many devoured by wild beaſts in Phœnicia; great numbers were broiled on gridirons in Syria; others had their bones broken, and in that manner were left to expire in Cappadocia; and ſeveral in Meſopotamia were hung with their heads downwards over ſlow fires, and ſuffocated.

A variety of tortures were uſed in Pontus, in particular, pins were thruſt under the nails of the priſoners, melted lead was poured upon them; and various modes were adopted in tormenting the Chriſtians, the indecency of which could be only equalled by the ſavage barbarities practiſed in their execution.

In Egypt, the Chriſtians were martyred by means of the four elements, ſome were buried alive in the earth, others were drowned in the waters of the Nile, many were hung up in the air till they periſhed, and great numbers received their death by being thrown into large fires, &c. &c.

Scourges, racks, daggers, ſwords, poiſon, croſſes, and famine, were made uſe of in various parts to diſpatch the Chriſtians; and invention was exhauſted to deviſe tortures againſt ſuch as had no crime, but thinking differently from the votaries of ſuperſtition.

A city of Phrygia, conſiſting entirely of Chriſtians, was ſurrounded by a number of Pagan ſoldiers to prevent any from eſcaping; who ſetting it on fire, all the inhabitants periſhed in the flames. But though the ſufferings of the Chriſtians were many, their ſouls were ſerene: a perfect reſignation to the chaſtiſements of heaven being one of the greateſt Chriſtian duties.

At laſt tired with ſlaughter, ſeveral governors of provinces repreſented to the imperial court, that "it was unfit to pollute the cities with the blood of the inhabitants, or to defame the government of the emperors with the death of ſo many ſubjects." Hence many were reſpited from execution, but though they did not put them to death, as much as poſſible was done to render their lives miſerable.

Many of the Chriſtians had their ears cut off as marks of infamy, their noſes ſlit, their right eyes put out, their limbs rendered uſeleſs by dreadful diſlocations, and their fleſh ſeared in conſpicuous places with red hot irons.

Now it is neceſſary to particularize the moſt conſpicuous perſons, who laid down their lives in martyrdom during this bloody perſecution.

Sebaſtian, a celebrated martyr, was born at Narbonne in Gaul, inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity at Milan, and afterwards became an officer of the emperor's guard at Rome. He remained a true Chriſtian in the midſt of idolatry; unallured by the ſplendors of a court, untainted by evil examples, and uncontaminated by the hopes of preferment. Eſteemed by the moſt eminent, beloved by his equals, and admired by his inferiors, he lived happily, and kept his faith and place, till the rigour of the perſecution deprived him of the latter with his life, though not of the former.

This hero was informed againſt, and betrayed to Fabian the Roman prætor, by Torquatus a pretended Chriſtian; but being of a rank too conſiderable to be put to death without the emperor's expreſs orders, Diocleſian was acquainted with the whole buſineſs.

The emperor, on hearing the accuſation, ſent for Sebaſtian, and charged him with ingratitude in betraying the confidence repoſed in him, and being an enemy to the gods of the empire and to himſelf.

To this Sebaſtian replied, that his religion was of a good, not a pernicious tendency, and that it did not ſtimulate him to any thing againſt the welfare of the empire in general, or the emperor in particular, and that the greateſt proof he could give of his fidelity, was the praying to the only true God for the health and proſperity of his imperial perſon. Incenſed at this reply, the emperor ordered him to be taken to a field near the city, termed the Campus Martius, and there to be ſhot to death with arrows; which ſentence was accordingly executed.

A few pious Chriſtians coming to the place of execution, in order to give his body burial, perceived ſigns of life in him, and immediately moving him to a place of ſecurity, they in a ſhort time effected his recovery, and prepared him for a ſecond martyrdom; for as ſoon as he was able to go out, he placed himſelf intentionally in the emperor's way as he was going to the temple. The unexpected appearance of a perſon ſuppoſed to be effectually dead, greatly aſtoniſhed the emperor, nor did the words of the martyr leſs ſurpriſe him; for he began with great ſeverity to reprehend him for his various cruelties, and for his unreaſonable prejudices againſt Chriſtianity.

When Diocleſian had overcome his ſurpriſe, he ordered Sebaſtian to be ſeized, carried to a place near the palace, and beat to death; and that the Chriſtians ſhould not either uſe means again to recover, or bury his body, he ordered that it ſhould be thrown into the common ſewer. Nevertheleſs, a Chriſtian lady, named Lucina, found means to remove it from the ſewer, and bury it in the catacombs, or repoſitories of the dead.

At this time the Chriſtians, upon mature conſideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under an heathen emperor. Their reaſons were many and ſubſtantial; the principal were as follow:

1. That they thereby were frequently under the neceſſity of profaning the Chriſtian ſabbath.
2. That they were obliged, with the reſt of the army, frequently to be preſent at idolatrous ſacrifices, before the temples of idols.
3. That they were compelled to follow the imperial ſtandards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their repreſentations.

Such reaſons induced many to refuſe to enter into the imperial army, when called upon ſo to do; for the Roman conſtitution obliged all young men, of ſuch a certain ſtature, to make ſeveral campaigns.

Maximilian, the ſon of Fabius Victor, being pointed out as a proper perſon to bear arms, was ordered by Dion, the pro-conſul, to be meaſured, in order to be enliſted in the ſervice. Maximilian, however, boldly declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and conſequently abſolutely refuſed to be enliſted.

Being found of the ſtandard height, Dion gave directions that he ſhould be marked as a ſoldier, according to the uſual cuſtom. He, however, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this, and told Dion that he could not poſſibly engage in the ſervice.

The pro-conſul, incenſed at his conduct, plainly told him, that he ſhould either ſerve as a ſoldier, or die for diſobedience. "Do as you pleaſe with me (replied Maximilian); behead me if you think proper; I am already a ſoldier of Chriſt, and cannot ſerve any other power."

Dion, perceiving the inflexibility of the young man, commanded his father to uſe his authority over him, in order to perſuade him to comply; but Victor coolly replied, "My ſon knows beſt what he has to do."

Dion again demanded of Maximilian, with ſome acrimony, if he was yet diſpoſed to receive the mark? To which the young man replied, he had already received the mark of Chriſt. "Have you! (exclaimed the pro-conſul in a rage) then I ſhall quickly ſend you to Chriſt." "As ſoon as you pleaſe (anſwered Maximilian) that is all I wiſh or deſire."

The pro-conſul then ſeeming to ſoften, repreſented to him that it was a great pity he ſhould be loſt in the prime of his years. Maximilian replied, that he might die, but ſhould not be loſt; for though he left the world, his immortal ſoul would reſide eternally with the Almighty. On which the pro-conſul pronounced this ſentence upon him, "That for diſobedience in refuſing to bear arms, and for profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, he ſhould loſe his head." This ſentence he heard with great intrepidity, and exclaimed, with apparent rapture, "God be praiſed!"

When at the place of execution, he exhorted thoſe that were Chriſtians to remain ſo; and ſuch as were not, to embrace a faith which led to eternal ſalvation.

Addreſſing his father then, with a cheerful countenance, he deſired that the military habit intended for his wearing, might be given to the executioner; and, after taking leave of him, ſaid, he hoped they ſhould meet again in the other world, and be happy to all eternity. He then received, at once, the fatal ſtroke, and the crown of martyrdom.

The worthy father beheld the execution with amazing fortitude, and ſaw the head of his heroic ſon ſevered from his body, without any viſible emotions, but ſuch as ſeemed to proceed from a conſcious pleaſure, in being the parent of one whoſe piety and courage rendered him ſo ſhining an example for Chriſtians to imitate in future ages.

Vitus, a Sicilian of a conſiderable family, was brought up a Chriſtian; when his virtues increaſed with his years, his conſtancy ſupported him under all afflictions, and his faith was ſuperior to the moſt dangerous perils and misfortunes.

Hylas, his father, who was a Pagan, finding that he had been inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity by the nurſe who brought him up, did all his endeavours to bring him back to Paganiſm; but finding his efforts in vain, he forgot all the feelings of a parent, and informed againſt his ſon to Valerian, governor of Sicily, who was very active in perſecuting the Chriſtians at this period.

The young man, at the time of his being apprehended upon the information of his father, was little more than twelve years of age; Valerian therefore, on account of his tender age, thought to frighten him out of his faith. He was accordingly threatened with great anger, and ordered to be ſeverely ſcourged.

Having received this puniſhment, the governor ſent him back to his father, thinking that what he had ſuffered would certainly make him change his principles: but in this he was miſtaken; and Hylas, finding his ſon inflexible, ſuffered nature to ſink under ſuperſtition, and determined to ſacrifice his ſon to the idols.

On being apprized of his deſign, Vitus eſcaped to Lucania, where being ſeized, he was by order of Valerian put to death, June 14, A. D. 303; but we are not informed in what manner.

His nurſe, Creſcentia, who brought him up as a Chriſtian, and Modeſtus, a perſon who eſcaped with him, were martyred at the ſame time, but the manner unknown.

There was one Victor, a Chriſtian of a good family at Marſeilles, in France, who ſpent a great part of the night in viſiting the afflicted, and confirming the weak; which pious work he could not, conſiſtent with his own ſafety, perform in the day-time; and his fortune he ſpent in relieving the diſtreſſes of poor Chriſtians, thinking that riches were uſeleſs unleſs ſubſervient to works of charity, and if otherwiſe employed, a bane to all poſſeſſors.

At length, however, he was ſeized by the emperor's orders, and being carried before two præfects, they adviſed him to embrace Paganiſm, and not forfeit the favour of his prince, on account of a dead man, as he ſtyled Chriſt. In anſwer to which he replied, "That he preferred the ſervices of that dead man, who was in reality the Son of God, and was riſen from the grave, to all the advantages he could receive from the emperor's favour: that he was a ſoldier of Chriſt, and would therefore take care that the poſt he held under an earthly prince, ſhould never interfere with his duty to the King of heaven; and that as for the gods, whoſe worſhip they recommended to him, he could not think them any better than evil ſpirits."

Victor was loaded with reproaches for this reply, but being a man of rank, he was ſent to the emperor to receive his final ſentence. When brought before him, the emperor, under the ſevereſt penalties, commanded him to ſacrifice to the Roman idols. On his abſolute refuſal to comply, Maximian ordered him to be bound, and dragged through the ſtreets. During the execution of this order, he was treated by the enraged populace with all manner of cruelties and indignities.

Still remaining inflexible, his courage was deemed obſtinacy, and Chriſtian confidence called ill-grounded and irrational: to which he replied, "That the ready diſpoſition of the diſciples of Chriſt to undergo any ſufferings on that ſcore, and the joy with which they met the moſt ignominious and painful deaths, were a ſufficient proof of their aſſurance of the object of that hope." And added, "That he was ready to give an example of what he had ſaid in his own perſon."

When by the emperor's order ſtretched upon the rack, he turned his eyes towards heaven, and prayed to God to endue him with patience; after which he underwent the tortures with moſt admirable fortitude. After the executioners were tired with inflicting torments on him, he was taken from the rack, and conveyed to a dungeon.

However, his confinement became a fortunate circumſtance, for he converted the gaolers, named Alexander, Felician, and Longinus. This affair coming to the ears of the emperor, he ordered them immediately to be put to death, and the gaolers were beheaded accordingly.

Now Victor was again put to the rack, and unmercifully beaten with battoons, and then again ſent to his dungeon. Being a third time examined concerning his religion, he perſevered in his principles; a ſmall altar was then brought, and he was commanded to offer incenſe upon it immediately. Fired with indignation at the requeſt, he boldly ſtepped forward, and with his foot overthrew both altar and idol.

The emperor Maximian, who was preſent, was ſo enraged at this, that he ordered the foot with which he had kicked the altar, to be immediately cut off; and Victor was afterwards ſentenced to be thrown into a mill, and cruſhed to pieces with the ſtones thereof.

In ſome meaſure, this cruel ſentence was put into execution; Victor was thrown into the mill, but part of the apparatus breaking, he was drawn from it terribly bruiſed; and the emperor not having patience to ſtay till it was mended, ordered his head to be ſtruck off, which, A. D. 303, was executed accordingly.

While Maximus, governor of Cilicia, was at Tarſus, three Chriſtians were brought before him by Demetrius, a military officer. Tarachus being the eldeſt, and firſt in rank, was accordingly the firſt addreſſed by Maximus, who aſked him what he was? The priſoner replied, "A Chriſtian." This reply offending the governor, he again made the ſame demand, and was anſwered in a ſimilar manner. Hereupon the governor told him, that he ought to ſacrifice to the gods, as that was the only way to promotion, riches, and honours; and that the emperors themſelves did what he recommended to him now to perform: but to this Tarachus replied, that avarice was a ſin, and gold itſelf an idol as abominable as any other; for it promoted frauds, treacheries, robberies, and murders; it induced men to deceive each other, by which in time they deceived themſelves, and bribed the weak to their own eternal deſtruction. As for promotion, he deſired it not, as he could not in conſcience accept of any place, office, or poſt, which would ſubject him to pay adoration to idols; and with regard to honours, he deſired not greater than the honourable title of Chriſtian. As to the emperors themſelves being Pagans, he added with the ſame undaunted and determined ſpirit, that they were ſuperſtitiouſly deceived in adoring ſenſeleſs idols, and evidently miſled by the machinations of the Devil himſelf.

For the boldneſs of this ſpeech, his jaws were ordered to be broken, that the parts which uttered the words ſhould ſuffer for their ſuppoſed impropriety. He was then ſtripped, ſcourged, loaded with chains, and thrown into a diſmal dungeon, to remain there till the trials of the other two priſoners.

Then Probus was brought before Maximus, who, as uſual, aſked him his name?

Undauntedly the priſoner replied, the moſt valuable name he could boaſt of was that of a Chriſtian; but that the uſual appellation by which he was diſtinguiſhed was Probus; that his father was a Thracian, and that himſelf was born at Sida, in Pamphylia.

To this Maximus replied in the following words: "Your name of Chriſtian will be of little ſervice to you, be therefore guided by me; ſacrifice to the gods, engage my friendſhip, and the favour of the emperor.

But Probus nobly anſwered, "That as he had relinquiſhed a conſiderable fortune to become a ſoldier of Chriſt, it might appear evident, that he neither cared for his friendſhip, or the favour of the emperor."

By the governor's order Probus was then ſcourged; and Demetrius, the officer, obſerving to him how his blood flowed, adviſed him to comply; but his only anſwer was, that thoſe ſeverities were agreeable to him. What! cries Maximus, does he ſtill perſiſt in his madneſs? To which Probus rejoined, "That character is badly beſtowed on one who refuſes to worſhip idols, or what is worſe, devils."

After being ſcourged on the back, he was then ſcourged on the belly, which he ſuffered with as much intrepidity as before, ſtill repeating, "The more my body ſuffers, and loſes blood, the more my ſoul will grow vigorous, and be a gainer." He was then committed to gaol, loaded with irons, and his hands and feet ſtretched upon the ſtocks.

Andronicus was next brought up for examination, when being aſked the uſual queſtions, he ſaid, "I am a Chriſtian, a native of Epheſus, and deſcended from one of the firſt families in that city." After a great deal of altercation, in which the governor was unſucceſsful in endeavouring to diſſuade him from his fate, he was ordered to undergo puniſhments ſimilar to thoſe of Tarachus and Probus, and then to be remanded to priſon.

Having been confined ſome days, the three priſoners were brought before Maximus again, who began firſt to reaſon with Tarachus, ſaying, that as old age was honoured from the ſuppoſition of it's being accompanied by wiſdom, he was in hopes that what had already paſt muſt, upon deliberation, have cauſed a change in his ſentiments. Finding himſelf, however, miſtaken, he ordered him to be tortured by various means; particularly, fire was placed in the palms of his hands; he was hung up by his feet, and ſmoked with wet ſtraw; a mixture of ſalt and vinegar was poured into his noſtrils; and he was then again remanded to his dungeon.

Then Probus being called for, and aſked if he would ſacrifice, replied, "I come better prepared than before; for what I have already ſuffered, has only confirmed and ſtrengthened me in my reſolution. Employ your whole power upon me, and you will find, that neither you, nor your maſters, the emperors, nor the gods whom you ſerve, nor the Devil who is your father, ſhall oblige me to adore gods whom I know not."

Now the governor attempted to reaſon with him on religious ſubjects; for having a ſlender education, he was proud of ſhewing his talents; for thoſe who know little are fond of talking much, and by miſtaking caſuiſtry for reaſon, would fain deceive others as they do themſelves. He launched forth into the moſt extravagant praiſes of the Pagan deities, and as he enumerated them, deſcribed their reſpective powers, and ſeparate virtues; and inferred, from what himſelf had ſaid, that ſuch deities, poſſeſſed of ſuch admirable qualities, ought to be worſhipped. However, continues he, as your chief objection is againſt a plurality of deities, I will not preſs you to ſacrifice to all of them; ſacrifice only to Jupiter, the chief, the moſt powerful, and moſt invincible of our gods.

But Probus, eaſily confuted his arguments, turned his caſuiſtry into ridicule, and in particular ſaid, "Shall I pay divine honours to Jupiter, to one who married his own ſiſter to an infamous debauchee, as is even acknowledged by your own prieſts and poets."

Provoked at this ſpeech, the governor ordered him to be ſtruck upon the mouth, for uttering what he called blaſphemy: his body was then ſeared with hot irons; he was put to the rack, and afterwards ſcourged; his head was then ſhaved, and hot coals placed upon the crown; and after all theſe tortures, he was again ſent to priſon.

When Andronicus was again brought before Maximus, the latter attempted to deceive him, by pretending that Tarachus and Probus had repented of their obſtinacy, and owned the gods of the empire. To this the priſoner anſwered; "Lay not, O governor, ſuch a weakneſs to the charge of thoſe, who have appeared here before me in this cauſe, nor imagine it to be in your power to ſhake my fixed reſolution with artful ſpeeches. I cannot believe that they have diſobeyed the laws of their fathers, renounced their hopes in our God, and obeyed your extravagant orders: nor will I ever fall ſhort of them in faith and dependance upon our common Saviour: thus armed, I neither know your gods, nor fear your authority; fulfil your threats, execute your moſt ſanguinary inventions, and employ every cruel art in your power on me; I am prepared to bear it for the ſake of Chriſt."

On account of this anſwer he was cruelly ſcourged, and his wounds were afterwards rubbed with ſalt. Being perfectly well again in a ſhort time, the governor reproached the gaoler for having ſuffered ſome phyſician to attend him. The gaoler in his own defence, declared, that no perſon whatever had been near him, or the other priſoners, and that he would willingly forfeit his head if any allegation of the kind could be proved againſt him. Andronicus corroborated the teſtimony of the gaoler, and added, that the God whom he ſerved was the moſt powerful of phyſicians, and the plant of grace the moſt ſalutary of vegetables.

Afterwards, theſe three worthy Chriſtians were brought to a third examination, when they retained their conſtancy, were again tortured, and at length ordered for final execution.

When brought to the amphitheatre, ſeveral beaſts were let looſe upon them; but none of the animals, though hungry, would touch them. This ſo greatly irritated Maximus, that he ſeverely reprehended the keeper, and ordered him to produce a beaſt that would execute the buſineſs for which he was wanted. The keeper then brought out a large bear, that had that very day deſtroyed three men; but this voracious creature, and a fierce lioneſs, both refuſed to touch the priſoners.

Perceiving the deſign of deſtroying them by the means of wild beaſts ineffectual, Maximus ordered them to be ſlain by a ſword, which was accordingly executed on the 11th of October, A. D. 303. They all declared, previous to their martyrdom, that as death was the common lot of all men, they wiſhed to meet that for the ſake of Chriſt, which they muſt of courſe fall a victim to on account of nature; and to reſign that life to faith, which muſt otherwiſe be the prey of diſeaſe. Theſe ſentiments are noble, Chriſtian-like, and philoſophical; for as death is certain, the time and mode is not of that importance commonly ſuppoſed.

Romanus, a native of Paleſtine, was deacon of the church of Cæſarea, at the time of the commencement of Diocleſian's perſecution. Being at Antioch when the imperial order arrived for ſacrificing to idols, he was greatly afflicted to ſee many Chriſtians, through fear, ſubmit to the idolatrous mandate, and deny their faith to preſerve their exiſtence.

While cenſuring ſome of the recreant Chriſtians for their conduct, he was informed againſt to the emperor, and ſoon after apprehended. Being brought to the tribunal, he boldly confeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian, and ſaid he was ready and willing to ſuffer any thing which he was pleaſed to inflict upon him for his confeſſion.

When condemned for his faith, he was ſcourged, put to the rack, his body torn with hooks, his fleſh cut with knives, his face ſcarified, his teeth beat from their ſockets, and his hair plucked up by the roots. Thus cruelly mangled, he turned to the governor, and very calmly thanked him for what he had done, and for having opened him ſo many mouths to preach the doctrines of Chriſtianity; for, ſays he, every wound is a mouth, to ſing the praiſes of Jehovah.

The following circumſtance, which happened upon this occaſion, is related by Prudentius, and other writers.

Romanus offered to ſtand to the deciſion of a young child, whoſe age muſt be free from malice, or any other vices; and to put the truth of the Chriſtian upon that teſt. Aſclepiades (they add) accepted of the propoſal, and agreed to put the merits of the cauſe to that iſſue; accordingly, a child of about ſeven years of age was called out of the crowd, and being aſked whether he thought it to be true, that men ought to worſhip but one God in Chriſt, or to worſhip many gods? He anſwered, that certainly, whatſoever men affirm to be God, muſt be but one, and as this one is Chriſt, he muſt of neceſſity be God; for that there are many gods, continued the boy, we children cannot believe. The governor amazed at this, was highly enraged with the child, and calling him little villain, and young traitor, aſked him who taught him that leſſon? To which the child replied, "My mother, with whoſe milk I ſucked in this leſſon, that I muſt believe in Chriſt." This ſo incenſed the governor, that he ordered the infant to be horſed and moſt ſeverely whipt; inſomuch that the beholders could not refrain from tears, the mother of the child only excepted, who chid him for aſking for a draught of water to be given to him, charging him to thirſt for that cup which the infants of Bethlehem had drank of, and bidding him remember Iſaac, who willingly offered his neck for the ſacrifice to his father's ſword. Whilſt the woman was giving her ſon this leſſon, the mercileſs executioner plucked the ſkin and hair from the crown of his head; his mother at the ſame time ſaying to him, "Though you ſuffer here, my child, you ſhall ſhortly be with him, who ſhall adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." Upon which the child ſmiled upon her and his executioners, and bore their ſtripes with man-like fortitude.

Romanus ſoon after was ordered to be ſtrangled, and the child to be beheaded; which ſentences were executed on the 17th of November, A. D. 303.

Marcellinus was an eccleſiaſtic at Rome: being apprehended on account of his religion, he was ordered to be privately executed in the foreſt, and was accordingly beheaded there.

Peter, a Chriſtian, apprehended for the ſame cauſe, was executed at the ſame time and place.

Alſo about this period Smaragdus, Largus, and Cyriacus, a deacon of the Chriſtian church, were martyred; but the mode of their deaths is not ſpecified by our authors.

Suſanna, the niece of Caius, biſhop of Rome, was preſſed by the emperor Diocleſian to marry a noble Pagan, who was nearly related to him: but this noble lady refuſed the honour intended her, on account of her religion, which was that of a Chriſtian, which ſo greatly enraged the emperor, that ſhe was immediately afterwards beheaded by his order.

Dorotheus, the high chamberlain of the houſehold to Diocleſian, was a Chriſtian, and took great pains to make converts. In his religious labours, he was joined by Gorgonius, another Chriſtian, and one belonging to the palace. They were both high in the emperor's favour, but they ſoon had an opportunity of evincing, that worldly honours and temporary pleaſures, were nothing when ſet in competition with the joys of immortality; for being informed againſt, they were firſt tortured and then ſtrangled.

One Peter, an eunuch belonging to the emperor, was a Chriſtian of ſingular modeſty and humility. His humility cauſed him to undertake any menial office to ſerve the afflicted; and his benevolence occaſioned him to give whatever he poſſeſſed, to thoſe who needed aſſiſtance; convinced that riches did not conſtitute happineſs, and that want could give inſtructions which wealth could never beſtow.

Having been informed againſt as a Chriſtian, and confeſſing the charge, he was ſcourged till his fleſh was torn in a moſt terrible manner; and then ſalt and vinegar were thrown upon the wounds to render them more grievous. Having endured theſe tortures with the utmoſt tranquillity, he was laid on a gridiron, and broiled over a ſlow fire till he expired in the greateſt agony.

Cyprian, known by the title of the magician, to diſtinguiſh him from Cyprian, biſhop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in his youth, and particularly applied himſelf to aſtrology; after which he travelled for improvement through India, Egypt, Greece, &c.

When he had finiſhed his ſtudies he ſettled near Babylon, and being ſkilled in the Chaldean myſteries, he employed his talents in endeavouring to draw women from chaſtity and conjugal faith, and in perſecuting the Chriſtians, and ridiculing Chriſtianity.

He became, in the courſe of time, acquainted with Juſtina, a young lady of Antioch, whoſe birth, beauty, and accompliſhments, rendered her the admiration of all who knew her.

Juſtina had been educated in idolatry, but being happily converted to Chriſtianity, ſhe induced her father and mother to embrace the ſame faith. Her modeſty was remarkable, and her prudence in avoiding the carnal converſation of men was extremely commendable. A Pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favourable return to his addreſſes, applied for aſſiſtance to Cyprian.

Cyprian undertook the deſign, but with a treacherous intent; for under the pretence of acting for his friend, he determined, if poſſible, to poſſeſs the lady himſelf. To effect this, he employed all his ſkill, and eſſayed a variety of infernal contrivances; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was fully convinced that a ſuperior power protected her from his evil intentions.

His ſerious reflections, on this account, awakened him to ſearch into the truths of Chriſtianity, and his reſearch became ſo beneficial, that he renounced the errors of Paganiſm, and embraced a faith, of the excellency of which he could not fail to be aſſured.

Cyprian's repentance was truly ſincere; he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends in his power for the crimes he had committed. Euſebius, a Chriſtian, confirmed him in this reſolution, and prevented him from falling into deſpair for his paſt follies and wicked intentions.

Now Cyprian burnt his books of aſtrology and magic, received baptiſm, and became animated with a powerful ſpirit of grace. The converſion of Cyprian had a great effect on the Pagan gentleman who paid his addreſſes to Juſtina, and he in a ſhort time embraced Chriſtianity in like manner.

During the perſecution of Diocleſian, Cyprian and Juſtina were ſeized upon as Chriſtians, when the former was torn with pincers, and the latter chaſtiſed; and after ſuffering other torments, both were decapitated.

Sergius was an officer in the Roman army, and attended the emperor Maximian into Syria. Being accuſed as a Chriſtian, he was ordered to ſacrifice to Jupiter. Refuſing to perform any ſuch idolatrous command, he was ſtripped of his military habit, and, by way of deriſion, dreſſed in woman's clothes. He then was forced to walk a conſiderable way with nails in his ſandals, and had a concluſion put to his ſufferings by being at laſt beheaded.

Bacchus, an officer of the ſame rank as Sergius, being apprehended at the ſame time, underwent ſimilar ſufferings, and was beheaded A. D. 303, on the ſame day.

A Spaniſh lady of a Chriſtian family, named Eulalia, who was remarkable in her youth for a ſweetneſs of temper and ſolidity of underſtanding, ſeldom found in the capricioufneſs of juvenile years, was apprehended as a Chriſtian. The magiſtrate attempted, by the mildeſt means, to bring her over to Paganiſm, but ſhe anſwered him in ſo ironical a manner, and ridiculed the Pagan deities with ſuch aſperity, that the judge, incenſed at her behaviour, ordered her to be tortured.

Accordingly her ſides were torn by hooks, and her breaſts burnt in the moſt ſhocking manner, till the fire catching her head and face, ſhe expired, in December A. D. 303, by the violence of the flame.

The emperor Diocleſian falling ill, in the year 304, the perſecution was carried on by Galerius, and the governors of the ſeveral provinces, when many fell victims to the infatuated zeal, or infernal malice of the perſecutors; among whom the following perſons are enumerated.

Vincent, a Spaniſh Chriſtian, was brought up by Valerius, biſhop of Saragoſſa, who, on account of his great merits, ordained him a deacon. When the perſecution reached Spain, Dacian, the governor of Terragona, ordered Valerius the biſhop, and Vincent the deacon, to be ſeized, loaded with irons, and impriſoned.

Some ſhort time after Dacian examined them with great aſperity, and threatened them with death, unleſs they renounced their principles. Vincent undertaking to ſpeak for both, as Valerius had an impediment in his ſpeech, delivered himſelf with great freedom, and avowed their full determination to perſiſt in the faith.

Hereupon, Dacian, in a rage at his freedom of ſpeech, declared, that unleſs he immediately burnt incenſe to the gods he deſpiſed, he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the contempt he expreſſed.

But the priſoners being firm in their reſolutions, Valerius was baniſhed, and the whole of Dacian's rage directed againſt Vincent, who was racked, had his limbs diſlocated, his fleſh torn with hooks, and was laid on a gridiron, which had not only a fire placed under it, but ſpikes at the top, which run into his fleſh. In this ſituation, while one ſide was broiling over the fire, the other was tormented with red hot irons, or ſalamanders; and then ſalt was thrown over the wounds.

All theſe torments neither deſtroying him, nor changing his reſolutions, he was remanded to priſon, and confined in a ſmall loathſome dark dungeon, which, to make it the more diſagreeable, was ſtrewed with ſharp flints, and pieces of broken glaſs. Orders were given not to ſuffer him to have any proviſions whatever, and that the news of his death ſhould be carried to Dacian as ſoon as known.

By the time the keepers thought him famiſhed, they entered the dungeon, when, inſtead of ſeeing only a corpſe as they expected, they beheld, to their great aſtoniſhment, Vincent at prayers, his wounds healed, and his body in tolerable health.

Now this ſpeedy recovery and preſervation had ſuch an effect upon the keepers, that it became the happy means of their converſion.

However Dacian, abandoned to the hardneſs of his heart, and impenetrable to conviction, inſtead of being ſoftened by theſe uncommon circumſtances, was enraged at the triumph of Vincent over his cruelties; and gave order for new tortures to be prepared for him of ſo ſevere a nature, as to make him ſink under their load and oppreſſion.

But fortunately, his malice was again diſappointed, for before the inſtruments could be prepared, God took him to himſelf, and he died with all the ſerenity of a good conſcience, and as much calmneſs as if he had only ſunk into a gentle repoſe.

The extreme hatred conceived by Dacian againſt Vincent did not conclude with his death, for he ordered that his body ſhould be expoſed in the open fields to the birds of prey; but they not offering to touch it, he commanded that it ſhould be thrown into the river, which was done accordingly, A. D. 304, his death happening on the 22d of January, in that year.

It was in this year the perſecution of Diocleſian began particularly to rage, when many Chriſtians were put to cruel tortures, and the moſt painful and ignominious deaths; the moſt eminent and particular of whom we ſhall here give an account of.

Saturninus, a prieſt of Albitina, a town of Africa, uſed to officiate in his clerical capacity, preach, and adminiſter the ſacrament to a ſociety of Chriſtians, who privately aſſembled at the houſe of Octavius Felix: for the ſeverity of the times was ſuch, that they could not publicly perform their religious duties.

Having been informed againſt, Saturninus, with four of his children, and ſeveral other perſons, were apprehended; and that their puniſhment might be the more exemplary and public, they were ſent to Carthage, the capital of all Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the pro-conſul of that quarter of the globe.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave ſuch ſpirited anſwers, and vindicated the Chriſtian religion with ſuch force of eloquence, as ſhewed that he was worthy to preſide over an aſſembly that profeſſed a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his ſuperior arguments, which he could not confute, ordered him to be ſtopped from ſaying any more by being put to a variety of tortures, ſuch as ſcourging, tearing his fleſh with hooks, burning with hot irons, &c. Having been thus inhumanely tortured, he was remanded to priſon, and there ſtarved to death.

His four children notwithſtanding they were variouſly tormented, remained ſteady in their faith, on which they were ſent back to the dungeon in which their father was confined, and were alſo ſtarved to death in the ſame manner.

There were eight other Chriſtians tortured on the ſame day as Saturninus, and much in the ſame manner. Two expired on the ſpot through the ſeverity of their ſufferings, and the other ſix being ſent back to priſon, were ſuffocated by means of the cloſeneſs of the priſon.

Thelico, a pious Chriſtian; Dativus, a noble Roman ſenator; Victoria, a young lady of conſiderable family and fortune, with ſome others of leſs conſideration, had been all auditors of Saturninus, were ſeized at the time he was, tortured in a ſimilar manner, and periſhed by the ſame means; ſealing their teſtimony with their lives, and receiving the glorious crown of martyrdom as a reward for their ſufferings in this tranſitory life.

Three ſiſters, Chionia, Agape, and Irene, were ſeized upon at Theſſalonica, when Diocleſian's perſecution reached Greece. They had been educated in the Chriſtian faith, but had taken great precautions not to be ſeized on that account, being, from the ſoftneſs of their natures, unwilling to meet the rage of the times.

They now retired to a ſolitary place, and ſpent their hours in performing religious duties. Being, however, diſcovered and ſeized, they renounced their former timidity, blamed themſelves for being ſo fearful, and begged of God to ſtrengthen them againſt the great trial they had to undergo.

When Agape was examined before Duleatius, the governor, was aſked whether ſhe was diſpoſed to comply with the laws of the land, and obey the mandates of the emperor? She anſwered, "That being a Chriſtian, ſhe could not comply with any laws which recommended the worſhip of idols and devils; that her reſolution was fixed, and nothing ſhould deter her from continuing in it to the laſt moment of her life."

Her ſiſter Chionia being next examined, replied in the ſame manner as Agape had done, when the governor not being able to draw them from their faith, pronounced ſentence of condemnation on them; purſuant to which they were burnt, and March 25, A. D. 304, received a crown of martyrdom in the flames.

After this Irene was brought before the governor, who fancied that the death of her ſiſters would have an effect upon her fears, and that the dread of ſimilar ſufferings would engage her to comply with his propoſals. He therefore exhorted her to acknowledge the heathen deities, to ſacrifice to them, to partake of the victims, and to deliver up her books relative to Chriſtianity.

Theſe propoſitions ſhe heard with indignation, and poſitively refuſed to comply with any of them; the governor aſked her, Who it was that perſuaded her, and her ſiſters, to keep thoſe books and writings? She anſwered, "It was that God who commanded them to love him to the laſt; for which reaſon ſhe was reſolved to ſubmit to be burned alive rather than give them up into the hands of his profeſſed enemies."

When the governor found that he could make no impreſſion on her, he ordered her to be expoſed naked in the ſtreets, which ſhameful order having been executed, ſhe was burnt, April 1, A. D. 304, at the ſame place where her ſiſters ſuffered before her.

One Agatho, a man of a pious turn of mind, with Caſſice, Philippa, and Eutychia, were martyred about the ſame time; but the particulars have never been aſcertained.

Alſo Marcellinus, biſhop of Rome, who ſucceeded Caius in that ſee, was greatly perplexed during this perſecution; and having ſtrongly oppoſed paying divine honours to Diocleſian, who wiſhed to exact them from the people, and to appear as a god, he was at length ſeized and committed to a dungeon.

Notwithſtanding, his conduct was ſteady, his conſtancy immoveable, and his patience great. He ſuffered martyrdom, by a variety of tortures, in the year 304, comforting his ſoul till he expired with the proſpect of thoſe glorious rewards it would receive by the tortures ſuffered in the body.

Theodotus, a Dalmatian, kept an inn at Ancyra: Being a Chriſtian, and of a very humane diſpoſition, he devoted a great part of his time to viſit the afflicted, and a great part of his property to relieve the poor; he aſſiſted the ſick in body, and converted the ſick in ſoul, ſo that he was in every capacity a true ſervant of Chriſt his Redeemer.

Theotecnus, the governor of theſe parts, whoſe cruelty could be equalled by nothing but his bigotry, received the mandate for perſecuting the Chriſtians with great ſatisfaction, and wrote the emperor word that he would do his utmoſt endeavours to root out Chriſtianity from every place where he had any ſway.

Thus encouraged by the governor, the Pagans began to inform againſt, abuſe, and perſecute the Chriſtians. Great numbers were ſeized upon, and impriſoned; their goods were deſtroyed, and their eſtates confiſcated. Many fled into the woods, or retired to caves, where ſome ſupported themſelves by feeding upon ſuch roots as they could caſually find, and others periſhed by famine. Indeed many were ſtarved in the city, by means of the following ſingular ſtratagem: the governor gave ſtrict orders, that no proviſions whatever ſhould be expoſed to ſale in the markets, without having been firſt conſecrated to the idols; hence the Chriſtians were compelled to eat what had been offered to the Devil, or to refrain from food and periſh. The latter dreadful alternative was choſen by many, who, to preſerve the purity of their faith, heroically gave up their lives.

During theſe critical times, Theodotus did all that he could to comfort the impriſoned, and buried the bodies of ſeveral who had been martyred, though it was forbidden on pain of death. He likewiſe privately aſſiſted many with ſuch food as they might uſe with a ſafe conſcience, for having lain in a great ſtock of corn and wine, he ſold it out at prime coſt.

One Polychronicus, a Chriſtian, being ſeized, forfeited his faith, in order to preſerve his life, and compounded for a frail exiſtence, by informing againſt his friend Theodotus, who hearing of this treachery, ſurrendered himſelf to the governor of his own accord.

Upon his arrival in the court, he ſurveyed the divers inſtruments of torture with a ſmile, and ſeemed totally regardleſs of their power.

When placed at the bar, the governor informed him, that it was ſtill in his power to ſave himſelf, and to eſcape the torments prepared for diſobedience, by ſacrificing to the gods of the empire; "and (continued he) if you renounce your faith in Chriſt, I promiſe you my friendſhip, and the emperor's protection, and will conſtitute you one of the magiſtrates of the town."

In his anſwer, Theodotus diſcovered great courage and eloquence; he abſolutely refuſed to renounce his faith, declined the friendſhip of the governor, and protection of the emperor, upon the terms propoſed, and treated the Pagan idols with the greateſt contempt.

The Pagans on hearing this, were in general extremely clamorous for the priſoner to be immediately puniſhed; and the prieſts in particular rent their clothes, and tore their chaplets, the badges of their offices, through rage. The governor, without heſitation, complied with their deſire, when Theodotus was ſcourged, torn with hooks, and then placed upon the rack. After this, vinegar was poured into his wounds, his fleſh was ſeared with burning torches, and his teeth were knocked out of their ſockets. He was then remanded to priſon, and by the way, pointing to his mangled body, he ſaid to the people, "it was but juſt that Chriſtians ſhould ſuffer for him who ſuffered for us all."

After the expiration of five days, he was brought from priſon, A. D. 304, tortured, and then beheaded.

There was one Victor, a native of Ancyra, accuſed by the prieſts of Diana, of having abuſed their goddeſs. For this imputed crime he was ſeized upon, and committed to priſon, his houſe plundered, his family turned out of doors, and his eſtate forfeited.

When put to the rack, his reſolution failed him, and he began to waver in his faith, through the ſeverity of his torments. Being carried back to priſon, in order to make a full recantation, God puniſhed him for his intended apoſtacy; for his wounds mortified, and put an end to his life in a ſhort time.

There were ſeven aged women of Ancyra, apprehended for their faith; they were examined before the governor, who, on finding them ſtedfaſt in their religious principles, reviled their belief, ridiculed their age, and ordered them to be delivered over to ſome young libertines, that their virtue might be abuſed; this being done, one of the debauchees, more bold and forward than the reſt, ſeized upon the eldeſt of the women, whoſe name was Tecuſa, who thus addreſſed him: "What deſigns, child, can you have on us, who are worn out with age and infirmities. I am now more than threeſcore and ten years old, my companions are not much younger; you may look on us as ſo many rotten carcaſes, as we ſhall ſoon be, for the governor after death refuſes us burial;" then lifting up her veil, ſhe ſhewed him her grey hairs, and then went on: "You may, perhaps, have a mother of nearly the ſame age as myſelf, this ſhould give you ſome reſpect to us." The young men, though entire libertines, were ſo affected with this ſpeech, that they deſiſted, and immediately returned to their homes.

Now the governor, upon the failure of his deſign of having them proſtituted, determined to compel them to aſſiſt in the idolatrous rites of waſhing the goddeſſes Minerva and Diana; for it is to be underſtood, that in Ancyra, it was the cuſtom annually to waſh the images of thoſe heathen goddeſſes, and that the waſhing was conſidered as a material part of the adoration of theſe idols. Accordingly, theſe ſeven Chriſtian women, whoſe names were Tecuſa, Phamme, Claudia, Alexandria, Julitta, Euphraſia, and Matrona, were forced to the temple; but abſolutely refuſing to waſh the idols, the governor was ſo enraged that he ordered them all to have ſtones tied about their necks, and to be puſhed into the water intended for the waſhing, in which they glorioully ſuffered, being thereby drowned.

A worthy Chriſtian, of the name of Timothy, being carried before Urban, governor of Paleſtine, was ſentenced to be burnt to death by a ſlow fire; which ſentence was executed at Gaza, on the 19th day of Auguſt, A. D. 304.

Philip, biſhop of Heraclea, had, in every act of his life, appeared as a good Chriſtian; the chief of his diſciples were Severus, a prieſt, and Hermes, a deacon; and theſe three did all in their power to promote the cauſe of Chriſtianity. This worthy biſhop was adviſed to ſecrete himſelf, in order to avoid the ſtorm of the perſecution; but he reproved thoſe who counſelled him ſo to do, telling them that their merit would be enhanced by their ſufferings, and that death had no terror for the virtuous. He therefore publicly performed his duty.

An officer named Ariſtomachus, being employed to ſhut up the Chriſtian churches in Heraclea, Philip took great pains to convince him, that the ſhutting up buildings made by hands could not deſtroy Chriſtianity, while the living temples of the Lord remained; for the true faith conſiſted not in the places where God is adored, but in the hearts of thoſe who adore God.

However, being denied entrance into the church where he uſed to preach, Philip took up his ſtation at the door, and there exhorted people to patience, perſeverance, and godlineſs.

Such exhortations, of courſe, cauſed him to be ſeized and carried before the governor, who ſeverely reprimanded him, and then continued to ſpeak ſternly in theſe words: "Bring all the veſſels uſed in your worſhip, and the ſcriptures which you read and teach the people, and ſurrender them to me, before you are forced thereto by tortures." "If," replied the biſhop, "you take any pleaſure in ſeeing us ſuffer, we are prepared for the worſt you can do. This infirm body is in your power; uſe it as you pleaſe. The veſſels you demand ſhall be delivered up, for God is not honoured by gold and ſilver, but by the fear of his power; the ornaments of the ſouls of his ſervants are more pleaſing to him, than the decorations of churches: but as to the ſacred books, it is neither proper for me to part with them, nor for you to receive them." This anſwer ſo much incenſed the governor, that he ordered one Mucaſſor, a perſon particularly diſtinguiſhed for inhumanity, to torture the prelate. Hermes, expreſſing himſelf freely againſt ſuch barbarities, was likewiſe ordered to be ſcourged at the ſame time.

The Pagans having proceeded to the place where the ſcriptures, and the church plate were kept, immediately ſeized them; they likewiſe, unroofed the church, walled up the doors, embezzled the plate, and burnt the ſacred ſcriptures.

When Philip was taken to the market-place, he was ordered to ſacrifice to the Roman deities in general, and to a very handſome image of Hercules in particular; to which command, "Alas!" replied the prelate, "how unhappy are you, who are thus groſsly miſtaken in the nature of the Deity, and ſo ignorant in the truth, as to worſhip your own workmanſhip: what value is there in gold, ſilver, braſs, iron, or lead, which are dug out of the earth? You are unacquainted with the divinity of Chriſt, which is incomprehenſible to human capacities; but what power can your idols boaſt, which are made by baſe mechanics, a drunken ſtatuary, or a debauched carver, and tricked up by the arts of the taylor and the goldſmith? and yet theſe are your gods." And after ſome other obſervations on the abſurdities of the Pagan religion, he concluded, that from what he had already ſaid, it appeared that the heathens worſhipped what might lawfully be trod on, and made gods of ſuch things as Providence had deſigned for their ſervice.

Now the governor tried the conſtancy of Hermes, but finding him as inflexible as the biſhop, he committed them both to priſon. Soon after this, the governor's time of ruling thoſe parts being expired, a new governor named Juſtin arrived; but he was to the full as cruel as his predeceſſor had proved.

Now Philip was dragged by the feet through the ſtreets, ſeverely ſcourged, and then brought again to the governor, who charged him with obſtinate raſhneſs, in continuing diſobedient to the imperial decrees; but he boldly replied, "My preſent behaviour is not the effect of raſhneſs, but proceeds from my love and fear of God, who made the world, and who will judge the living and the dead, whoſe commands I dare not tranſgreſs. I have hitherto done my duty to the emperors, and am always ready to comply with their juſt orders, according to the doctrine of our Lord Chriſt, who bids us give both to Cæſar and to God their due; but I am obliged to prefer heaven to earth, and to obey God rather than man."

On hearing this ſpeech, the governor immediately paſſed ſentence on him to be burnt, which was executed accordingly, and the martyr expired, ſinging praiſes to God in the midſt of the fire.

Likewiſe Hermes, for behaving in a ſimilar manner, and Severus, who had ſurrendered himſelf up in order to ſuffer with his friends, met with the ſame fate. Such were the effects of a diabolical zeal for the adoration of idols, and ſuch the conſequences of the blindneſs of Pagan idolatry.

We are informed by St. Ambroſe, that Agricola, was a Chriſtian of ſo very amiable a diſpoſition, that he even gained the eſteem and admiration of the Pagans. Being apprehended as a Chriſtian, he was crucified in imitation of the death of our Saviour; and his body, together with the croſs, were buried at Bologne, in Italy, in one grave.

Vitalis, the ſervant and convert of the above martyr, Agricola, was ſeized upon on the ſame account as his maſter, and being put to the torture, died under the hands of his tormentors, through the ſeverity of his ſufferings.

Carpophorus, Victorius, Severus, and Severianus, were brothers, and all four employed in places of great truſt and honour in the city of Rome. Having exclaimed againſt the worſhip of idols, they were apprehended, and ſcourged with the plumbetæ, or ſcourges, to the ends of which were faſtened leaden balls. This puniſhment was exercifed with ſuch exceſs of cruelty, that the pious brothers fell martyrs to it's ſeverity.

A worthy Chriſtian of Aquileia, named Chryſogonus, was beheaded by order of Diocleſian, for having inſtructed Anaſtaſia, a young lady of that city in the Chriſtian faith. This young lady was deſcended from an illuſtrious Roman family. Her mother, named Flavia, was a Chriſtian, and dying while her daughter was an infant, ſhe bequeathed her to the care of Chryſogonus, with a ſtrict injunction to inſtruct her in the principles of Chriſtianity. This Chryſogonus punctually performed; but the father of the young lady, who was a Pagan, gave her in marriage to a perſon of his own perſuaſion, named Publius, who was of a good family, but bad morals, and having ſpent his wife's and his own patrimony, he had the baſeneſs and inhumanity to inform againſt her as a Chriſtian.

However, Publius dying ſoon after, his wife was releaſed; but continuing to perform many charitable actions to diſtreſſed Chriſtians, ſhe was again apprehended, and delivered up to Florus, governor of Illyricum. Florus commanded that ſhe ſhould be put to the torture, when finding her conſtant in the faith, he ordered her to be burnt, which ſentence was put in execution on December 25, A. D. 304. The event taking place about a month after the martyrdom of Chryſogonus, her inſtructor as already mentioned.

Some time in the ſame year, Mouris and Thea, two Chriſtian women of Gaza, were martyred in that city. The former died under the hands of her tormentors, and the latter periſhed in priſon of the wounds ſhe had received when tortured.

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and Maura his wife, had not been united together by the bands of wedlock above three weeks, when they were ſeparated from each other by the perſecution.

Being apprehended as a Chriſtian, Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to allure him from his faith, and induce him to embrace the Pagan ſuperſtition.

Perceiving his endeavours vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the Holy Scriptures, the governor commanded him to deliver them up, that they might be burnt: to which Timothy anſwered, "Had I children, I would ſooner deliver them up to be ſacrificed, than part from the word of God." The governor being much incenſed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, ſaying, "The books ſhall at leaſt be uſeleſs to you, for you ſhall not ſee to read them."

So great was his patience under the operation that the governor grew more exaſperated; he, therefore, in order, if poſſible, to overcome his fortitude, ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

This ſeverity of treatment the worthy Chriſtian underwent with the greateſt courage, when ſome buſy perſon acquainted the governor that he had been but newly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus was glad to hear this, as he thought that love might effect what menaces could not, and that an affection for his wife might prevail over that intrepid ſpirit which could ſuſtain ſo many torments with ſuch reſolution and fortitude.

Accordingly Maura was ſent for, and promiſed a handſome reward, with the life of her huſband, if ſhe could prevail upon him to ſacrifice to the idols. This was a ſevere attack upon the principles of Maura: weak by nature, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her huſband, ſhe undertook the impious buſineſs.

When conducted to him, ſhe aſſailed his conſtancy with all the perſuaſive language of real affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth, in order to give him an opportunity of replying, inſtead of conſenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her miſtaken love, and declared his reſolution of dying for the faith. The conſequence of which was, that Maura repeated her importunities, till the martyr, her huſband, reproached her ſo ſtrongly with her weakneſs, that ſhe returned to his way of thinking, and reſolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany, or follow him to glory. Timothy adviſed her to repair her fault by declaring that reſolution to the governor, by whoſe order ſhe had undertaken that ſhameful and ſinful commiſſion. Maura made ſome difficulty, at the firſt, to comply with his advice, to undertake this dangerous and arduous taſk. However, being further ſtrengthened by his exhortations, and the grace of God, ſhe went to Arrianus and told him, that ſhe was united to her huſband in opinion as well as love, and was ready to ſuffer any thing to atone for her late crime, in wiſhing to make him an apoſtate. After trying in vain to alter her reſolution, the governor ordered her to be tortured, which was executed with great ſeverity. After this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, A. D. 304, both receiving the crown of martyrdom with the greateſt intrepidity and reſolution.

A biſhop of Aſſiſium, named Sabinus, refuſing to ſacrifice to Jupiter, and puſhing the idol from him, had his hands cut off by the order of the governor of Tuſcany. After patiently ſuffering this barbarity, he was committed to priſon, where he remained a conſiderable time without any aſſiſtance or relief but what he received from a Chriſtian widow, whoſe blind grandſo n had been by him reſtored to ſight.

The governor, who was himſelf afflicted with ſore eyes, on hearing this intelligence, revolved it's ſingularity in his mind, and began to conſider the behaviou of the Chriſtians, and the tenets of Chriſtianity, in a m ore candid light than he had hitherto done. Sending for Sabinus, he informed him that he now entertained very different ſentiments to what he had hitherto done, both with reſpect to him and his faith; then throwing himſelf at the feet of Sabinus, he entreated him to afford aſſiſtance both to his inward and outward ailments, and to undertake the cure of his body and ſoul.

The undiſſembled fervency with which he ſpoke, convinced Sabinus of his ſincerity. Having received proper inſtructions concerning the principles of Chriſtianity, he was baptized, and the diſorder in his eyes immediately left them: this converſion of the governor was followed by that of his whole family, and ſome of his friends.

When the tyrant Maximian was informed of theſe circumſtances, he immediately ſent one of his principal officers, named Lucius, to Aſſiſium, who, according to his inſtructions, ordered the governor and all his family to be beheaded.

Immediately after their execution, Sabinus himſelf was ſcourged to death, in the month of December, A. D. 304. In like manner two eccleſiaſtics, named Marcellus and Experantius, who officiated under Sabinus, were ſcourged in a moſt dreadful manner; but remaining conſtant in their faith, their fleſh was torn with hooks till they expired.

Weary of the farce of ſtate, and public buſineſs, the emperors Diocleſian and Maximian reſigned the imperial diadem, and were ſucceeded by Conſtantius and Galerius; the former, a prince of the moſt mild and humane diſpoſition, and the latter, equally remarkable for his tyranny and cruelty.

Theſe divided the empire into two equal governments; Galerius ruling in the Eaſt, and Conſtantius in the Weſt; and the people in the two governments felt the effects of the different diſpoſitions of the two emperors; for thoſe in the Weſt were governed in the mildeſt manner, but ſuch as reſided in the Eaſt felt all the miſeries of oppreſſion and deſpotiſm.

In regard to the Chriſtians, to whom Galerius bore a moſt prejudiced and implacable hatred, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burnt in ſlow fires, after this horrible manner: they were firſt chained to a poſt, then a gentle fire put to the ſoles of their feet which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: then flambeaux juſt extinguiſhed were put to all parts of their bodies, ſo that they might be tortured all over; and care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces and giving them ſome to waſh their mouths, leſt their throats ſhould be dried up with thirſt, and choke them. Thus their miſeries were lengthened out whole days, till, at laſt, their ſkins being conſumed, and they juſt ready to expire, were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burnt to aſhes; after which they were ground to powder, and thrown into ſome river."

Of the members martyred by the order of Galerius, the moſt eminent are as follow:

Amphianus was a gentleman of diſtinction in Lycia, and a ſcholar to Euſebius; preſſing through the crowd while the proclamation for ſacrificing to idols was read, he caught the governor Urbianus by the hand, and ſeverely reproved him for his wickedneſs.

Hereupon, the governor incenſed at this freedom, ordered him to be put to the torture, and then thrown into the ſea, in the waves of which he was drowned.

Ædeſius, brother to the above martyr, was, for nearly the ſame offence, much about the ſame time, martyred at Alexandria, in a ſingular manner.

Julitta, a Lyconian of royal deſcent, but more celebrated for her virtues than noble blood, was a Chriſtian lady of great humility, conſtancy, and intregrity. When the edict for ſacrificing to idols was publiſhed at Iconium, ſhe withdrew from that city to avoid the bigotted rage of Domitian the governor, taking withher only her young ſon Cyricus, and two women ſervants. She was, however, ſeized at Tarſus, and being carried before Alexander, the governor, ſhe acknowledged that ſhe was a Chriſtian. For this confeſſion her ſon was taken from her, and ſhe was immediately put to the rack, and tortured with great ſeverity; but ſhe bore all her ſufferings with a true Chriſtian fortitude and patient reſignation.

But young Cyricus cried bitterly to get at his mother; when the governor obſerving the beauty, and being melted at the tears of the child, took him upon his knee, and endeavoured to pacify him. Nothing, however, could quiet Cyricus, he ſtill called upon the name of his mother, and at length, in imitation of her words, liſped out, "I am a Chriſtian." This innocent expreſſion turned the governor's compaſſion into rage; he loſt the man in the bigot, and throwing the child furiouſly againſt the pavement, daſhed out it's brains. Now the mother, who from the rack beheld the whole tranſaction, thanked the Almighty that her child was gone before her; and ſhe ſhould be without any anxiety concerning his future welfare, certain that now no advantage could be taken of his tender years, to pervert his principles, and hinder him of his ſalvation.

To complete the execution, Julitta had boiling pitch poured on her feet, her ſides torn with hooks, and received the concluſion of her martyrdom, by being beheaded, April 16, A. D. 305.

Pantaleon, a native of Nicomedia, was taught moſt branches of human learning by his father, who was a Pagan, and the precepts of the goſpel by his mother, who was a Chriſtian. Applying to the ſtudy of medicine, he became eminent in the knowledge of phyſic, and in proceſs of time was appointed phyſician to the emperor Galerius. The name of this man in Greek ſignifies *humane*, and the appellation well-ſuited his nature, for he was one of the moſt benevolent men living. He aſſiſted the poor, to the utmoſt of his fortune: and, by the help of God, his ſkill in phyſic was attended with the moſt aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. However, his extraordinary and well-deſerved reputation rouſed the jealouſy of the Pagan phyſicians, who accuſed him to the emperor. Galerius, finding him a Chriſtian, which he had not before known, ordered him to be tortured, and then beheaded, which ſentence on July 27, A. D. 205, was accordingly executed.

Hermolaus, a venerable and pious Chriſtian, of a great age, and an intimate acquaintance of Pantaleon's, ſuffered martyrdom for his faith on the ſame day, and in the ſame manner as Pantaleon.

Julitta, of Cappadocia, was a lady of diſtinguiſhed capacity, great virtue, and uncommon courage: ſhe was martyred on account of a law-ſuit, of which Baſil, biſhop of Cæſarea, gives an account to the following purport:

"She had a troubleſome law-ſuit with one of the principal men in Cæſarea, who was unjuſtly poſſeſſed of a conſiderable part of her eſtate, and had ſeized both her ſervants and cattle. This oppreſſive uſurper had found means to bribe the judges in his favour, and hired perſons to ſwear, that the land and goods in diſpute were his property. Julitta, ſupported by the juſtneſs of her cauſe, thought that ſhe had nothing more to do, but to give the magiſtrates a plain and an ingenuous account of her title. When the cauſe came to be tried, the defendant, inſtead of ſupporting his claim, or giving any anſwer to the plaintiff's plea, urged that the law would not ſuffer him to engage at that bar, with one of a different religion; ſo that he could not proceed in his defence, unleſs the lady, who was the plaintiff, renounced Chriſtianity.

"The judge was too well inſtructed not to ſecond the motion, and gave it as his opinion, that what he inſiſted upon was according to the laws of the empire. He then ordered an alter to be brought in, and ſome fire to be put on it, and incenſe to be prepared, and then told the parties, that if they expected, either of them, to enjoy any benefit of the laws, they muſt both of them offer incenſe to the gods.

"The uſurper, who was an heathen, immediately complied; but Julitta made it appear, that her faith was much dearer to her than her goods, or even than life itſelf. "No, ſaid ſhe, my affection to what is undoubtedly my own, ſhall never hinder me from ſacrificing my all, and even my life, if required, rather than violate my fidelity to my God and Saviour." This declaration greatly incenſed the judge, but Julitta went on with the ſame intrepidity, and thanked God for the aſſurance ſhe had of an eternal inheritance, while what was her own upon earth was diſputed, and unjuſtly taken from her. The magiſtrate made ſeveral attempts to perſuade her to renounce her faith, but was always anſwered that ſhe was the ſervant of Chriſt, and as ſuch ſhe could not liſten to his propoſals without horror; upon this ſhe was condemned to be burnt: which ſentence, A. D. 305, was executed accordingly.

Euſtratius, ſecretary to the governor of Arminia, was thrown into a fiery furnace, for exhorting ſome Chriſtians, who had been apprehended, to perſevere in their faith. Auxeutius and Eugenius, two of Euſtratius's adherents, were burnt at Nicopolis; Mardarius, another friend of his, expired under the hands of his tormentors; and Oreſtes, a military officer, was broiled to death on a gridiron, for wearing a golden croſs at his breaſt.

Theodore, a Syrian by birth, a ſoldier by profeſſion, and a Chriſtian by faith, ſet fire to the temple of Cybele, in Amaſia, through an honeſt indignation at the idolatrous worſhip practiſed therein: for which being apprehended, he was ſeverely ſcourged, and February 18, A. D. 306, burnt to death.

Dorothy, a Chriſtian of Cappadocia, was, by the governor's order, placed under the care of two women, who had become apoſtates to the faith, with a view that ſhe might be induced to follow their example. However, this lady's diſcourſes had ſuch an effect upon the two apoſtates, that they became re-converted, and were put to death for not ſucceeding. Soon after which, Dorothy herſelf was tortured, and then beheaded.

Pancratius, or Pancraſs, was a native of Phrygia, but being made a Chriſtian and brought to Rome, by his uncle, he there ſuffered martyrdom, being beheaded after the deceaſe of his uncle, who died a natural death a little time before.

Cyrinus, Nazarius, Nabor, and Baſilides, four worthy Chriſtian officers at Rome, were thrown into priſon for their faith, and being condemned, were ſcourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, being Chriſtians, were apprehended on account of their faith. As they were both men of great abilities in their profeſſion, the utmoſt endeavours were made to induce them to renounce Chriſtianity; but theſe endeavours being found ineffectual, they were ordered to be beheaded. Crowds of people attended the execution, among whom were the wives of the two ſufferers. The conſort of Nicander was a Chriſtian, and encouraged her huſband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a Pagan, entreated her huſband to ſave himſelf, for the ſake of her and her child. Marcian however reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but embraced her and the infant before the ſtroke was given. Nicander likewiſe took leave of his wife in the moſt affectionate manner, and then both, with great willingneſs and reſolution, received the crown of martyrdom.

Beſides theſe there were ſeveral others whoſe names and ſufferings are not aſcertained.

Likewiſe, in the kingdom of Naples, ſeveral martyrdoms took place: in particular, Januarius, biſhop of Beneventum; Soſius, deacon of Miſene; Proculus, another deacon; Eytyches and Acutius, two laymen; Feſtus, a deacon; and Deſiderius, a reader, were all, on account of being Chriſtians, condemned, by the governor of Campania, to be devoured by wild beaſts. The ſavage animals, however, not touching them, they were ordered to be beheaded, which ſentence was immediately put into execution.

Marcellus, a centurion, of the Trajan legion, was poſted at Tangier, and being a Chriſtian, ſuffered martyrdom, of which the following account is recorded.

"It happened that while he was there, the emperor's birth-day was kept with great ſolemnity, and the ſacrifices to the Pagan idols made a conſiderable part of that ſolemnity. All the ſubjects of the empire were expected on that occaſion, to conform to the blind religion of their prince; but Marcellus, who had been well inſtructed in the duties of his profeſſion, expreſſed his deteſtation of thoſe profane practices, by throwing away his belt, the badge of his military character, at the head of his company, declaring aloud, that he was a ſoldier of Chriſt, the eternal king. He then quitted his arms, and added, that from that moment he ceaſed to ſerve the emperor; and that he thus expreſſed his contempt of the gods of the empire, which were no better than deaf and dumb idols. "If, continued he, their imperial majeſties impoſe the obligation of ſacrificing to them and their gods, as a neceſſary condition of their ſervice, I here throw up my commiſſion, and quit the army."

Marcellus's behaviour and ſpeeches occaſioned an order for his being beheaded, on a double ſcore, viz. deſertion from the army, and impiety againſt the gods of the empire. He heard the ſentence with intrepidity, and received the crown of martyrdom with great willingneſs. Caſſian, ſecretary to the court which tried Marcellus, expreſſing his diſapprobation of ſuch ſevere proceedings, was ordered into cuſtody; when avowing himſelf a Chriſtian, he met with the ſame fate, and ſuffered a ſimilar martyrdom.

Quirinus, biſhop of Siſcia, being carried before Matenius, the governor, was ordered to ſacrifice to the Pagan deities, agreeable to the edicts of various Roman emperors. To which he replied, "The emperors inſiſt upon our ſacrificing to their deities, againſt the expreſs prohibition of God; to deities which we can by no means own, becauſe they are, in reality, nothing: whereas the power that I ſerve is every where, above all things, ſupports, governs, and diſpoſes of all things, as he pleaſes; for he is the ſovereign maſter, and ſole author of the univerſe." For this ſpeech he was ordered to be ſeverely ſcourged.

When under the hand of the executioner, the governor was urgent with him to ſacrifice, and offered to make him a prieſt of Jupiter. To which Quirinus replied, That he was already engaged in the prieſtly office, while he thus offered a ſacrifice to the true God. "I, continued he, ſcarce feel my torments, and am ready to ſuffer ſtill greater, that my example may ſhew thoſe whom God has committed to my care, the way to the glory we wiſh for."

Perceiving his conſtancy, the governor ſent him to gaol, and ordered him to be heavily ironed; flattering himſelf, that the hardſhips of a gaol, and the weight of his chains, might overcome his reſolutions.

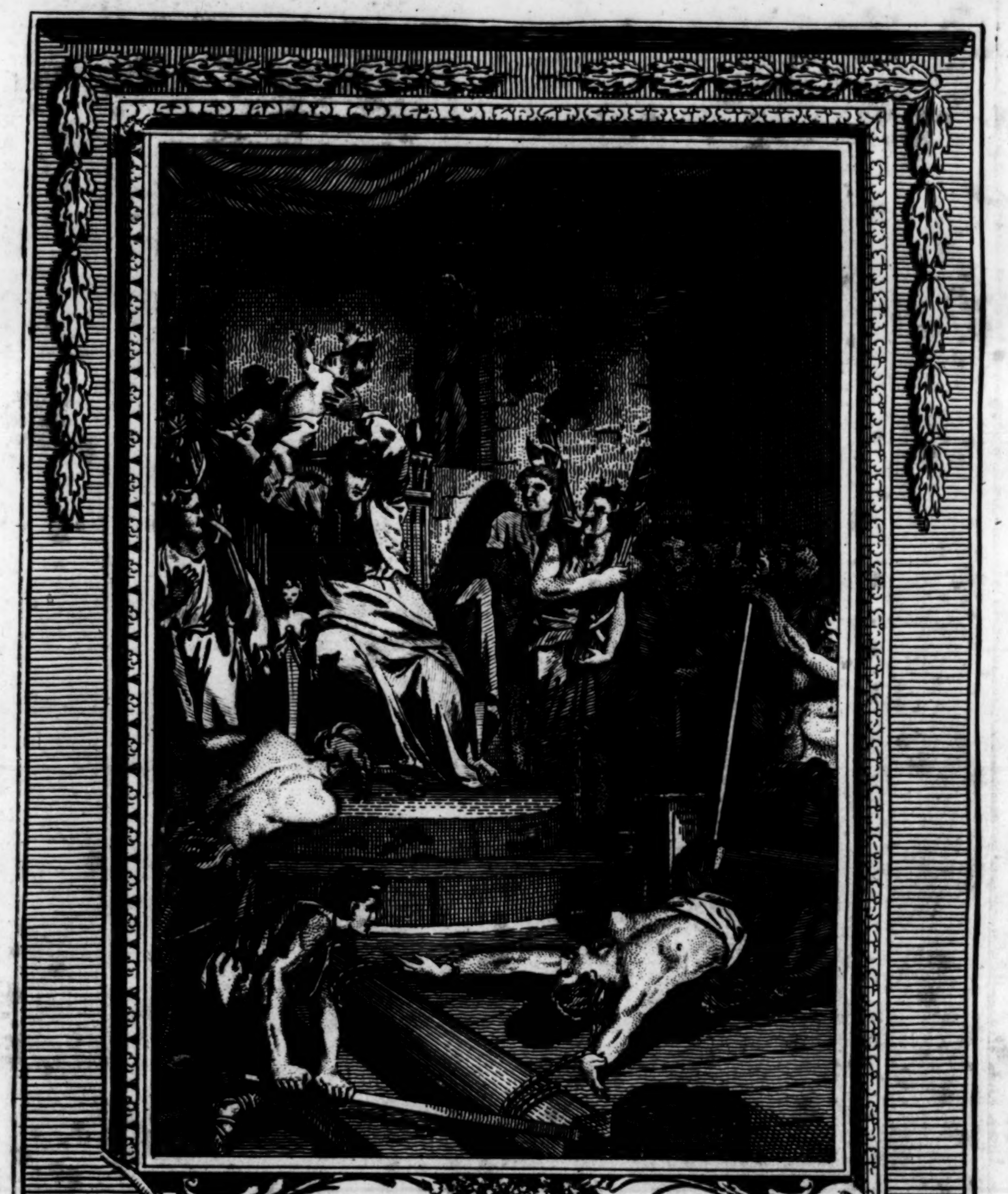
But being deceived in his expectations, he was ſent to Amantius, the principal governor of Parmonia, now Hungary, who loaded him with chains, and carried him through the principal towns of the Danube, expoſing him to ridicule wherever he went.

At length arriving at Sabaria, and finding that Quirinus would not renounce his faith, he ordered him to be caſt into a river, with a ſtone faſtened to his neck. The ſentence was accordingly put into execution, and Quirinus, floating about for ſome time, exhorted the people in the moſt pious terms, concluding his admonitions with this prayer:

"It is no new thing, O all-powerful Jeſus! for thee to ſtop the courſe of rivers, or to cauſe a man to walk upon the water, as thou didſt thy ſervant Peter: the people have already ſeen the proof of thy power in me; grant me now to lay down my life for thy ſake, O my God!"

Having pronounced theſe laſt words, he immediately ſunk and died, June 4, A. D. 308; and his body was afterwards taken up, and buried by ſome pious Chriſtians.

There were five Egyptian Chriſtians upon a viſit to their afflicted brethren in Cæſaria, who were apprehended and carried before Firmilian, the governor of Paleſtine, who on queſtioning them concerning whence they came, and what they were, was anſwered by one, in the name of the reſt, that they were Chriſtians, and belonged to the glorious city of Jeruſalem, ſpeaking allegorically of the heavenly Jeruſalem. The governor was ſurpriſed at the anſwer, as he knew Veſpaſian, and his ſon Titus, had deſtroyed the ancient Jeruſalem; and that the inconſiderable town erected by Adrian upon the ſpot, was called Ælia Capitolina: he therefore inquired more parti-



MARTYRDOM *of* JULIETTA
a Liconson, *who was* Racked *to* Death, *and her*
Child *hurled on the Ground before her face by which*
its Brains *were* dashed out.

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cularly concerning it. The Chriſtian who had ſpoken before, again replied, and purſuing the allegory, deſcribed, with great force of imagination, the great beauty, riches, and ſtrength of the place. Firmilian ſtill miſtaking the Chriſtian's meaning, by underſtanding his words in a literal ſenſe, was dreadfully alarmed; for not dreaming that a heavenly city was alluded to, he fancied that the Chriſtians were ſtrengthening and fortifying ſome place, in order to revolt from their allegiance to the emperor. Full of this miſtake, and enraged at the ſuppoſed diſloyalty, he condemned the five priſoners to be cruelly tormented, and then beheaded; which ſentence was executed A. D. 309, on the 16th of February.

Pamphilus, a native of Phœnicia, of a conſiderable family, was a man of ſuch extenſive learning, that he was called a ſecond Origen. He was received into the body of the clergy at Cæſarea, where he eſtabliſhed a public library, and ſpent his time in the practice of every Chriſtian virtue. He copied the greateſt part of the works of Origen with his own hand, and, aſſiſted by Euſebius, gave a correct copy of the Old Teſtament, which had ſuffered greatly by the ignorance or negligence of former tranſcribers. He likewiſe gave public lectures on religious and literary ſubjects, in an academy which he had erected for that purpoſe, till the year 307, when he was apprehended, and carried before Urban, the governor of Paleſtine.

This governor, thinking that a man of his abilities muſt be of great importance to any party, did all he could to induce him to embrace Paganiſm. Finding his endeavours vain, he changed perſuaſions into menaces, and from entreating began to threaten him.

Still Pamphilus maintained his reſolution, whereupon he was ordered to be tortured ſeverely, and then ſent to priſon, which was immediately put into execution.

Immediately after, Urban, having diſpleaſed the emperor, was diſplaced and beheaded; but another was appointed in his room, who was equally prejudiced againſt the profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

Pamphilus ſuffered martyrdom under the new governor by being beheaded; together with Valens, a deacon of the church of Jeruſalem; and Paul, a layman of Jamnia, in Paleſtine.

Porphyrius, the ſervant of Pamphilus, was martyred by means of a ſtraw fire, for only requeſting leave to bury the body of his maſter and other martyrs who ſuffered.

Theodulus, a venerable and faithful ſervant to Firmilian, the governor, being accuſed as a profeſſor of the Chriſtian faith, confeſſed the charge, and was, by order of his cruel maſter, crucified, on February 17, A. D. 309; and, on the ſame day, Julian, a Cappadocian, was burnt.

Marcellus, biſhop of Rome, being baniſhed on account of his faith, fell a martyr to the miſeries he ſuffered in exile, A. D. 310. on the 16th of January.

Peter, the ſixteenth biſhop of Alexandria, by order of Maximus Cæſar, who reigned in the Eaſt, was martyred, November 25, A. D. 311.

Lucian, a learned and eloquent Syrian, was a man of ſo benevolent a temper, that he diſpoſed of the greateſt part of his fortune in charitable actions. Being advanced to the clerical character in Antioch, he became a true ſervant of Chriſt, and a zealous paſtor of the church. At length he was apprehended as a Chriſtian, impriſoned for the ſpace of nine years, put to the rack, rolled upon ſharp flints, nails, &c. and then being tortured to death, his body was thrown into the ſea; but it was afterwards caſt on ſhore, and received Chriſtian interment.

A virgin of only thirteen years of age, of the name of Agnes, was beheaded for being a Chriſtian; Valentine, a prieſt, ſuffered the ſame fate at Rome; and Eraſmus, a biſhop, was martyred in Campania. Coſmus and Damian, Arabians, and brothers, were martyred in Cilicia; Adrian, an imperial officer, was beheaded for being a Chriſtian; Barbara, a young lady, was martyred at Nicomedia; Lucy, a Chriſtian virgin, was put to death at Syracuſe; and even Serena, the empreſs of Diocleſian, was beheaded for being and avowing herſelf a Chriſtian.

Gordius, a native of Cæſarea, and a centurion in the Roman army, was firſt tormented, and then burnt; Menas, an Egyptian ſoldier, was beheaded; and Barlaam, a noble martyr, as we are informed by Baſilius, having endured the torments of the executioners, even to the very point of death, the tormentors at laſt brought him, and laid him upon the altar, where they uſed to offer ſacrifices to their idols, and put frankincenſe into his hand, which they lighted, imagining that the heat and force of the fire would oblige him to ſcatter the burning incenſe on the altar, that they might thereby ſay that he had ſacrificed; but in this they were diſappointed, for the flame went round his hand, which appeared as if it had been covered with red hot embers, while he uttered this exclamation of the pſalmiſt: "Bleſſed is the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight." After which he ſurrendered his ſoul into the hands of his bleſſed Redeemer! The Pagans having full authority to uſe the Chriſtians as bad as they thought proper, ſhut up the doors of a church, in which a Chriſtian congregation were aſſembled, and having ſet fire to the building, every perſon periſhed in the flames. Many were ſeverely beaten with ſticks, cords, ſcourges, rods, whips, &c.

However, Conſtantine the Great determined to redreſs the grievances of the Chriſtians, for which purpoſe he raiſed an army of 30,000 foot, and 8000 horſe, with which he marched towards Rome, againſt Maxentius, the emperor. But previous to his entering upon this expedition, we are informed, that he conſidered that it was neceſſary to have ſome ſuperior Being to confide in, beſides his own ſtrength; and as at that time there were many deities in the world, he was ſtudious to learn which was the moſt worthy for him to fix upon as his protector, and tutelar guardian. He reflected on the fatal miſcarriages of his predeceſſors, who had ſo violently maintained a multiplicity of gods, and repoſed an entire confidence in their aſſiſtance. On the other hand he conſidered that while his own father adored only one God he continually proſpered, and had peace of mind. Hence he rejected the adoration of idols, and implored the aſſiſtance of the only true God; who heard his prayers, and anſwered them in a manner ſo ſurpriſing and miraculous, that Euſebius, who relates this hiſtory, acknowledges it would not have been credible, had he not received it from the emperor's own mouth, who publicly and ſolemnly ratified the truth upon his oath. The extraordinary circumſtances are as follow:

"The army being advanced near Rome, and the emperor employed in his devout ejaculations on the 27th day of October, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the ſun was declining, there ſuddenly appeared to him a pillar of light in the heavens, in the form of a croſs with this plain inſcription on or about it, TOTTΩ NIKA, In this overcome. Conſtantine was greatly ſurpriſed at this ſtrange ſight, which was viſible to the whole army, who equally wondered at it with himſelf. The officers and commanders, prompted by the augurs and auſpices, or ſoothſayers, looked upon it as an inauſpicious omen, portending an unfortunate expedition; the emperor himſelf did not underſtand it, till at length our bleſſed Saviour appeared to him in a viſion, with the croſs in his hand, which he had ſhewed him in the day before, commanding him to make a royal ſtandard, like that he had ſeen in the heavens, and cauſe it to be continually carried before his army, as an enſign both of victory and ſafety. Early the next morning, Conſtantine informed his friends and officers of what he had ſeen in the night, and ſending for proper workmen, ſat down by them, and deſcribed to them the form of the ſtandard, which he then ordered them to make with the greateſt art and magnificence; and accordingly they made it after this manner: a long ſpear, plated over with gold, with a traverſe piece at the top, in the form of a croſs, to which was faſtened a four ſquare purple banner, embroidered with gold, and beſet with precious ſtones, which reflected an amazing luſtre: towards the top was depicted the emperor between his two ſons: on the top of the ſhaft, above the croſs, ſtood a crown, overlaid with gold and jewels, within which was placed the ſacred ſymbol, namely the two firſt letters of Chriſt in Greek, X and P, ſtruck one through the other: this device he afterwards bore not only upon his ſhields, but alſo upon his coins, many of which are ſtill extant."

Afterwards engaging Maxentius, he defeated him, and entered the city of Rome in triumph. A law was now publiſhed in favour of the Chriſtians, in which Licinius joined with Conſtantine, and a copy of it was ſent to Maximus in the Eaſt. Maximus, who was a bigotted Pagan, greatly diſliked the edict, but being afraid of Conſtantine, did not openly avow his diſapprobation of it.

At length Maximus invaded the territories of Licinius, but being defeated, he was ſo mortified, that he put an end to his life by poiſon.

Licinius, as before obſerved, was not a real Chriſtian in his heart, but rather affected to appear as ſuch, through the dread of Conſtantine's power; for even after publiſhing ſeveral edicts in favour of the Chriſtians, he took occaſion to put to death Blaſe, biſhop of Sebaſte, ſeveral biſhops and prieſts of Egypt and Lybia, who were cut to pieces, and thrown into the ſea; and forty ſoldiers of the garriſon of Sebaſte, who ſuffered martyrdom by fire, and ſealed their faith in the flames. Theſe things offending Conſtantine the Great, he marched againſt Licinius, who was defeated by him, and afterwards ſlain by his own ſoldiers.

St. George, the tutelar ſaint and patron of England, was born in Cappadocia, of Chriſtian parents, who brought him up according to the tenets of the goſpel. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Paleſtine, which was her native country. Here ſhe claimed a patrimonial eſtate, which afterwards deſcended to her ſon. St. George being ſtrong, active, and of a great ſpirit, took up the profeſſion of a ſoldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this poſt he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was accordingly promoted in the army of the emperor Diocleſian. During the perſecution, St. George threw up his command, went boldly to the ſenate-houſe, and avowed his being a Chriſtian, taking occaſion at the ſame time to remonſtrate againſt Paganiſm, and point out the abſurdity of worſhipping idols. This freedom ſo greatly provoked the ſenate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with great conſtancy, and without any change in his religious principles. Exaſperated at his fortitude and reſolution, he was by the emperor's orders dragged through the ſtreets, and beheaded the next day.

The calendar commemorates his martyrdom on the 23d of April; many churches have been dedicated to him, and he is conſidered as the tutelar ſaint and patron of England. The order of the Garter, inſtituted by Edward the Third, is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Bleſſed Virgin, St. George, and St. Edward the Confeſſor. This ſaint is repreſented on horſeback, tilting at a dragon, which is only allegorical, and implies that he had conquered the devil, or the dragon, by his faith in Chriſtianity, and his fortitude in adhering thereto.

C H A P. III.

Including a minute Account of the PERSECUTIONS *of the* CHRISTIANS *in* Perſia *under* SAPORES; *the* PERSECUTIONS *under the* ARIAN HERETICS; *thoſe under* JULIAN *the* Apoſtate, *the* GOTHS, VANDALS, &c. *and in various other Parts of the World.*

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *of the* CHRISTIANS *in Perſia.*

THE holy goſpel having ſpread itſelf into Perſia, the Pagan prieſts were greatly alarmed, and dreaded the loſs of that influence they had hitherto maintained over the people's minds and properties. Hence they thought it expedient to complain to the emperor, that the Chriſtians were enemies to the ſtate, and held a treaſonable correſpondence with the Romans, the great enemies of Perſia.

The emperor, who was naturally averſe to Chriſtianity, eaſily believed what was ſaid againſt the Chriſtians, and gave orders to perſecute them in all parts of his empire. On account of this mandate many fell martyrs to the ignorance and ferocity of the Pagans, the ſufferings of the moſt eminent of whom we ſhall here relate.

Simeon, archbiſhop of Seleucia, with many other eccleſiaſtics, to the number of an hundred and twenty-eight, were apprehended and accuſed of having betrayed the affairs of Perſia to the Romans.

Now the emperor being greatly exaſperated againſt them, ordered Simeon to be brought before him. The worthy archbiſhop coming into his preſence, boldly acknowledged his faith, and nobly defended the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The emperor, being offended at his freedom, not only reproved him for it, but ordered him to kneel before him, as he had always heretofore done.

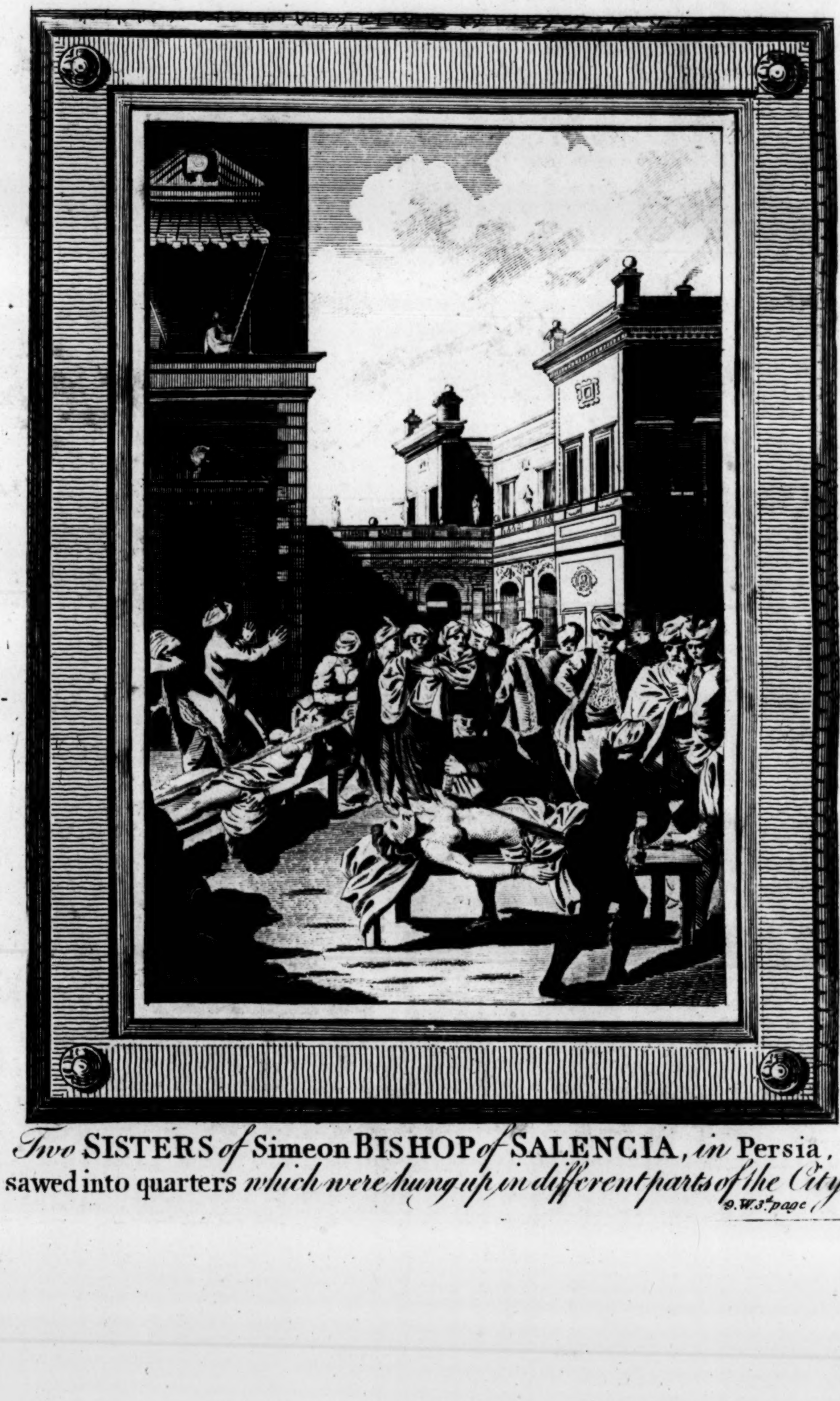
To this Simeon anſwered, "That before, having the free admittance to his preſence, he did not ſcruple to conform to the cuſtomary ſalutation of the country; but being now brought before him a priſoner, for the truth of his religion, and the ſake of his God, it was not lawful for him to kneel, leſt he ſhould be thought to worſhip and to betray his faith, which he was fully reſolved to defend with his laſt breath."

Whereupon the emperor told him, that if he did not kneel, he and all the Chriſtians in his dominions, ſhould be put to death; but Simeon rejected with diſdain the propoſal to kneel, and told him that he would abide the conſequences. On this reply the emperor ordered him to be ſent to priſon till he had conſidered what puniſhment he ſhould inflict.

Some ſhort time after, Simeon, with his fellow-priſoners, was again examined, and commanded to worſhip the ſun, agreeable to the Perſian cuſtom; but this they all unanimouſly refuſed. The emperor then ſentenced them to be beheaded, and they were accordingly executed.

An aged eunuch, named Uſthazares, who had been tutor to the emperor, and was in great eſtimation at court, on obſerving Simeon, the fore-mentioned martyr, leading to priſon, ſaluted him. Simeon, however (as Uſthazares had formerly been a Chriſtian, and turned apoſtate from the faith to oblige the emperor) would not return his ſalute, but ſharply reproved him for his apoſtacy. This ſo affected the eunuch, that he burſt into tears, and exclaimed, "Ah! woe is me! how ſhall I hereafter look upon my God, whom I have denied, when Simeon, my old companion and familiar acquaintance, diſdains to give me a gentle word, or to return my ſalute!"

When the emperor was told that his ancient tutor was greatly afflicted, he ſent for him, and aſked him whether he deſired or wanted any thing which could be conferred upon, or procured for him. To which the eunuch replied, That there was nothing that he wanted, which this earth could afford; but that his grief was of another kind, and for which he juſtly mourned, namely,



Two **SISTERS** *of* Simeon **BISHOP** *of* **SALENCIA**, *in* Persia, sawed into quarters *which were hung up in different parts of the City.*

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that to oblige him he had denied his God, and had diſſemblingly worſhipped the ſun, againſt his own conſcience! for which, continued he, I am deſerving of a double death, firſt, for denying of Chriſt, and ſecondly, for diſſembling with my king; at the ſame time ſolemnly proteſting, that he would never more forſake the Creator of the world, to worſhip the creatures which were made by him.

Upon this the emperor, greatly offended at the explanation of the cauſe of his grief, ordered Uſthazares to be beheaded. While he was going to the place of execution, he deſired that a meſſenger might be ſent to the emperor, to requeſt the favour that it might be proclaimed, "That Uſthazares did not die a traitor for any crime againſt the king or the ſtate; but only that being a Chriſtian, he would not deny his God." This petition, we are informed, was granted, and accordingly performed; which was a great ſatisfaction to Uſthazares, whoſe chief reaſon for deſiring it was, becauſe his falling off from Chriſt had cauſed many others to follow his example, who now hearing that he died for no crime but his religion, they might learn, like him, to return to Chriſt, and become fervent and conſtant in the faith. Uſthazares, being thus ſatisfied, cheerfully yielded his neck to the ſtroke of the executioner, and received his crown of martyrdom with great joy!

After the above execution, on the Good Friday, an edict was publiſhed, to put to death all who confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, on which occaſion great multitudes ſuffered. About this time the empreſs of Perſia falling ſick, the ſiſters of Simeon, the archbiſhop, were accuſed by ſome of the magi, of being the occaſion. This abſurdity being believed, they were, by the emperor's order, ſawed in quarters, and their quarters fixed upon poles, between which the empreſs paſſed as a charm to effect her recovery.

Acepſimus, and many other clergymen were ſeized upon, and ordered to adore the ſun; which refuſing, they were ſcourged, and then tormented to death, or ſuffered to remain in priſon till they expired.

Athalas, a prieſt, though not put to death, was ſo miſerably racked, that his arms were rendered uſeleſs; and he was ever after obliged to be fed like a child. In fine, by this edict, above 16,000 either ſuffered miſerably by torture, or loſt their lives.

When Conſtantine the Great was informed of the perſecutions in Perſia, he was exceedingly concerned, and began to ruminate in what manner he ſhould redreſs their grievances, when an ambaſſador arrived from the Perſian emperor upon ſome political buſineſs.

This ambaſſador Conſtantine received civilly, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Perſian monarch in favour of the Chriſtians, in which he recounts the vengeance that had fallen on perſecutors, and the great ſucceſs that had attended thoſe who had refrained from perſecuting the Chriſtians; and then referring to the tyrants and perſecuting emperor of his own time, he ſaid, "I ſubdued thoſe ſolely by faith in Chriſt; for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and hath enlarged to me the bounds of the Romiſh empire, that it extends from the Weſtern ocean, to almoſt the uttermoſt parts of the Eaſt: for which purpoſe I neither offered ſacrifices to the ancient deities, nor made uſe of charm or divination, but only prayers to Almighty God, and followed the croſs of Chriſt: and how glad ſhould I be to hear that the throne of Perſia flouriſhed, by embracing the Chriſtians! that ſo you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your ſouls could deſire, as no doubt but you would, as God, the Almighty Creator of all things, would become your protector and defender.

"Theſe men I commend to your kingly honour; I commit them unto you, deſiring you to embrace them according to your humanity; for in ſo doing, you ſhall procure to yourſelf grace through faith, and ſhall beſtow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

By means of this the perſecution ended during the life of Sapores; but it was again renewed under the lives of his ſucceſſors; the following ſufferers being the moſt principal.

Hormiſdas, a Perſian nobleman, on being convicted of profeſſing Chriſtianity, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This ignominious taſk he performed for ſome time, when the emperor one day, looking out of a window which commanded the yard where the elephants were kept, ſaw Hormiſdas, and perceived that he was prodigiouſly tamed. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a ſhirt ſhould be put on him, and that he ſhould be brought into his preſence.

As ſoon as he came to the imperial throne, the emperor aſked him if he would now deny Chriſt. On this queſtion being put, Hormiſdas tore off his ſhirt, and ſaid, "If you think I will deny my faith for the ſake of a ſhirt, take your gift again." The emperor, on hearing this expreſſion, baniſhed him from Perſia; and he died in exile.

Suenes, a Chriſtian nobleman, refuſing to deny Chriſt, had his wife taken from him, and given to one of the meaneſt of the emperor's ſlaves; and what added to his mortification was, that he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the ſlave, which at length broke his heart, and he died.

Theodoret, a deacon, was impriſoned for the ſpace of two years, and being releaſed, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Chriſt. Diſregarding, however, the order, he did his utmoſt to propagate the goſpel of Chriſt; for which being ſeized upon, he was miſerably tormented, by having ſharp reeds thruſt under his nails; and then a knotty branch of a tree was forced up his body, and he expired in the moſt excruciating agony.

Bademus, a Chriſtian of Meſopotamia, gave away his fortune to the poor, and determined to devote his life to religious retirement. This inoffenſive Chriſtian, together with ſeven others, were ſeized upon and cruelly tortured for being Chriſtians, and above all for their charity. The ſeven Chriſtians, who were apprehended with Bademus, received the crown of martyrdom, though the particular manner is not recorded: and Bademus himſelf, after having been four months in priſon, was brought to the place of execution, and beheaded by Narſes, an apoſtate Chriſtian, who was ordered to act as the executioner of this worthy man, in order to convince the emperor that he was ſincere in the renunciation of the truth.

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A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *under the* ARIAN HERETICS.

ARIUS, a native of Lybia, and a prieſt of Alexandria, was the author of the Arian hereſy, and in A. D. 318, began to publiſh his errors. He was condemned by a council of the Lybian and Egyptian biſhops, and that ſentence was confirmed by the council of Nice, A. D. 325. After the death of Conſtantine the Great, the Arians found means to ingratiate themſelves into the favour of Conſtantius, his ſon and ſucceſſor in the Eaſt; and hence a perſecution was raiſed againſt the orthodox biſhop and clergy. The celebrated Athanaſius, and other biſhops, were baniſhed, and their ſees filled with Arians.

Thirty biſhops were martyred in Egypt and Lybia, and many other Chriſtians cruelly tormented; and, A. D. 336, George, the Arian biſhop of Alexandria, under the authority of the emperor, began a perſecution in that city, and it's environs, and carried it on with the moſt infernal ſeverity. He was aſſiſted in his diabolical malice by Catophonius, governor of Egypt; Sebaſtian, general of the Egyptian forces; Fauſtinus, the treaſurer; and a Roman officer, named Heraclius.

So great was this perſecution, that the clergy were driven from Alexandria, their churches were ſhut, and the ſeverities practiſed by the Arian heretics were as great as thoſe that had been practiſed by the Pagan idolaters. If a man accuſed of being a Chriſtian, made his eſcape, then his whole family were maſſacred, and his effects forfeited.

Now the orthodox Chriſtians, being deprived of all places of public worſhip in the city of Alexandria, uſed to perform their devotions in a deſert place at ſome diſtance from it. Aſſembling for this purpoſe on a Trinity-Sunday, George, the Arian biſhop, engaged Sebaſtian, the general, to fall upon them with his ſoldiers, while they were at prayers. On this occaſion ſeveral fell a ſacrifice to the popular fury of the troops, and received the crown of martyrdom for no other offence than performing neceſſary acts of piety. The modes of cruelty were various, and the degrees different; for they were beaten over their faces till all their features were disfigured; then they were laſhed with twigs of palm trees newly cut, with ſuch violence, that they expired under the blows, or by the mortification of the wounds and bruiſes.

Several, whoſe lives had been ſpared, were, however, baniſhed to the deſerts of Oaſis, where they ſuffered unſpeakable hardſhips; but their exile admitted of their indulgence of the moſt pious thoughts, and their ſorrows were of a ſalutary nature.

Secundus, an orthodox prieſt, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the ſame name; the biſhop, who had imbibed all the heretical opinions of Arianiſm, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he had thought proper to embrace. Taking one Stephen with him, who was as much an Arian as himſelf, they ſought out Secundus privately, and being unable to make him change his opinion, they fell upon and murdered him: when the holy martyr, juſt before he expired, called upon Chriſt to receive his ſoul, and to forgive his enemies.

Diſſatisfied with the cruelties exerciſed upon the orthodox Chriſtians in Alexandria, the principal perſecutors applied to the emperor for an order to baniſh them from Egypt and Lybia, and to put their churches into poſſeſſion of the Arians.

Having obtained their requeſt, an order was ſent for that purpoſe to Sebaſtian, the commander in chief of the Roman forces in thoſe provinces.

When the general received the order, he ſignified the emperor's pleaſure to all the ſub-governors and officers, and commanded, that the mandate ſhould be immediately put into execution. Hence a great number of the clergy were ſeized, and impriſoned for examination; when it appearing that they adopted the opinions of Athanaſius, an order was ſigned for their baniſhment into the moſt wild, uncultivated, and deſert places. Thus were the orthodox clergy uſed, and many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few indeed eſcaped to other countries, and ſeveral were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the ſeverities of the perſecutors.

Paul, the biſhop of Conſtantinople, was a Macedonian by birth, and was deſigned, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander the predeceſſor of Paul was on his death bed, he was conſulted by ſome of the clergy on the choice of a ſucceſſor: when, we are informed, he told them, "That if they were diſpoſed to chooſe a perſon of an exemplary life, unexceptionable character, and thoroughly capable of inſtructing the people, Paul was the man; who, though young, had all the prudence and gravity of more advanced age; but if they had rather have a perſon of a well-compoſed appearance, acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the converſation of a court, they might then chooſe Macedonius, who had all the proper qualifications." Macedonius was a deacon in the church of Conſtantinople, in which office he had ſpent many years, and gained great experience; and the dying prelate did both him and Paul juſtice in their different characters. Nevertheleſs the Arians, with their accuſtomed diſingenuouſneſs, gave out, that Alexander had beſtowed great commendations on Macedonius for ſanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for buſineſs: it is true, indeed, he was a maſter in the art of ſpeaking and perſuading; but the ſequel of his life and ſufferings ſufficiently evinced the abſurdity of their deeming him a man formed for the world: for, after ſome ſtruggle, the orthodox carried their point, and Paul was conſecrated accordingly. However, Macedonius, being greatly offended at this preference, did his utmoſt to calumniate the new biſhop, and was very ſevere upon his moral character; but not gaining any belief, he dropped the charge, and reconciled himſelf to Paul. This, however, was not the caſe with Euſebius of Nicomedia, who reſumed the accuſations under two heads, which were as follow:

1. "That he had led a diſorderly life before his conſecration.

2. "That he had been placed in the ſee of Conſtantinople without the conſent of the biſhops of Nicomedia and Heraclea, two metropolitans, who ought to have been conſulted upon that occaſion."

Euſebius, to ſupport theſe accuſations, procured the emperor's authority, by repreſenting, that Paul having been choſen during the abſence of Conſtantius, the imperial dignity had been inſulted. This artifice ſucceeded, and Paul being depoſed, Euſebius was placed in his ſtead.

Thus Paul having loſt all his authority in the Eaſt, retired to the territories of Conſtans, in the Weſt, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy. At Rome he viſited Athanaſius, and aſſiſted at a council held there, by Julius, the biſhop of that ſee. Letters being written by this council to the eaſtern prelates, Paul returned to Conſtantinople, but was not reſtored to his biſhopric till the death of Euſebius. The Arians, however, conſtituting Macedonius their biſhop, by the title of biſhop of Conſtantinople, a ſedition, and a kind of civil war enſued, in which many were deſtroyed.

Conſtantius, the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of theſe matters, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he ſhould be driven from Conſtantinople. Hermogenes, the officer who had received the emperor's order, attempted in vain to put it into execution; for the orthodox Chriſtians riſing in defence of Paul, Hermogenes was killed in a ſcuffle that conſequently aroſe.

Now this tranſaction greatly exaſperated the emperor, who left Antioch, though in the depth of winter, and immediately returned to Conſtantinople, with a deſign to puniſh the Chriſtians ſeverely. But their ſubmiſſion and entreaties ſoftened him, and he contented himſelf with baniſhing Paul and ſuſpending Macedonius.

Hereupon Paul retired again to the territories of Conſtans, implored the protection of that emperor, and, by his interceſſion, was again veſted in his ſee. On this occaſion, we are informed, that "his re-eſtabliſhment did but exaſperate his enemies, who were at that time conſtantly employed, both in ſecret and open attempts againſt his life, againſt which the affections of his people were his only ſecurity; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for allowing his ſtay at Conſtantinople, but the dread of diſobliging his brother, Paul could not think himſelf wholly reſtored to his biſhopric, while things were in this ſituation; and being very much concerned at what the orthodox biſhops ſuffered from the power and malice of the Arian faction, joined Athanaſius, who was then in Italy, in ſoliciting a general council."

Accordingly a council was held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were preſent one hundred biſhops of the weſtern, and ſeventy-three of the eaſtern empire. But diſagreeing in many points, the Arian biſhops of the Eaſt retired to Philippolis, in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the council of Sardica. From which place they pretended to iſſue out an excommunication againſt Julius, biſhop of Rome; Paul, biſhop of Conſtantinople; Athanaſius, biſhop of Alexandria; and ſeveral other prelates.

The emperor Conſtans died, A. D. 350, which gave the Arians freſh courage, and they immediately applied to the emperor Conſtantius, who being an Arian in his heart, wrote an order to the præfect Philip, to remove Paul from the biſhopric of Conſtantinople, and baniſh him again, to reſtore Macedonius.

Being exiled to Cucucus, he was confined in a ſmall, loathſome, dark dungeon, where he was kept ſix days without food, and then ſtrangled. He met death with fortitude, as he was always perfectly reſigned in miſfortunes, and convinced of the vanity of this tranſitory world.

At this time, the Arian party prevailing, made Gregory of Cappadocia, a very obſcure perſon, biſhop of Alexandria, after having depoſed Athanaſius for his ſtrict adherence to the orthodox faith. In the accompliſhment of this affair, they were aſſiſted by Philagerius, the governor of Egypt, who was an apoſtate, and who ſuffered them to commit all manner of outrages. Hence arming themſelves with ſwords, clubs, &c. they broke into one of the principal churches of Alexandria, where great numbers of orthodox Chriſtians were aſſembled at their devotions; and falling upon them in a moſt barbarous manner, without the leaſt reſpect to ſex or age, the principal part of them were deſtroyed.

A venerable biſhop of Heraclea, named Potamo, who had formerly loſt one of his eyes in Diocleſian's perſecution, fell a martyr upon this occaſion; being ſo cruelly ſcourged and beaten that his wounds occaſioned his death.

Now the Arian mob broke into many places, public and private, under a pretence of ſearching for Athanaſius, and committed innumerable butcheries and barbarities; robbing orphans, plundering the houſes of widows, dragging devoted virgins to private places to be the ſacrifices of luſt; impriſoning the clergy, burning churches and dwelling-houſes belonging to orthodox Chriſtians, beſides other enormous cruelties.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTION *under* JULIAN *the Apoſtate.*

JULIAN, the Apoſtate, as he was commonly called, was the ſon of Julius Conſtantius, and the nephew of Conſtantine the Great. He ſtudied the rudiments of grammar under the inſpection of Mardonius an eunuch, and an heathen of Conſtantinople. His father ſent him ſome time after to Nicomedia, to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, by the biſhop Euſebius, his kinſman; but his principles were corrupted by the pernicious doctrines of Maximus the magician, and Ecebolius the rhetorician.

In the year 361 Conſtantius died, and Julian ſucceeded him, and had no ſooner attained the imperial dignity, than he renounced Chriſtianity, and embraced Paganiſm, which had for ſome years fallen into great diſrepute. He again reſtored idolatrous worſhip, by opening the ſeveral temples that had been ſhut up, rebuilding ſuch as were deſtroyed, and ordering the magiſtrates and people to follow his example. He, however, made no public edicts againſt Chriſtianity, but tried to do that privately which other emperors had done openly. He recalled all baniſhed Pagans, allowed the free exerciſe of religion to every ſect, but deprived all Chriſtians of offices at court, in the magiſtracy, or in the army. He was chaſte, temperate, vigilant, laborious, and ſeemingly pious, ſo that by his hypocriſy and pretended virtues he for a time did more miſchief to Chriſtianity, than the moſt profligate libertine of his predeceſſors. Thus he attempted to undermine Chriſtianity by artifice inſtead of expelling it by force; and to make his meaſures the more effectual, he prohibited any Chriſtian from keeping a ſchool or public ſeminary of learning, and deprived all the Chriſtian clergy of the privileges which Conſtantine the Great had granted them.

Accordingly, this perſecution was more dangerous than any of the former, as Julian aimed to ſap the foundations of Chriſtianity, inſtead of attacking the ſuperſtructure; and under the maſk of clemency, practiſed the greateſt cruelty in wiſhing to delude many thouſands of their true belief.

Thus the Chriſtian faith was in more danger of being ſubverted than it ever had been before, by the means of a monarch, at once witty and wicked, learned and hypocritical; who, at firſt, made his attempts, not by the means of fire, ſword, and poiſon, but by flattering gifts, and favours; not by uſing racks and tortures, but by beſtowing offices and dignities; and then, by prohibiting Chriſtian ſchools, he compelled the children of the goſpel either to become idolators or remain illiterate.

Among other methods taken by Julian were, to order that Chriſtians might be treated coldly upon all occaſions, and in all parts of the empire, and to employ ſeveral witty perſons to turn them, and their principles, into ridicule. Many were likewiſe martyred in his reign; for though he did not publicly perſecute them himſelf, he connived at their being murdered by his governors and officers; and though he affected never to patronize them for their murders, he never offered to puniſh them for their delinquency. We ſhall recount the names, ſufferings, and martyrdoms of ſuch as have been tranſmitted to the preſent times, that their example may inſpire fortitude, and their lives give to mankind in general a uſeful leſſon.

Firſt, by his oppoſition to Arianiſm, Baſil made himſelf famous, which brought upon him the vengeance of the Arian biſhop of Conſtantinople, who iſſued out an order to prevent his preaching. He continued, however, to perform his duty at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. Enraged at his orthodox and manly proceeding, his enemies accuſed him of being an incendiary, and a diſturber of the public peace; the monarch, however, was too intent on an expedition to Perſia, to take notice of the accuſation, and their malice at that time was wholly fruſtrated.

Now Baſil continued to preach ſtrenuouſly againſt the idolatry of Paganiſm on the one hand, and the errors of Arianiſm on the other: and earneſtly exhorted the people to ſerve Chriſt, in the purity of faith, and fervency of truth. By this conduct, both heathens and Arians were exaſperated againſt him, and appeared equally deſirous of accompliſhing his ruin.

One day meeting with a number of Pagans going in proceſſion to a ſacrifice, he boldly expreſſed his abhorrence of ſuch idolatrous proceedings, and inveighed againſt ſuch abſurd worſhip, at once in a manly and decent manner. This freedom cauſed the people to ſeize him, and carry him before Saturninus, the governor, where they brought three accuſations againſt him, viz. Reviling the gods, abuſing the emperor, and diſturbing the city's peace.

Having heard theſe accuſations, which were equally malicious as groundleſs, Saturninus deſired to know his ſentiments from his own mouth; when finding him a ſtrenuous Chriſtian, he ordered him firſt to be put to the rack, and then committed to priſon.

Hereupon the governor wrote an account of his proceedings to the emperor, who was at this time very buſy in eſtabliſhing the worſhip of Cybele, the fictitious mother of the fabulous deities. Julian, upon receiving the letter, ſent Pagoſus and Elpidius, two apoſtates, to Ancyra, the city where Baſil was confined, to employ both promiſes and threats to engage him to renounce his faith, and in caſe of their failure, to give him up totally to the power of the governor; for it was the policy of Julian to appear all moderation and clemency, and to ſuffer others, as much as poſſible, to ſeem the oſtenſible perſons in acts of cruelty. In this affair, however, a future circumſtance made the emperor forego his uſual policy, and ſacrifice his affected mercy to his reſentment and rage.

In vain the emperor's agents tampered with Baſil by means of promiſes, threats, and racks; he was firm in the faith, and remained in priſon to undergo ſome other ſufferings when the emperor came to Ancyra by meer accident.

As ſoon as the people knew of Julian's approach, they met him in grand proceſſion, and preſented to him their idol, the goddeſs Hecate. The two agents then gave the emperor an account of what Baſil had ſuffered, and how firm he had been. Julian, on this, determined to examine Baſil himſelf, when that holy man being brought before him, the emperor did every thing in his power to diſſuade him from perſevering in the faith. Baſil not only continued as firm as ever, but with a prophetic ſpirit, foretold the death of the emperor, and that he ſhould be tormented in the other world.

Provoked at what he heard, Julian loſt his uſual affectation of clemency, and told Baſil, in great anger, that though he had an inclination to pardon him at firſt, yet he had now put it out of his power to ſave his life, by the inſolence of his behaviour. He then commanded, that the body of Baſil ſhould be torn every day in ſeven different parts, till his ſkin and fleſh were entirely mangled. This inhuman ſentence was executed with rigour, and the martyr expired under it's ſeverities, A. D. 362, on the 28th day of June.

About the ſame time, Donatus, biſhop of Arezzo, and Hilarinus, a hermit, ſuffered for the faith; the firſt being beheaded, and the latter ſcourged to death.

One Gordian, a Roman magiſtrate, having a Chriſtian before him for examination, was ſo charmed with the confeſſion of his faith, that he not only diſcharged the priſoner, but became himſelf a Chriſtian. This ſo enraged the Roman præfect, that he ordered him to be ſcourged and beheaded; which ſentence was in the year 362 executed.

Two brothers, named John and Paul, of a good family, and in high offices under the emperor, on being accuſed of profeſſing Chriſtianity, were deprived of their poſts, and allowed ten days to conſider, whether they would renounce their faith and be promoted, or retain their faith and be martyred? Making choice of the latter alternative, they were both, A. D. 362, beheaded.

Artemius, commander in chief of the Roman forces in Egypt, being a Chriſtian, had two charges exhibited againſt him, by the Pagans, as follow:

1. That he had formerly demoliſhed ſeveral idols in the reign of Conſtantine the Great.
2. That he had aſſiſted the biſhop of Alexandria in plundering the temples.

Julian, who was then at Antioch, on the exhibition of theſe charges, ordered the general to repair thither, in order to anſwer to them. On Artemius's arrival, he owned the charges, and his faith: when he was firſt deprived of his commiſſion, then of his eſtate, and laſt of all beheaded.

One Caſſian, a ſchool-maſter of Imola, in the province of Romagna, for refuſing to ſacrifice to the idols, was hurried before the judge; who being apprized of his profeſſion, and informed that many of the boys had an averſion to him on account of the ſtrictneſs with which he kept them to their ſtudies, determined that they ſhould have permiſſion to murder their maſter. He was accordingly delivered, with his hands tied behind him, to the boys, who fell upon him with rods, whips, ſticks, and ſtiles, or the ſteel pencils which were then uſed in writing, and murdered him. This ſingular martyrdom happened A. D. 362, on the 13th of Auguſt.

Maximilian and Bonoſus, two officers of the Herculean guards, upon Julian's taking away Conſtantine the Great's ſtandard of the croſs of Chriſt, threw up their commiſſions. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were carried before the governor of the Eaſt, who commanded them to ſacrifice to the gods, and obey the emperor's orders; but they replied, that as they were no longer his ſoldiers, but the ſoldiers of Chriſt, they would do neither. The governor then had them ſeparately examined, and finding them as inflexible when aſunder, as when together, he ordered Bonoſus to be beaten with whips that had leaden bullets at the ends of the thongs, and Maximilian to be ſcourged alſo.

When remanded back to priſon, they were allowed nothing but bread and water for ſubſiſtence, and the bread was marked with the ſeal of the emperor, the impreſſion of which was an idol; on which account they refuſed to eat it. They were ſoon afterwards again examined, and then beheaded according to the ſentence pronounced upon them.

Bibiana was the daughter of Flavian and Dafroſa, two Chriſtians. Flavian, her father, held a conſiderable poſt under the government, but being baniſhed for his faith, died in exile. Dafroſa, her mother, was, for the ſame reaſon, order to be ſtarved; but Apronianus, governor of Rome, thinking her too long in dying, had her beheaded immediately.

Now Bibiana, and her ſiſter Demetria, after the death of their parents, were ſtripped of all their effects, and being brought before the governor, were ordered to renounce their religion. Demetria ſuddenly dropped down dead in the governor's preſence, and Bibiana reſolutely refuſed to renounce her faith, on which account ſhe was ſcourged to death, A. D. 362, on the 2d of Dec.

About the latter end of the year 363, the perſecution raged dreadfully; but as many of the particulars have not been handed down to us, it is neceſſary to remark in general, that in Paleſtine many were burnt alive, others were dragged by their feet through the ſtreets naked till they expired; ſome were ſcalded to death, many ſtoned, and great numbers had their brains beaten out with clubs. In Alexandria innumerable were the martyrs who ſuffered by the ſword, burning, crucifixion, and being ſtoned. In Arethuſa, ſeveral were ripped open, and corn being put into their bellies, ſwine were brought to feed therein, who, in devouring the grain, likewiſe dovoured the entrails of the martyrs; and, in Thrace, Emilianus was burnt at a ſtake; and Domitius murdered in a cave, whither he had fled for concealment.

Likewiſe, Theodorus, for his faith, and ſinging the praiſes of God, was apprehended and put to the tortures of a martyr, though not to death. After being taken from the rack, he was aſked how he could ſo patiently endure ſuch exquiſite tortures? To which he returned this remarkable reply: "At the firſt I felt ſome pain, but afterwards there appeared to ſtand by me a young man, who wiped the ſweat from my face, and frequently refreſhed me with cold water, which ſo delighted me, that I regretted being let down from the rack."

Marcus, biſhop of Arethuſa, having deſtroyed a Pagan temple in that city, erected a Chriſtian church in it's room, on which account he was accuſed to Julian, the emperor, as a Chriſtian. Being apprehended, his perſecutors had no reſpect to his venerable perſon, but ſtripping him naked, moſt cruelly beat him. He was then thruſt into a filthy jake, or ſink, till he was almoſt ſuffocated; afterwards he was goaded with ſharp pointed ſticks; and laſtly, he was hung up in a baſket in the heat of the ſun, after having been ſmeared all over with honey, in order to be tormented to death by waſps. As ſoon as he was hung up, they aſked him if he would rebuild their temple? To which he anſwered, that he would neither rebuild it nor advance a ſingle doit towards it's being rebuilt; upon which they left him, and he fell a martyr to the dreadful ſtings of thoſe troubleſome and tormenting inſects.

Alſo Maxentius and Juventius, two Chriſtian officers, were put to death for reproving the emperor, on account of his idolatries; but the manner of their deaths is not aſcertained.

Now we ſhall enter upon ſome detached particulars neceſſary to be preſerved, and finiſh this account with the concluſion of the perſecutions under Julian the apoſtate.

When Julian intended an expedition againſt the Perſians, he ſet a large fine upon every one who refuſed to ſacrifice to the idols, and by that means got a great ſum from the Chriſtians towards defraying his expences.

Many of the officers in collecting theſe fines, exacted more than their due, and ſome of them tortured the Chriſtians to make them pay what they demanded, at the ſame time telling them in deriſion, "that when they were injured, they ought to take it patiently, for ſo their God had commanded them."

The inhabitants of Cæſarea were fined three hundred weight of gold, and ſeveral of the clergy obliged to ſerve in the wars, as a puniſhment for having overthrown the temples of Jupiter, Fortune, and Apollo.

The governor at Meris, in Phrygia, having cleanſed and opened a Pagan temple, the Chriſtians in the night broke in, and demoliſhed the idols. Next day the governor ordered all Chriſtians that accidently came in the way to be ſeized, that he might make examples of them, and by this means was going to execute ſeveral innocent perſons. But thoſe who really perpetrated the fact, being too noble and juſt in their ſentiments to ſuffer ſuch an injuſtice, voluntarily delivered themſelves up; when they were firſt of all ſcourged ſeverely, and then put upon gridirons and broiled to death.

This wicked emperor, Julian the apoſtate, died of a wound which he received in his Perſian expedition, A. D. 363, and even while expiring, uttered the moſt horrid blaſphemies. He was ſucceeded by Jovian, who reſtored peace to the church.

Valentinian, after the deceaſe of Jovian, ſucceeded to the empire, and aſſociated to himſelf Valens, who had the command in the Eaſt.

This Valens was a great favourer of Arianiſm, and ſo cenſed againſt the Chriſtians, that he ordered, on a certain day, all of them in Edeſſa to be ſlain, while they were at their devotions in their churches. The officers, however, being more compaſſionate than the emperor, privately gave notice to the Chriſtians not to aſſemble on the day appointed, ſo that they might eſcape death, and themſelves be excuſed for non-performance of duty.

Moſt gratefully the Chriſtians thanked the officers for their advice, but diſregarded both that and the emperor's menaces, ſooner than they would neglect their duty. They accordingly repaired to church, and the troops being compelled, by the poſitiveneſs of the command, were put in motion to deſtroy them. As they marched along, a woman, with a child in her arms, broke through the ranks, when the officer ordered her to be brought before him, and aſked her whither ſhe was going? She replied, to church, whither others were making all the haſte they could. "Have ye not heard, ſays the officer, of the emperor's order, to put to death all who are found there?" "I have, ſaid ſhe, and for that cauſe I make the more haſte." "And whither, ſaid the officer, do you lead that child?" "I take him, replied ſhe, with me, that he alſo may be reckoned in the number of the martyrs." Upon this the humane officer returned to the emperor, and told him that all the Chriſtians were prepared to die in defence of their faith, and repreſented to him how raſh it would be to murder ſo great a multitude, and entreated the emperor to drop the deſign, at leaſt for the preſent, with which he at length complied.

Urbanus, Menedemus, and Theodorus, with ſeveral other orthodox clergymen, to the number of fourſcore, at Conſtantinople, petitioned the emperor, in a moſt humble manner, to relieve them from the oppreſſions, perſecutions, and cruelties of the Arians. But the tyrant, inſtead of redreſſing their grievances, ordered them all to be embarked in a ſhip, and the ſhip ſet fire to; when this infernal and inhuman order being executed, they all periſhed in the flames.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *of the* CHRISTIANS *by the* GOTHS, *&c.*

SEVERAL Scythian Goths having embraced Chriſtianity about the time of Conſtantine the Great, the light of the goſpel ſpread itſelf conſiderably in Scythia, though the two kings who ruled that country, and the majority of the people, continued Pagans. Fritegern, king of the Weſt Goths, was an ally to the Romans; but Athanarick, king of the Eaſt Goths, was at war with them. The Chriſtians, in the dominions of the former, lived unmoleſted, but the latter, having been defeated by the Romans, wreaked his vengeance on his Chriſtian people.

One Sabas, a worthy Chriſtian, upon this occaſion, was one who felt the enraged king's miſplaced reſentment. Sabas was humble and humane, mild and modeſt, yet fervent in worſhip, and zealous for the advancement of the church. Remarkable for his contempt of riches, and ſingular in ſhunning every ſenſual enjoyment; the ſanctity of his life, and the purity of his manners were ſuch, as gave the greateſt force to his doctrines. He convinced the rational, and confounded the obdurate: hence he became, at once, famous for his doctrines and piety.

In the year 370, Athanarick gave orders, that all perſons in his dominions ſhould ſacrifice to the Pagan deities, and eat the meat which had been offered to the idols, or be put to death for diſobedience. Some humane Pagans, who had Chriſtian relations, endeavoured to ſave them by offering them meat which had not received the idolatrous conſecration, while the magiſtrates were to be impoſed on, and made to believe that all had been done according to their direction. But Sabas too well knew St. Paul's principles, to imagine that the ſin lay in eating: he knew that ſcandalizing the weak, and giving the enemies of the faith an advantage over them, was all that made that action criminal in Chriſtians, neither of which conſequences would have been avoided by this diſguiſe. He not only refuſed to comply with what was propoſed to him, but publicly declared, that thoſe who ſheltered themſelves under that artifice, were not true and faithful Chriſtians.

Soon after, Sabas was apprehended on account of his faith, and carried before a magiſtrate, who inquired into his fortune and circumſtances. Finding that what he had upon his back was the principal part of what he poſſeſſed, he was diſmiſſed as a perſon of little or no conſequence.

Now Sabas went to ſpend the enſuing Eaſter with Sanſala, a Chriſtian prieſt of great piety: they lived in great tranquillity for three days, but on the third night they were both ſeized by a party of ſoldiers. The prieſt was allowed to dreſs himſelf, and to ride, but Sabas was obliged to leave his clothes behind him, and to walk; and, during the journey, they drove him through thorns and briars, beating him with great violence almoſt continually. This cruelty he bore without a ſingle murmur, and in the evening they extended him between two beams, faſtening his legs to the one and his arms to the other; and in that poſture left him for the night, while they retired to repoſe. The woman of the houſe, however, hearing how ill he had been uſed, went and releaſed him; but though he was now at liberty, and his perſecutors aſleep, he did not avail himſelf of the opportunity to make his eſcape.

On the next morning the perſecutors began to practiſe on theſe two worthy Chriſtians, and tampered with them to renounce their religion, and eat the meat conſecrated to the idols. This, however, they jointly refuſed, and poſitively declared, that they were ready to meet the moſt cruel death, rather than comply with ſuch deteſtable idolatry. Sanſala was at length diſcharged, and Sabas ordered to be drowned; which ſentence was put into execution, A. D. 372, on the 12th of April.

Nicetas was of a Gothic extraction, born near the banks of the Danube, and though he had been long a Chriſtian he never met with any moleſtation on that account, till the above-mentioned perſecution began by Athanarick. That monarch ordered an idol to be drawn about on a chariot, through all the places where the Chriſtians lived: the chariot ſtopped at the door of every one who profeſſed the goſpel, and the Chriſtian inhabitants were ordered to pay it adoration. Upon a refuſal, the houſe was immediately ſet on fire, and all within were burnt. This was the caſe with Nicetas, who on account of his religion, refuſing to pay the reſpect demanded to the idol, had his houſe burnt, and himſelf conſumed in it, A. D. 372, September 15.

The great Euſebius, biſhop of Samoſata, makes a moſt diſtinguiſhed figure in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and was one of the moſt eminent champions of Chriſt againſt the Arian hereſy. The Arians having advanced Miletas to the ſee of Antioch, thinking him of their party, the inſtrument of his advancement was placed in the care of Euſebius. When Miletus preached his firſt ſermon, the Arians, to their great ſurpriſe, found they had been greatly miſtaken in him, for his doctrines were orthodox and pure.

Provoked at their diſappointment, they perſuaded the emperor to diſplace him, and likewiſe to get the inſtrument out of the hands of Euſebius. Miletus was accordingly depoſed, and the emperor ſent to Euſebius to deliver the inſtrument. Euſebius's anſwer was that he could not give up a truſt repoſed in him by ſo great a number, without the expreſs conſent of all concerned in it. The emperor, incenſed at this reply, wrote to him on that ſubject, and aſſured him he had commiſſioned the bearer of the letter to cut off his right hand, if he refuſed to ſurrender the inſtrument in queſtion; which threat was artfully added only to awe him into a compliance. Euſebius, however, knew the party was capable of any cruelty to promote their cauſe; but, without the leaſt emotion, offered his hands, and declared he would loſe them both rather than part with ſo flagrant a proof of Arian injuſtice. The emperor could not but be ſurpriſed at his reſolution, and profeſſed a high eſteem for him ever after: ſo true it is that virtue can ſometimes force even it's declared enemies to love and admire it.

From this time the Arians looked upon Euſebius as a moſt dangerous enemy. At the time Jovian reſtored peace to the church, Miletus convened a council at Antioch, which conſiſted of Euſebius, and twenty-five other prelates, who unanimouſly confirmed the doctrines of the council of Nice.

The ſee of Cæſarea having become vacant, Euſebius was greatly inſtrumental in promoting Baſil to it, on which occaſion Gregory the younger calls him, "The pillar of truth, the light of the world, the fortreſs of the church, the rule of faith, the ſupport of the faithful, and an inſtrument in the hands of God for beſtowing favours on his people." When the Arians were the moſt vigilant to propagate their hereſy, Euſebius was exceedingly aſſiduous in taking meaſures to prevent their ſucceſs; and his zeal was always ſo governed by the rules of prudence, that his attempts ſeldom failed of ſucceſs. It was not enough for our excellent prelate to ſcreen his own flock from the inſults of the common enemy, and maintain the faith in it's purity againſt all the endeavours of ſuch as would corrupt the people; but knowing that ſeveral churches were, by the iniquity of the times, deprived of their paſtors, he diſguiſed himſelf; and thus made the tour of Syria, Phœnicia, and Paleſtine; fortified the pure againſt the ſolicitations of the heretics; ordained ſeveral prieſts and inferior miniſters, wherever they were wanting; and, when he found any orthodox prelates in his travels, aſſiſted them in conſecrating biſhops for the uſe of the widowed churches. It was impoſſible to conceal the hand that every day gave ſome freſh ſtroke to the Arian party, and ſunk their intereſt wherever it was employed; ſo that the emperor, at their inſtigation, granted an order for baniſhing him into Thrace. He was at Samoſata when the meſſenger came with this commiſſion; it was late in the evening; and Euſebius, who was very well beloved by his people, begged he would make no noiſe, but conceal his buſineſs; "for, ſays he, if it takes air, the people will fall on you, throw you into the river, and then I ſhall be charged with your death." Euſebius was calm enough to go through his uſual devotions, and when the night was far advanced he left his houſe on foot, attended only by one truſty ſervant, who carried a pillow and one book after him. Thus accommodated he took a boat, and went to Zeugma, about ſeventy miles down the river.

However, the people next day, miſſing Euſebius, and hearing which way he was gone, followed in a great number of boats, and overtaking would have reſcued him, at the ſame time entreating him with tears in their eyes not to abandon them thus.

This cordiality affected Euſebius very much, but he ſaid he muſt go according to the emperor's order, putting them in mind of the authority of St. Paul, for paying a due reverence and proper ſubmiſſion to the civil power. Finding they could not prevail, they accommodated him with every thing that could comfort him in his journey, and then left him to purſue his way according to his inclination.

About this time Thrace was a ſcene of confuſion, by means of the war carried on between the Goths and the emperor's forces; and in theſe conteſts, the life of Euſebius was frequently in danger. The emperor, in order to terminate the war with the greater expedition, reſolved to march againſt the Goths in perſon; but firſt to engage the prayers of the Chriſtians, he gave peace to the church of Chriſt, and allowed the orthodox prelates to return to their churches. Thus was Euſebius reſtored to his ſee, which however he did not long enjoy, for an Arian woman threw a tile at him from the top of a houſe, which fractured his ſkull, and, in the year 380, terminated his life.

There was now Marcellus, biſhop of Apamea, a prelate of great merit, who was very active in attempting to ſuppreſs idolatry in his own dioceſe, on which account his life was in continual danger, till Cynegius, the præfect, arrived with a conſiderable body of troops, which kept the Pagans in awe. This officer's deſign was totally to aboliſh idolatry, to effect which he determined to deſtroy the temple of Jupiter; he however found this a more difficult attempt than he had imagined, for the building was ſo ſtrong, the ſtones ſo unwieldy, the cement ſo durable, and the iron cramps ſo maſſy, that he deſpaired of being able to accompliſh the work; when a poor labouring Chriſtian, recommended by Marcellus, undertook to go through with what the præfect had given up, and the buſineſs was executed according to the following method.

Firſt of all, this perſon examined the ſituation of the edifice, and finding it ſurrounded by a gallery, ſupported by ſtately pillars, ten yards in circumference, he judged it would be more to his purpoſe to weaken the foundation than pretend to attack the body of the building directly; with this view he dug at the bottom of the ſaid pillars, and ſhored them with timber beams. When he had thus undermined three of the moſt conſiderable pillars, he ſet fire to the wood, which burning aſunder, the pillars fell, and drew twelve more with them, and brought down one whole ſide of the building; upon which the people flocked together from all parts of the town, and praiſed God, who had thus triumphed over his enemies.

Now the biſhop and præfect continued deſtroying a great number of idol temples, when being at a town called Aulo upon this buſineſs, while the troops were buſy in demoliſhing the buildings, ſome Pagans privately ſeized upon the biſhop, and burnt him, A. D. 393.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *of the* CHRISTIANS *under the* ARIAN VANDALS.

THE Arian Vandals paſſing from Spain to Africa in the fifth century, under their leader Genſeric, committed the moſt unheard-of cruelties. They perſecuted the Chriſtians wherever they came, and even laid waſte the country as they paſſed, that the Chriſtians left behind, who had eſcaped them, might not be able to live for want of ſuſtenance. They plundered the churches, and murdered the biſhops and miniſters by a variety of tortures. In particular, they poured ſtinking oil and vinegar down the throats of ſome till they expired; ſuffocated others by filling their mouths with mud, and martyred many by ſtretching their limbs with cords till the veins burſt, and ſinews cracked. They alſo wreaked their vengeance on ſeveral of the clergy and nobility, whom they loaded with heavy burdens; and obliged them to carry their baggage; and if they did not travel faſt enough, they pricked them on with ſharp goads, inſomuch that ſeveral died under their burdens. Reverend grey hairs found no inſtances of mercy, and guiltleſs infants felt the rage of their barbarity. Stately buildings were burned or levelled with the earth: and the chief churches in Carthage employed in their own heretical worſhip, or put to prophane uſes; and where any caſtles held out againſt them, they brought great numbers of Chriſtians, and ſlew them, leaving their dead bodies lying under the walls, that the beſieged might be forced to ſurrender on account of the offenſive ſtench thereof.

When they had ſeized and plundered the city of Carthage, they put the biſhop, and all the clergy, into a leaky ſhip, and committed it to the mercy of the waves, thinking that they muſt all periſh of courſe; but the veſſel arrived ſafe at Naples through the Divine Providence.

Several orthodox Chriſtians were beaten, ſcourged, and baniſhed to Capſur, where it pleaſed God to make them the means of converting many of the Moors to

Chriſtianity; but this coming to the ears of Genſeric, he ſent orders, that they and their new converts ſhould be tied by the feet to chariots, and dragged about till they were daſhed in piecemeal.

Pampinian, the biſhop of Manſuetes, was tortured to death with plates of hot iron; the biſhop of Urice was burnt; the biſhop of Habenſa was baniſhed, for refuſing to deliver up the ſacred books which were in his poſſeſſion; and a whole congregation, who were aſſembled in a church at their devotions, together with the clergyman who was preaching to them, were murdered by theſe barbarians breaking in upon them, and exerciſing the moſt indiſcriminate cruelties.

Genſeric, the Vandalian tyrant, having made an expedition into Italy, and plundered the city of Rome, returned to Africa, fluſhed with the ſucceſs of his arms. The Arians took this occaſion to perſuade him to perſecute the orthodox Chriſtians, as they aſſured him that they were ſtable friends to the people of Rome.

Likewiſe, Armogaſtus felt the rage of this perſecution; Victor, the learned biſhop of Vita, who was perſonally acquainted with Armogaſtus, and who likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of this perſecution, informs us, that "his legs were tied, and his forehead bound with cords ſeveral times; which, though applied with no gentle hand, made not the leaſt impreſſion on his fleſh, nor left any mark on his ſkin. After this, he was hung up by one foot; but in that poſture ſeemed as much at his eaſe as if repoſed on a ſoft bed. Theodoric, one of the king's ſons, finding all attempts on his life had hitherto proved unſucceſsful, ordered his head to be ſtruck off. But Jocundus, an Arian prieſt, diſſuaded him from that reſolution, by telling him it would be much better to deſtroy him by ſlow and imperceptible means, and wear him out by degrees; whereas a violent death would procure him the reputation of a martyr among thoſe of his own opinion, which could be of no ſervice to the oppoſite cauſe. The prince ſent him to the mines, and ſome time after removed him to a place near Carthage, where he was employed in looking after cattle. While Armogaſtus was thus engaged, he grew exceeding ill, and imagining that the end of his labours was near, he communicated his thoughts to Felix, a virtuous Chriſtian, employed in that prince's ſervice. From him he received ſome conſolation; but his diſorder increaſing daily ſoon deprived him of life, and he was buried by Felix according to his own deſire."

There was a devout Chriſtian, Archinimus, upon whom all manner of artifices were employed in vain, to make him renounce his faith. At length Genſeric himſelf undertook to perſuade him, but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he paſſed ſentence upon him to be beheaded. He, however, privately ordered the executioner to really perform his office, if the priſoner ſeemed intimidated and afraid; "for then (ſaid he) the crown of martyrdom will be loſt to him; but if he ſeems courageous, and willing to die (continued the king) ſtrike not the ſtroke, for I do not intend that he ſhall have the honour of being deemed a martyr." The executioner, when they came to the place appointed, finding Archinimus reſolved, and happy in the thought of dying for the ſake of Chriſt, brought him back again unhurt. He was ſoon after this baniſhed, and never heard of more, though it is conjectured that he was murdered privately by the king's order, as he thought the glory of dying publicly for the faith too great an honour.

Eugenius, biſhop of Carthage, was eminent for his learning and piety, which brought upon him the hatred of the Arians in general, who took great pains to ſet the king Huneric againſt him and the orthodox Chriſtians. In this infamous deſire they ſucceeded but too well, for he baniſhed above five thouſand into a dreadful deſert, where many periſhed through hunger, or the inclemency of the weather. Being bent on perſecuting the whole body of the orthodox Chriſtians, he ſent an edict to Eugenius, which he commanded that he ſhould read in the cathedral on Aſcenſion-Day, A. D. 483.

By this edict it was ordered that all the orthodox biſhops ſhould meet at Carthage on the firſt of the enſuing February, for the purpoſe of diſputing with the Arian prelates; the king's ſtratagem evidently appeared to Eugenius, and ſeveral other biſhops, particularly to Victor, biſhop of Vita, the learned author of the original account of this perſecution; for they well knew that he artfully meant to eſtabliſh Arianiſm under the appearance of juſtice and candour.

They determined, after a conſiderable deliberation, to ſend a petition to the king; which was written by Eugenius accordingly, and preſented by a perſon who had great intereſt at court. The ſubſtance of this petition was, that the African prelates did not decline the propoſed conference out of a ſenſe of the weakneſs of their cauſe, or a diſtruſt of their own abilities to maintain the orthodox faith; but as the whole church was concerned in the diſpute, they were of opinion that they could not engage in it without the biſhops of Europe and Aſia. To this Huneric replied, that what they deſired was impoſſible, unleſs the whole world was in his hands. Upon which Eugenius deſired his majeſty would be pleaſed to write to Odoacer, king of Italy, and other princes in his intereſt; and allow him to ſend to the biſhops, that the common faith might be thus authentically publiſhed.

But the king, diſregarding this remonſtrance, inſiſted upon being obeyed, and then, previous to the time appointed, very artfully took an occaſion to baniſh ſeveral of the moſt able and learned orthodox prelates, on various pretences; that the cauſe of truth might be weakened, and the Arians have the greater advantage.

At the appointed time for the conference, the orthodox clergy choſe ten of their number to act in the name of the reſt. Cyrilla, an Arian, took the ſtyle of patriarch upon the occaſion, and was ſeated on a magnificent throne. The Arian prelates were allowed to ſit near him, but the orthodox biſhops were obliged to ſtand. They complained of this partial mode of behaviour, as an evident infringement of their liberty; on which the Arians took occaſion to abuſe them in a moſt illiberal manner. Eugenius, perceiving that they did not intend to come to any candid deciſion, propoſed to adjourn to ſome future day; but inſtead of complying with this, each orthodox prelate, by the king's order, as Cyrilla aſſerted, received an hundred blows with a ſtick. Eugenius proteſted againſt ſuch violence, but in vain; the prelates were turned out of the place unheard, their churches were ſhut up, and the revenues of their biſhoprics were ſeized.

Immediately after they were compelled to quit Carthage, when they lay without the walls of that city, expoſed to all the inclemencies of the open air. The king paſſing out of one of the gates, the orthodox clergy preſented themſelves before him, and modeſtly complained of the treatment they had met with.

Inſtead of redreſſing their grievances, Huneric ordered his guards to fall on them, and chaſtiſe them for their inſolence, as he termed it. The ſoldiers complied with the tyrant's requeſt, and treated them as unmercifully as he could wiſh. The king ordered them to appear on a certain day at a place which he then fixed.

Accordingly, at the time appointed, they aſſembled on the ſpot, when one of the king's officers ſhewed them a folded paper, and informed them that the king was inclined to forget what was paſt, and to reſtore them to their livings, provided they would ſwear to the truth of what that paper contained. The prelates, ſurpriſed at this unreaſonable propoſal, declared that they could not in conſcience think of ſwearing to the truth of that to which they were total ſtrangers. But if they were ſuffered to read the writing, and approved of the contents, they would take the oath with readineſs.

But the officer replied, that was unneceſſary; for he would tell them the contents, which were not of a religious but of a political nature, and only required them to ſwear that they were willing prince Hilderic ſhould ſucceed his father in the throne. Several of the prelates innocently thinking that there could be no harm in ſwearing they were willing a ſon ſhould ſucceed his father, as that was but a piece of natural juſtice, offered to comply. But the reſt, with greater precaution, and well knowing the Arian wiles, refuſed to take the oath, as they juſtly judged ſo ſimple a propoſal would never have been made them, unleſs ſome deep artifice was underneath concealed.

As they were diſagreeing upon this head, the officer took an advantage of their diſcord, and committed them to ſeparate priſons, thoſe who were willing to ſwear to one, and thoſe who were unwilling to another. They had not been long in confinement before the myſtery was unravelled, and the whole artifice explained by an order from the king for the baniſhment of both parties. Thoſe who had been willing to ſwear were baniſhed, under the pretence of offering to break an eſtabliſhed precept of the Scripture, viz. "Swear not at all," Matt. v. 34. And thoſe who had refuſed to ſwear, were baniſhed as enemies to the legal ſucceſſion. Thus did the crafty Arians accompliſh the ruin of the prelates, by wreſting a text of the goſpel to a wrong ſenſe, and putting a piece of political ſophiſtry to an improper uſe. The former were obliged to work as ſlaves in diſtant colonies, and the latter were ſent to the iſland of Corſica to cut timber. Tripoli was the place to which Eugenius was baniſhed; where Anthony, a violent Arian biſhop, threw him into a loathſome dungeon, and made him ſuffer every hardſhip that cruelty could deviſe, in order to deſtroy him by a lingering death. The dampneſs of the place gave Eugenius the palſy, which Anthony hearing of went to the gaol, and finding him in a very weak condition laying on the floor, he poured ſome ſtrong vinegar down his throat, with a deſign to have choked him. It had, however, a contrary effect; for inſtead of ſuffocating, it promoted an immediate and copious perſpiration, which was eſſentially ſerviceable in curing his palſy, and reſtoring him to perfect health.

Upon the deceaſe of Huneric, his ſucceſſor recalled Eugenius, and the reſt of the orthodox clergy; the Arians taking the alarm, perſuaded him to baniſh them again, which he complied with, when Eugenius, being exiled to Languedoc in France, died there of the hardſhips he underwent, on the 6th of September, in the year 505.

A lady of fortune, and a widow, named Dionyſia, being apprehended as an orthodox Chriſtian, was ſtripped naked, and expoſed in a moſt indecent manner, and ſeverely ſcourged. Her ſon, a young lad, being ſeized at the ſame time, ſeemed afraid of the torture, and looked pitifully at his mother, who ordered him not to fear any torments that could be inflicted on him, but to be conſtant to the faith in which ſhe had brought him up. When he was upon the rack, ſhe again comforted him with words to the following effect.

"Remember, O my child, that we were baptized in the name of the ever ſacred Trinity, let us not loſe the benefit thereof, leſt it ſhould be hereafter ſaid, caſt them into outer darkneſs, where there is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth: for that pain which never endeth is indeed to be dreaded, and that life which endureth to eternity to be deſired." Whereupon the youth patiently perſevered, and from the force of his torments reſigned his ſoul to him that made it.

With pious ſatisfaction the mother ſaw the death of her ſon, and ſoon after herſelf received the crown of martyrdom.

Cyrilla, the Arian biſhop of Carthage, was a moſt furious heretic, and a very great enemy to thoſe Chriſtians who profeſſed the faith in it's purity. Having gained the ear of the king, he perſuaded him that he could never expect proſperity in his undertakings, or hope to enjoy his kingdom in peace, while he ſuffered any of the orthodox Chriſtians to remain.

Hereupon this weak monarch, believing all that Cyrilla told him, ſent for ſeveral of the moſt eminent Chriſtians, who were particularly obnoxious to that prelate. He, at firſt, attempted to draw them from their faith by flattery, and to bribe them from the hopes of future ſalvation, by the promiſe of immediate worldly rewards. Being firm and conſtant in their faith, they were proof againſt the former, and deſpiſed the latter; declaring reſolutely againſt Arianiſm, and ſaying, we acknowledge but one Lord, one faith, and one baptiſm; you may therefore do whatever you pleaſe with our bodies, for it is better that we ſhould ſuffer a few temporary pains, than to endure everlaſting miſery.

The king was greatly exaſperated at this freedom, ſent them to a filthy dark dungeon, and ordered them to be put into irons. The keeper, however, not being of the ſavage diſpoſition too common to ſuch as are intruſted with the care of gaols, ſuffered their friends to have acceſs to them; by which they received great conſolation, and became daily more and more confirmed in their reſolution of dying for the ſake of their Redeemer.

But the king having heard of the indulgence given them by their keeper, was exceedingly angry, and ſent orders that they ſhould be more cloſely confined, and loaded with ſtill heavier fetters. He then began to ruminate in his mind by what means he ſhould put them to death, and after revolving over and over all the modes of cruelty that he could recollect, at length determined to imitate the monſtrous barbarity of the emperor Valens, who, as we have already related, cauſed fourſcore clergymen to be burnt together in a ſhip. Fixing upon this infernal precedent, he ordered theſe Chriſtians to be put on board a ſhip filled with combuſtible materials, and the veſſel being ſet fire to, they received the crown of martyrdom. The names of ſeven of the principal of theſe Chriſtians were, Ruſticus, Severus, Liberatus, Rogatus, Servus, Septimus, and Boniface.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *from about the Middle of the Fifth, to the Concluſion of the Seventh Century.*

PROTERIUS was made a prieſt by Cyril, biſhop of Alexandria, who was well acquainted with his virtues before he appointed him to preach. On the death of Cyril, the ſee of Alexandria was filled by Dioſcorus, an inveterate enemy both to the memory and family of his predeceſſor. Dioſcorus, however, knowing the reputation of Proterius, and his great intereſt, did the utmoſt in his power to gain his confidence and favour; as he thought he might be of ſingular ſervice to him in carrying on his evil intentions.

However, Proterius was not to be corrupted, the welfare of the church ſat next his heart, and no proſpect of worldly preferment could bribe him to forego his duty and honeſt deſigns.

Now Dioſcorus being condemned by the council of Chalcedon for having embraced the errors of Eutyches, was depoſed, and Proterius choſen to fill the vacant ſee, and approved of by the emperor. This occaſioned a dangerous inſurrection, for the city of Alexandria was divided into two factions; the one to eſpouſe the cauſe of the old, and the other of the new prelate. A great deal of miſchief was done on both ſides, and Proterius was in the moſt imminent perſonal danger, from a ſet of ſchiſmatics who would neither obey the deciſions of a council nor the emperor's commands.

Theſe diſorders becoming ſerious, the governor of Thebais marched at the head of a body of troops, in order to quell the ſedition. The people, however, had worked up their imaginations to a kind of phrenzy; when they heard of the approach of the governor, they armed themſelves, marched out of Alexandria, gave him battle, and defeated him. The intelligence of this affair ſo exaſperated the emperor, that he ſent a detachment of two thouſand men againſt them; the appearance of whom, and the prudence of the governor of Alexandria, whoſe name was Florus, ſoon reſtored the city to peace and tranquillity.

However, the diſcontented party ſtill beheld Proterius with an eye of reſentment; ſo that he was obliged to have a guard out of reſpect to his perſonal ſafety, and at length, though naturally of a ſweet and mild temper, was compelled to excommunicate ſome of them, and obtain their baniſhment from Alexandria. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, however, informs us, that, "When the emperor

Marcian's death, which happened two years after, gave a new turn to affairs, the exiles returned to Alexandria, engaged in their uſual cabals againſt Proterius, and ſeemed reſolved to be revenged on him for what they had ſuffered in the laſt reign. Timothy, a prieſt, who was at the head of all the deſigns that had been formed againſt Proterius, employed every art to ruin his credit, drawing the people from his communion, and raiſing himſelf to that ſee. At laſt, taking the advantage of the abſence of Dionyſius, who commanded the forces of that province, and was then in the Upper Egypt, he ſeized on the great church, and was uncanonically and ſacrilegiouſly conſecrated by two biſhops of his faction, that had been depoſed for hereſy. The uſurper went on in the exerciſe of all the epiſcopal functions, and uſed the whole rigour of his pretended authority to oppreſs the orthodox, till the commander's return, who, upon hearing the diſorders that had been committed, and that Timothy was the chief author of them, drove that incendiary out of the town."

Now this affair ſo enraged the Eutychians, that they determined to wreak their vengeance on Proterius, who fled to the church for ſanctuary: but on Good-Friday, A. D. 457, a large body of them ruſhed into the church, and barbarouſly murdered the prelate; after which they dragged the body through the ſtreets, inſulted it, cut it to pieces, burnt it, and ſcattered the aſhes all about.

A Carthaginian lady, named Julia, was taken priſoner when the Vandals ſacked that city. After being ſold and reſold as a ſlave, ſhe became the property of a Syrian Pagan, named Euſebius. Her maſter could not but admire a religion which inſpired ſuch reſignation and patience in vaſſalage, and the moſt painful employments: thus it is plain, that the humility and purity preſcribed by Chriſtianity will attract even the admiration of heathens and idolaters.

Julia's maſter frequently took her with him upon his voyages: in one of theſe they touched upon the iſland of Corſica, where Euſebius joined in an idolatrous feſtival; but Julia kept at a diſtance from it.

Of this conduct the heathens complained, as diſreſpectful to their gods, and informed the governor Felix of it, who ſent for Euſebius, and demanded what young woman it was that had refuſed to join in worſhip to the gods with the reſt?

To this Euſebius replied, that the young woman was a Chriſtian, and that all his authority over her had proved too weak to prevail with her to renounce her religion; but that, as ſhe was a very diligent and faithful ſervant, he could not think of a ſeparation.

But Felix preſſed him to exert himſelf on this occaſion, and either to oblige her to aſſiſt at the Pagan worſhip, or to part with her; and offered to give him his own price, or four of his beſt female ſlaves in exchange for her, which Euſebius abſolutely refuſed, ſaying, that he would not part from her on any conſideration.

When Felix found the maſter inflexible, he determined to get her into his power by artifice. To effect this, he invited Euſebius to an entertainment, and having intoxicated him, he ſent for Julia in the name of her maſter.

Julia, the innocent ſlave, not ſuſpecting the trap laid for her, came immediately, when the governor told her that he would procure her liberty, if ſhe would ſacrifice to the heathen gods. To which Julia replied, that while ſhe was permitted to enjoy her religion, ſhe was as free as her heart could wiſh.

Now Felix, not being able to prevail, ordered her to be ſeverely beaten, which ſhe bore with the utmoſt patience. Finding her ſtill reſolute, he commanded, that the hair of her head ſhould be pulled up by the roots. This barbarity having no greater effect than the former, he ſentenced her to be hanged, which ſentence was put into execution immediately.

Scarcely was Julia dead when Euſebius recovered from his intoxication. As ſoon as he underſtood what had paſt, he was greatly afflicted, and in the firſt tranſports of his reſentment had thoughts of complaining to the emperor, who being a Chriſtian, would have puniſhed the perfidy of the governor. But reflecting again, that Felix had only acted with a zeal for the deities he himſelf adored, he determined to put up with the loſs, and retire from a place which was become now ſo truly diſagreeable.

Hermenigildus was a Gothic prince, being the eldeſt ſon of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, in Spain. This prince, who was originally an Arian, became a convert to the orthodox faith, by means of his wife Ingonda. When the king heard that his ſon had changed his religious ſentiments, he ſtripped him of the command at Seville, where he was governor, and threatened to put him to death, unleſs he renounced the faith he had embraced ſo lately.

In order to prevent the execution of his father's menances, the prince began to put himſelf into a poſture of defence; and many of the orthodox perſuaſion in Spain declared for him. The king, exaſperated at this act of rebellion, began to puniſh all the orthodox Chriſtians who could be ſeized by his troops; and thus a very ſevere perſecution commenced: he likewiſe marched againſt his ſon at the head of a very powerful army. The prince, knowing that he was unable to oppoſe the formidable force that his father was bringing againſt him, implored the aſſiſtance of the Roman troops that were left to garriſon thoſe parts of Spain, which the emperor ſtill poſſeſſed. The Roman commander engaged to aſſiſt Hermenigildus, but being bribed by the king he broke his promiſe. Leovigildus then made it his buſineſs, as much as poſſible, to detach the orthodox Chriſtians from the intereſt of his ſon; and in this he had great ſucceſs, for it was effected in 581, by convening the Arian prelates at Toledo, who aboliſhed the practice of re-baptizing thoſe that came over to their ſect, and drew up a captious profeſſion of faith, which deceived many, and prevailed upon them to quit the intereſt of Hermenigildus.

Thus forſaken by numbers of thoſe whom he moſt confided in, the prince was obliged to retreat towards Seville, in which city he ſoon after ſhut himſelf up, and ſent to Conſtantinople for aſſiſtance from the emperor. The death of that monarch, however, prevented him from receiving any relief; for Maurice, who ſucceeded him, found his own hands too full to afford any ſuccour to Hermenigildus. The king, who had information of every ſtep which his ſon took, proceeded to Seville, and laid ſiege to it. The prince defended the place with great bravery, and even held out for the ſpace of twelve months; but finding that the city muſt ſoon be taken, he privately made his eſcape, and fled to the Roman troops to beg protection. Being informed that they intended to give him up, he precipitately retired to Corduba, and from thence went to Aſſeto, which he fortified and prepared for his defence.

Upon the eſcape of the prince from Seville that city ſurrendered, and the king having properly garriſoned it, purſued his ſon, laid ſiege to Aſſeto, and ſoon obliged it to ſurrender. The unfortunate prince being driven to this diſtreſs, flew to a church for ſanctuary. The king having too much reſpect for the ſanctity of the place to force him from it, ſent an officer, named Reccaredus, to aſſure him of his pardon, upon his ſubmitting to aſk it. The prince believing his father to be ſincere, immediately went to him, and threw himſelf moſt ſubmiſſively at his feet. The king, however, inſtead of forgiving him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Seville, where he endeavoured to make him renounce the orthodox faith both by promiſes and menaces.

But the prince remained conſtant to the truth; and at the feaſt of Eaſter, when the king ſent an Arian biſhop to him to adminiſter the euchariſt, Hermenigildus abſolutely refuſed to receive it, which ſo enraged the king, that before he gave himſelf time to reflect, he ordered ſome of his guards to go and cut the prince to pieces, which they punctually performed, A. D. 586, on the 13th of April.

Anaſtaſius, a Perſian, was brought up a Pagan, and bore arms as a ſoldier under Coſroes, king of Perſia, at the time that monarch plundered Jeruſalem; and, among other things, carried off the very croſs on which Chriſt was crucified. Anaſtaſius could not imagine why the Chriſtians had ſuch a veneration for a perſon who had died ſo mean a death as that of being crucified; for that mode of death was, by the Perſians, held in the greateſt contempt, and none but the very loweſt and moſt deſpicable malefactors were executed in that manner. Applying to ſome Chriſtian captives, he was inſtructed in the whole Chriſtian myſtery, and being charmed with the purity of a faith which inſpired ſuch fortitude, he left the army, and retired to Syria: here he learned the trade of a goldſmith, and then going to Jeruſalem, he ſupported himſelf by that buſineſs; was baptized by Modeſtus, vicar-general of Jeruſalem; and ſtaid a week with his godfather Elias.

As ſoon as that time was over, and he was now to quit the white clothes which he wore at his baptiſm, according to the then practice of the church, he deſired the prieſt would put him in a way of renouncing the world entirely, and fulfilling the obligations of his profeſſion without interruption. Elias recommended him to Juſtin, abbot of a ſeminary four miles from Jeruſalem, who employed a proper perſon to inſtruct him in the Greek tongue, and teach him the Pſalms; and then admitted him into his religious community. Anaſtaſius paſſed ſeven years in that houſe, where he divided his time between the moſt humble domeſtic employments, and the truly Chriſtian entertainments of the word of God, the lives of the fathers, and the acts of the martyrs. He was moſt ſenſibly affected with thoſe monuments of Pagan barbarity, and Chriſtian courage; and conceived a ſtrong deſire to lay down his life for his bleſſed Redeemer.

Having gone to Cæſarea, which was then in the hands of the Perſians, he was taken up for a ſpy, and brought before Marzabanes, governor of that city, to whom he owned that he was a Chriſtian, and was on that account ſent to priſon. When he had lain there ſome time, Marzabanes ſent for him, and gave him freſh aſſurances of favour and promotion, if he would but renounce his religion: but he deſpiſed and rejected every mark of friendſhip and reſpect, that would endeavour to divorce him from his God; and the governor ordered him to be beaten till he ſhould agree to his propoſals. He then remanded him to priſon, where he ſpent his time in prayer, and ſuch labours as were impoſed on him as part of his puniſhment. Juſtin being apprized of his ſufferings, recommended him to the prayers of the whole community, and ſent two of his people to encourage him to perſeverance and fortitude.

The governor at length wrote to the king concerning Anaſtaſius, and on receiving an anſwer, told the priſoner, that he would give him his liberty if he would renounce the Chriſtian religion, only before him and two witneſſes, and that his renunciation ſhould not be known. Anaſtaſius heard this propoſal with horror, and rejected it with diſdain; when the governor ſent him bound in chains to Perſia, there to be dealt with as the king ſhould command.

Now the king did all in his power to engage him to renounce his religion, but finding his endeavours in vain, he ordered him to be executed, which was performed in this manner: he was laid upon his back, with a piece of wood acroſs his legs, preſſed down with the whole weight of two luſty men: he was then ſeverely beaten, hung up by one hand, with a weight faſtened to his foot; and after being ſtrangled, his head was cut off, and ſent to the king.

Martin, biſhop of Rome, was born at Todi, in Italy. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and his parents beſtowed on him an admirable education. He had every liberal endowment that the ſciences could beſtow, and all the worthineſs that a mortal could derive from the ſaving grace of the goſpel. He took orders, and on the death of Theodore, biſhop of Rome, was advanced to that important ſee, by an unanimous election, in which all parties gave him the fulleſt praiſes, and admitted, that he well merited a truſt of ſuch great conſequence. An eminent writer has thus drawn the character of this great man.

"His compaſſion for the poor appeared in large contributions for their relief, and the offices of hoſpitality, which he performed in favour of ſtrangers. His faſts were rigorous and frequent, and prayer employed a very conſiderable part of his time. He was always ready to receive returning ſinners; took no ſmall pains to lead ſuch through the paths of repentance, as teſtified their ſorrow by tears; and comforted them by letting them ſee what reaſon they had to confide in God's infinite goodneſs. He loved his clergy with a brotherly tenderneſs, and honoured the epiſcopal character wherever he met with it."

The firſt vexation he received in his epiſcopal capacity, was from a ſet of heretics, called Monothelites; who not daring, after the expreſs deciſions of the council of Chalcedon, to maintain the unity of nature in Chriſt, aſſerted artfully, that he had but one will and operation of mind. This ſect was patronized by the emperor Heraclius; and the firſt who attempted to ſtop the progreſs of theſe errors, was Sophronius, biſhop of Jeruſalem.

Now Martin, who perfectly coincided in ſentiments with the biſhop of Jeruſalem, called a council, which conſiſted of 105 biſhops, and they unanimouſly condemned the errors in queſtion.

Provoked at theſe proceedings, the emperor ordered Olympius, his lieutenant in Italy, to repair to Rome, and ſeize the biſhop, provided it could be done without cauſing an inſurrection. The lieutenant performed the journey; but on his arrival at Rome, he found the people too unanimous in their opinions, and the prelate too much beloved, to attempt any thing by open violence. Hence he had recourſe to treachery, and ſuborned a ruffian to aſſaſſinate the biſhop at the altar; but the fellow, after promiſing to execute the bloody deed, was ſeized with ſuch horrors of mind, that he had not the power to perform his promiſe. Olympius, finding it would be very difficult to perform any thing againſt Martin, withdrew from Rome, and putting himſelf at the head of his troops, marched againſt the Saracens, who had made ſome inroads into Italy, but during this expedition he died.

He was ſucceeded by Calliopas, who received expreſs orders to ſeize the perſon of Martin, which, with the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable body of ſoldiers, he performed; at the ſame time ſhewing the clergy the imperial mandate, which commanded him to diſpoſſeſs Martin of his biſhopric, and carry him as a priſoner to Conſtantinople.

Having endured innumerable hardſhips, through a very tedious voyage, he reached the imperial city of Conſtantinople, and was immediately thrown into priſon. While in confinement, he wrote two epiſtles to the emperor to refute the calumnies forged againſt him with reſpect to his faith and loyalty. The ſubſtance of which was, that for a proof of the ſoundneſs of the former, he appeals to the teſtimony of the whole clergy, and his own ſolemn proteſtation to defend the truth as long as he lived. In anſwer to ſuch objections as had been made againſt the latter, he declared he never ſent either money, letters, or advice to the Saracens, but only remitted a ſum for the relief of poor Chriſtians among thoſe people: he concludes with ſaying, that nothing could be more falſe than what the heretics had alleged againſt him concerning the bleſſed Virgin, whom he firmly believed to be the mother of God, and worthy of all honour after her divine Son. In his ſecond letter he gives a particular account of his being ſeized at Rome, as already related, and his indiſpoſition and ill uſage ſince he was dragged from that city: and ends with wiſhing and hoping his perſecutors would repent of their conduct, when the object of their hatred was removed from this world.

So many were the fatigues that Martin had undergone, and his infirmities ſo great, that on the day appointed for his trial, he was forced to be brought out of priſon in a chair, as he was unable to walk. When he was before the court, the judge ordered him to ſtand, which not being able to do, two men were ordered to hold him up. Twenty witneſſes were produced againſt him, who ſwore as they were directed, and charged him with pretended crimes that had been invented for the purpoſe.

Martin began his defence, but as ſoon as he entered upon an inveſtigation of the errors which he had combated, one of the ſenators ſtopped him, and ſaid, that he was only examined reſpecting civil affairs, and conſequently that eccleſiaſtical matters had nothing to do in his defence. The judge then prevented him from going on, and having broke up the court, went and reported the progreſs of the proceedings to the emperor.

Now Martin was ordered to be expoſed in the moſt public places of the town, to the ridicule of the people; to be diveſted of all epiſcopal marks of diſtinction, and to be treated with the greateſt ſcorn and ſeverity. All theſe rigours he bore with a Chriſtian-like patience, and an amazing degree of fortitude.

Martin, after laying ſome months in priſon, was ſent to an iſland at ſome diſtance, and there cut to pieces, A. D. 655.

John, biſhop of Bergamo, in Lombardy, was a learned man, and a good Chriſtian. He did his utmoſt endeavours to clear the church from the errors of Arianiſm, and joining in this holy work with John, biſhop of Milan, he was very ſucceſsful againſt the heretics. Grimoald, however, an Arian, having uſurped the throne of Lombardy, the orthodox Chriſtians feared that hereſy would gain footing, once more, in Lombardy; but the biſhop of Bergamo uſed ſuch perſuaſive arguments with Grimoald, that he brought him from the errors of Arianiſm to profeſs the orthodox faith.

On the death of Grimoald, and his ſon who ſucceeded him, Pantharit came to the crown and again introduced thoſe errors which had been combated with ſuch ſpirit by the orthodox clergy. The biſhop of Bergamo exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly to prevent the hereſy from ſpreading, on which account he was aſſaſſinated A. D. 683, on the 11th of July.

Kilien was born in Ireland, and received from his parents a pious and Chriſtian education. His favourite ſtudy was theology, and he took great delight in peruſing the holy ſcriptures. Hence an ardent affection for the glory of God glowed within him, and he was very aſſiduous in bringing many to the light of the goſpel.

The narrow limits of his native iſland ſeeming too ſmall for his unbounded zeal, he croſſed the ſea, together with eleven other perſons, in order to make converts on the continent. On landing, they directed their courſe to what is now called the Circle of Franconia, in Germany. Coming to the city of Wurtzbourg, they found the people in general, and their governor Gozbert, to be Pagans; but from their good diſpoſitions, conceived great hopes of converting them from idolatry and ſuperſtition to the goſpel faith. Previous to making this attempt, however, he deemed it neceſſary to go to Rome, in order to obtain his miſſion from the pontiff. He accordingly went thither, attended by one Coloman a prieſt, and Totman a deacon, two of thoſe who had accompanied him from Ireland, and found Conon in Peter's chair. He gave them a favourable reception, and being informed of Kilien's buſineſs at Rome, after ſome queſtions about his faith and doctrine, conſecrated him biſhop, with full permiſſion to preach to the infidels, wherever he found them. Thus authorized, Kilien returned to Wurtzbourg, where he opened his miſſion. He had not been long employed in thoſe evangelical labours, when Gozbert ſent for him, and deſired to know the nature and tendency of this new religion, which he recommended ſo vigorouſly, and propoſed ſo boldly. Our holy biſhop had ſeveral conferences with the governor on that ſubject, and God gave ſuch a bleſſing to his endeavours, that Gozbert received the faith, was baptized, and gave him free leave to preach wherever he had any power. As the example of great men ſeldom fails of influencing thoſe of an inferior rank, that of Gozbert went very far in commanding the attention of his Pagan ſubjects to what our prelate had to offer; and much the greateſt part of them became Chriſtians in leſs than two years.

It is remarkable that Gozbert had married his brother's widow, for which Kilien, though he knew the ſinfulneſs of the thing, did not chuſe to rebuke him till he was thoroughly confirmed in his faith. When he thought him fully inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity, and well grounded in the purity of it's precepts, he entreated the governor, as the laſt proof of the ſincerity of his converſion, to quit that perſon whom he had hitherto looked upon as a wife, as he could not cohabit with her without committing ſin. Gozbert, ſurpriſed at the propoſal, told the biſhop this was the hardeſt demand he had ever made upon him. "But, ſaid he, ſince I have renounced my own inclinations and pleaſures in ſo many particulars for the love of God, I will make the work complete, by complying with your advice in this too."

The wife of the governor being informed of this affair, determined to be revenged on thoſe who had perſuaded Gozbert into ſuch a reſolution. The miſſionaries were ſenſible of that wicked woman's deſign; and the only ſhield they had, conſiſted of prayer, patience, and reſignation. She ſent accordingly to the place where they uſually aſſembled, and had them all beheaded. Kilien, and his companions, ſubmitted without reſiſtance, the former telling them, that they need not fear thoſe who had no power of the ſoul, but could only kill the body, which in a ſhort time, would of itſelf decay. This happened, A. D. 689, and the martyrs were privately buried in the night, together with their books, clothes, &c. &c.

A few writers add what follows, as the ſequel of this bloody affair: "Some days after this impious tragedy was acted, Gozbert, ſurpriſed that he had not ſeen Kilien lately, ordered diligent ſearch to be made for him. Geilana, to ſtop the inquiry, gave out, that he and his companions had left the town, without giving any account of their motions. But the inſtrument of her revenge, the executioner, violently racked with remorſe of conſcience, ran about like a mad man, and declared that Kilien burnt him. Thus diſordered, he was ſeized, and Gozbert was conſidering what to do with him, when a creature of the governeſs, a man of great eloquence and artifice, and a pretended convert, adviſed him to leave the God of the Chriſtians the taſk of doing himſelf juſtice on his enemies, and propoſed the event as a teſt of his ability.

Now Gozbert was weak enough to tempt God, by putting it on that iſſue. The murderer, being ſet at liberty, went raving mad, tore his own fleſh with his teeth, and died in a moſt miſerable condition. Geilana was ſo perplexed in her conſcience, that it tormented her till ſhe expired; Gozbert's raſhneſs and criminal condeſcenſion, were puniſhed by a violent death, and in a few years his whole race was exterminated.

A particular Account of the ſeveral PERSECUTIONS *from the early Part of the Eighth, to near the Concluſion of the Tenth Century.*

BONIFACE, archbiſhop of Mentz, and father of the German church, was an Engliſhman, and is, in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, looked upon as one of the brighteſt ornaments of this nation. Originally his name was Winfred, or Winfrith, and he was born at Kirton, in Devonſhire, then part of the Weſt-Saxon kingdom. When he was only about ſix years of age, he began to diſcover a propenſity to reflection, and ſeemed ſolicitous to gain information on religious ſubjects. Soon after, ſome evangelical miſſionaries came by chance to Kirton, and happened to fix their abode at his father's houſe. From theſe he underſtood, that the principal ſtep to ſalvation was, to deny himſelf, and follow Chriſt. He conſidered ſeriouſly of what he heard, and, in proceſs of time, determined to devote himſelf to a religious life. When he informed his father of his reſolution, the latter would willingly have diſſuaded him from it; but finding him fully reſolved, he permitted him to go and reſide at a monaſtery in the city of Exeter. Wolfrad, the abbot, finding that he poſſeſſed a bright genius as well as a ſtrong inclination to ſtudy, had him removed to Nutſcelle, a ſeminary of learning, in the dioceſe of Wincheſter, where he would have a much greater opportunity of attaining improvement than at

Exeter. The abbot of Nutſcelle, who was as much celebrated for his great learning as his Chriſtian virtues, took uncommon pains with the young pupil, who, in time, became a prodigy in profound literature and divine knowledge; and was, at length, employed at Nutſcelle as a principal teacher.

We are informed by the ancient Saxon hiſtorians, who ſpeak highly in his praiſe, that thoſe who ſtudied under him had no need to remove to any other place to finiſh what they had begun, for he gave them leſſons in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and philoſophy; and explained the holy ſcriptures in the literal, moral, and myſtical ſenſes. But his example was as inſtructive as his lectures, and while he formed his ſcholars to learning by his dictates, he encouraged them to the practice of virtue, by the prudent conduct of his life.

The abbot of Nutſcelle, ſeeing him thus qualified for the prieſthood, obliged him to receive that holy order, when he was about thirty years old. From that time he began to preach, and labour for the ſalvation of his fellow-creatures; in the progreſs of which he gave the firſt proofs of that apoſtolical zeal, that afterwards made ſuch glorious conqueſts in a moſt ſavage and barbarous part of the world.

Now there being an important occaſion to aſſemble a ſynod of biſhops in the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, it was judged expedient to depute one of their body to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to inform him of the exigency of affairs. Upon conſidering who was proper to be charged with ſuch a commiſſion, Boniface was propoſed, and unanimouſly choſen by the ſynod; and the choice was by the then reigning king of the Weſt-Saxons approved of, and confirmed.

Boniface diſcharged this truſt with great prudence, and obtained the applauſe of every member of the ſynod; but far from being vain of the reputation he had acquired, he propoſed to forſake his country, relations, and friends, in order to be of ſervice to the faith, and extend Chriſtianity on the continent. At firſt, the abbot and monks of Nutſcelle would have diſſuaded him from his purpoſe; but finding him reſolute, two of their number were ordered to aſſiſt him.

Boniface accordingly left Nutſcelle, and arrived in Frieſland about the year 716; but found that country in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. It had belonged to the crown of France, but was at that time in the poſſeſſion of prince Radbord, who had eſtabliſhed Paganiſm in it, perſecuted the Chriſtians, and was at war with Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of Auſtraſia.

However, he went to Utrecht, where he found the infidel prince, and made him a tender of the goſpel; but he being obdurate, Boniface perceived that the happy time of converting that nation was not yet come, and therefore returned to his monaſtery in England.

Boniface had not been many months there when the abbot died, and left the monks inconſolable, becauſe they thought it would be impoſſible to repair their loſs. Boniface too had his ſhare in this affliction; but, ariſing above his paſſions, he undertook to comfort his brethren under that calamity, and made them ſeveral forcible exhortations to perſeverance, and a conformity to the rule of their order, and the canons of the church.

Hereupon he diſcovered ſo much zeal and charity, that they deſired he would ſupply the place of their deceaſed father and friend; but he either never accepted of that poſt, or quitted it very ſoon; for he obtained letters from Daniel, biſhop of Wincheſter, his dioceſan, which recommended him to the pope, and all the biſhops, abbots, and princes he ſhould find in his way to Rome, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 719.

He was received by Gregory the Second, who then ſat in Peter's chair, with great friendſhip, and after ſeveral conferences with him, finding him full of zeal, piety, wiſdom, and all the virtues that compoſe the character of an apoſtolical miſſionary, he diſmiſſed him with a commiſſion at large to preach the goſpel to the Pagans, wherever he found them.

Having paſſed through Lombardy and Bavaria, he came to Thuringia, which country had before received the light of the goſpel; but at the time that Boniface arrived there, that light burnt very dim. The firſt exertions of Boniface, therefore, were to bring the corrupted Chriſtians back to a profeſſion of the goſpel in it's purity; which gave him no ſmall trouble, as the people in thoſe parts were irregular and vitious, and the clergy intereſted and illiterate.

Having completed this pious work with great aſſiduity, and hearing that Radbord, whom he had formerly, in vain, attempted to convert, was dead, he repaired to Utrecht, to aſſiſt Willebrod, the firſt biſhop of that city, in his evangelical labours.

For the ſpace of three years theſe worthy paſtors laboured in conjunction, in extirpating idolatry, and propagating the faith; and ſo far ſucceeded, that moſt of the people received baptiſm, and many of the Pagan temples were converted into Chriſtian churches.

Now Willebrod, being very old and infirm, thought he could not do better than to appoint Boniface to ſucceed him, and to reſign his charge into ſuch pious hands; but this the Engliſh miſſionary abſolutely refuſed, ſaying, he could not ſojourn ſo long in any place, as he had many evangelical labours to perform. Willebrod, on hearing this, conſented to his departure; and Boniface repaired to Heſſe, where he brought to a knowledge of the real truth two brothers, who, though they called themſelves Chriſtians, were ſunk into moſt of the errors of Paganiſm. They became ſuch ſincere converts, that they gave their eſtate to Boniface, who did not apply it's revenues to his own uſe, but built and endowed a religious community; after which he proceeded to Saxony, where he converted ſome thouſands to the Chriſtian faith.

Having laboured in this new field with prodigious ſucceſs about a year, he diſpatched one of his companions to Rome, with an account of what he had done; upon which Gregory II. who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of that ſee, ſent him a letter deſiring him to repair to that city; in conſequence of which he ſet out for Rome with all poſſible expedition. On his arrival, the biſhop treated him as his character deſerved, gave him all marks of eſteem and affection, and was reſolved not to let him return to his labours without the epiſcopal character, that he might purſue them with more authority, and to greater advantage. He was accordingly conſecrated on the laſt day of November 723; from which time he took upon himſelf the name of Boniface.

Thus qualified for forming his new church, he left Rome, well provided with ſuch books as would be neceſſary for his flock, or thoſe to whom he ſhould think fit to commit their inſtruction.

Boniface had with him ſix letters from the pope; one to Charles Martel; a ſecond to all biſhops, prieſts, dukes, counts, &c. a third to the clergy and people under his more immediate direction; a fourth to the five princes of Thuringia, and their Chriſtian ſubjects; a fifth to the Pagans in their dominions; and a ſixth to the whole body of Saxons. The purport of all which was, to recommend him to the protection of the Chriſtian powers, and exhort the Pagans to hear him, and quit their errors and ſuperſtition.

Having made many converts in different parts, he returned to his miſſion in Germany, and was very ſucceſsful, though he met with many that would willingly have been Chriſtians only by halves; they were ready enough to acknowledge Chriſt, but did not care to adhere ſtrictly to his precepts: in fine, they liked the name, but had not reſolution enough to conform to the practice; and ſome were ſo far deluded, as to fall back into their former ſuperſtition and idolatries. Theſe were exceedingly fond of worſhipping a large oak-tree, which had, time immemorial, been dedicated to Jupiter. This tree Boniface ordered to be cut down; when the Pagans, finding that Jupiter did not take any notice of thoſe who had cut it down, began to own the weakneſs of ſuch pretended deities, and deſired to be baptized.

Being naturally diffident of his own abilities, Boniface had frequent recourſe to ſuch perſons as he thought might be of any ſervice to him in his preſent difficult ſtation. Pope Gregory and Daniel, his old dioceſan, were his moſt conſiderable counſellors. But indeed he had more need of aſſiſtance than advice, and therefore, by the care of the biſhop of Wincheſter, received from this iſland, large ſupplies of miſſionaries.

In the year 731, pope Gregory the Third ſucceeded to the chair, upon whoſe acceſſion Boniface ſent proper perſons to Rome to acquaint him with the ſucceſs of his labours, teſtifying his obedience, and deſiring aſſiſtance in ſome difficulties which occurred in his miſſion. The pope not only anſwered the meſſage by aſſuring him of the communion and friendſhip of the ſee of Rome, but as a mark of his reſpect for our miſſionary, ſent him the Pallium, granted him the title of archbiſhop, or metropolitan of all Germany, and empowered him to erect new biſhoprics.

Now Boniface went to the utmoſt extent of every religious duty, and not only erected new biſhoprics, but built ſeveral monaſteries. He then made a third journey to Rome in 738, when pope Gregory the Third, who had as much affection for him as his predeceſſor, felt an extraordinary pleaſure at his appearing in that city, and detained him there the greateſt part of the year.

Boniface having left Rome, went directly for Bavaria, upon the invitation of Odillo, duke of that country, where his buſineſs was to reform ſome abuſes introduced by perſons who had never received holy orders, and yet exerciſed the functions of the prieſthood, and even ſuch as were peculiar to the epiſcopal character, to the no ſmall prejudice of the poor deluded inhabitants.

At this time Bavaria had only one biſhop; he therefore, purſuant to his commiſſion from Rome, erected three new biſhoprics, one at Saltzbourg, a ſecond at Freiſingen, and a third at Ratiſbon, and thus all Bavaria was divided into four dioceſes. This regulation was ſoon after confirmed by the pope, who at the ſame time thanked God for the prodigious ſucceſs of Boniface's miniſtry, and deſired him not to confine himſelf to one place, but carry the divine meſſage into ſuch parts of Germany as wanted the light of the goſpel.

He now eſtabliſhed four biſhoprics, viz. At Erford, for Thuringia; at Barabourg, for Heſſe; at Wurtzbourg, for Franconia; at Achſtat, for Bavaria.

We ſhould obſerve that the biſhopric of Barabourg is at preſent tranſlated to Paderborn, in Weſtphalia. Willebald, the original author of the life of Boniface, was by him made firſt biſhop of Achſtat.

In the year 741, Gregory the Third was ſucceeded in the popedom by Zachary, and the latter confirmed Boniface in his power; and approved of all he had done in Germany, making him at the ſame time archbiſhop of Mentz, and metropolitan over thirteen biſhoprics. He did not, however, loſe his ſimplicity in grandeur, or forget his innocence in the parade of eccleſiaſtical dignity; but ſtudied to preſerve that humility, which is ſo pathetically recommended in Matt. v. 3—12.

Pepin, during the miniſtry of this meek prelate, was declared king of France. It was that prince's ambition to be crowned by the moſt holy prelate he could find, and Boniface was pitched on to perform that ceremony, which he did at Soiſſons in 752. The next year his great age, and many infirmities lay ſo heavy on him, that with the conſent of the new king, the biſhops, &c. of his dioceſe, he conſecrated Lullus, his countryman, and faithful diſciple, and placed him in the ſee of Mentz. When he had thus eaſed himſelf of his charge, he recommended the church of Mentz to the care of the new biſhop in very ſtrong terms, deſired he would finiſh the church at Fuld, and ſee him buried in it, for his end was approaching.

Theſe orders being left, he took boat for the Rhine, and went to Frieſland, where he converted and baptized ſeveral thouſands of the barbarous natives, demoliſhed the temples, and raiſed churches on the ruins of thoſe ſuperſtitious ſtructures.

When he had appointed a day for confirming a great number of new converts, he ordered them to aſſemble in an open plain near the river Bourde. Thither he repaired the day before; and pitching a tent, determined to remain on the ſpot all night, in order to be ready in the morning early.

Several Pagans, who were his inveterate enemies, having intelligence of this, poured down upon him, and the companions of his miſſion, in the night, in ſuch a manner as ſufficiently evinced their deſign of maſſacring them. The ſervants of Boniface were for repelling the barbarians by force of arms; but he oppoſed the motion, told them, and his clergy, that the moment he had long wiſhed for was now come, and exhorted his aſſiſtants in the miniſtry to prepare themſelves for martyrdom. While he was thus employed, the Pagans ruſhed in upon him, and killed him and fifty-two of his companions and attendants on June 5, A. D. 755. Thus fell the great father of the Germanic church, the honour of England, and the glory of the age in which he lived.

There were forty-two perſons of Armorian, in Upper Phrygia, who were martyred in the year 845, by the Saracens, the circumſtances of which tranſaction are thus:

During the reign of Theophilus, the Saracens ravaged many parts of the eaſtern empire, gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the Chriſtians; and at length laid ſiege to the city of Armorian. The garriſon bravely defended the place for a conſiderable time, and would, in all probability, have obliged their enemies to raiſe the ſiege, when the place was baſely betrayed by a renegado. Great numbers were put to the ſword; and two general officers, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were carried priſoners to Bagdat, where they were loaded with heavy chains, and thrown into a dark dungeon.

Theſe people continued in priſon for a conſiderable time without ſeeing any perſons but their gaolers, or receiving any allowance greater than what would barely ſubſiſt them; the bare ground was their bed, and hope their only conſolation. During this time, however, they only conſidered themſelves as priſoners of war; but at length they were informed, that nothing could preſerve their lives but renouncing their religion and embracing Mahometaniſm.

In order to induce them to comply, the caliph pretended a very great zeal for their welfare; and declared, that he looked upon converts in a more glorious light than conqueſts; and the gaining of ſouls, of much greater importance than the ſubduing of kingdoms. Agreeable to theſe maxims, after they had ſuffered all the hardſhips of a dark and noiſome priſon, and were reduced to a ſtate that might oblige them to accept of relief on any terms, he ſent ſome of the moſt ingenious and artful of the Mahometans, with money and clothes, and the promiſe of other advantages they might ſecure to themſelves by a bare abjuration of Chriſtianity; which, according to the corrupt caſuiſtry of thoſe infidels, might be made without quitting their faith. But our martyrs, well inſtructed in the ſimplicity and ſincerity of the goſpel, rejected the propoſal with horror and contempt. After this they were attacked with that fallacious and deluſive argument which the Mahometans ſtill uſe in favour of themſelves, and their monſtrous abſurdities! they were deſired to judge of the merits of the cauſe by the ſucceſs of thoſe that were engaged in it; and chuſe that religion which they ſaw flouriſhed moſt, and was beſt rewarded with the good things of this life, which they called the bleſſings of heaven. But our noble priſoners were proof againſt all theſe temptations; and argued ſtrenuouſly againſt the authority of their falſe prophet. This incenſed the Mahometans, and drew greater hardſhips upon the Chriſtians during their confinement, which laſted ſeven years. At the end of that time Boidizius, the renegado that had betrayed Armorian, brought them the welcome news of their ſufferings being to conclude in martyrdom the next day. To which he added his advice to them to ſave their lives by diſſimulation, a fault very excuſable, he ſaid, in their circumſtances. But they knew what curſe was denounced by Chriſt againſt ſuch as deny him before men; and were therefore prepared to meet death in any ſhape, rather than commit that horrid offence.

When they were brought from their dungeon, they were again ſolicited to embrace the tenets of Mahomet;

but neither threats nor promiſes, the denunciations of malice, nor allurement of rewards, could induce them to forſake the true faith, or prevail on them to eſpouſe the doctrines of an impoſtor.

Perceiving their reſolution, and that their faith could not by any means be ſhaken, the caliph ordered them to be executed. Theodore, one of the number, had formerly received prieſt's orders, and officiated as a clergyman; but afterwards quitting the church, he had followed a military life, and raiſed himſelf by the ſword to ſome conſiderable poſts, which he enjoyed at the time of his being taken priſoner. The officer who attended the execution, being apprized of theſe circumſtances, ſaid to Theodore, "You might, indeed, pretend to be ranked amongſt the Chriſtians, while you ſerved in their church as a prieſt; but the profeſſion you have taken up, which naturally engages you in bloodſhed, is ſo contrary to your former employment, that you ſhould not now think of paſſing upon us, for one of that religion. When you quitted the altar for the camp, you renounced Jeſus Chriſt. Why then will you diſſemble any longer with the world? Would you not act more conformable to your own principles, and make your conduct all of a piece, if you came to a reſolution of ſaving your life by owning our great prophet?"

Now Theodore covered with a religious confuſion at this ſtrong reproach, but ſtill full of courage, and unſhaken in his faith, made the following anſwer: "It is true, ſays he, I did in ſome meaſure abandon my God when I engaged in the army, and ſcarce deſerve the name of a Chriſtian. But the Almighty has given me the grace to ſee myſelf in a true light, and made me ſenſible of my fault; and I hope he will be pleaſed to accept my life, as the only ſacrifice I can now offer to expiate my guilt. His mercies are infinite, and therefore I have room to hope my blood may be allowed to waſh away my crimes. And in this I appeal to your own ſentiments. If, in the ſame caſe, any one that had left your ſervice, and rambled negligent of his duty for ſome time, ſhould at laſt return and offer to lay down his life for you, would not you be inclined to forget all that was paſt, and receive him into your family again?"

This manly and pious anſwer confounded the officer, who only anſwered, that he ſhould preſently have an opportunity of giving that proof of his zeal for, and fidelity to, his maſter. Upon which, Theodore and the reſt, to the number of forty-two, were beheaded.

Mary and Flora, two ladies of diſtinction, ſuffered martyrdom at the ſame time. Flora was the daughter of an eminent Mahometan, at Seville, in Spain; from whence he removed to Corduba, where the Saracen king reſided, and kept his court. Her father dying while ſhe was young, Flora was left to the care of her mother, who, being a Chriſtian, brought her up in the true faith, and inſpired her with ſentiments of virtue and religion. A prieſt of Corduba, who perſonally knew both her and her mother, and who wrote the account of her martyrdom, hath given us the following portrait of her character: "Flora, ſays he, was a great proficient in the ſpiritual life, at an age when little is thought of but the world and it's vanities; her whole thoughts ſeemed turned to Jeſus Chriſt; her whole diſcourſe was inflamed with the divine love; God was her ſole care; her faſts were rigorous; her devotion full of fervour; her concern for the poor moſt ſurpriſing and edifying; and the precepts of the goſpel were her conſtant ſtudy." Her brother being a profeſſed enemy to Chriſtianity, with the addition of a barbarous and ſavage temper, Flora was for ſome time obliged to uſe no ſmall caution in the practice of ſuch virtues, as muſt have expoſed her to a domeſtic perſecution at leaſt. She was too zealous to bear this reſtraint long; for which reaſon ſhe left Corduba, in company with her ſiſter.

Flora's departure ſoon alarmed her brother, who gueſſed her motives, and, in revenge, informed againſt ſeveral Chriſtians of Corduba; for as he did not know whither his ſiſter was gone, he determined to wreak his vengeance on ſuch Chriſtians as were preſent.

When Flora was informed of theſe proceedings, ſhe conſidered herſelf as the cauſe of what the Chriſtians had ſuffered at Corduba, and having an interior conviction that God called her to fight for her faith, ſhe returned to that city, and made her way directly to the perſecutors, among whom ſhe found her brother. "If, ſaid our glorious martyr, I am the object of your inquiry, if the ſervants of God are tormented on my account, I now freely offer myſelf to your diſpoſal. I declare, I believe in Jeſus Chriſt, glory in his croſs, and profeſs the doctrine which he taught. This now is my confeſſion; and I hope through the divine mercy that nothing you can do to me will be able to make me retract or alter it." None of the company ſeemed ſo much enraged at this declaration as her brother, who after ſome threats, ſtruck her; this violent proceeding was followed by attempts of a ſofter nature; for he endeavoured to gain her by expreſſions of concern, and pretended kindneſs. Finding her equally inſenſible to all he could ſay, he then informed againſt her, and undertook to prove her a Chriſtian before the judge. He inſinuated, that Flora had been educated in the religion of Mahomet, but had renounced it at the ſuggeſtion of ſome Chriſtians, who inſpired her with the utmoſt contempt for the great prophet. When ſhe was called on to anſwer to the charge, ſhe declared ſhe had never owned Mahomet, but ſucked the Chriſtian religion in with her milk, and was entirely devoted to the Redeemer of mankind. The magiſtrate, finding her reſolution, delivered her to her brother, and gave him orders to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make her a Mahometan. She, however, ſoon found an opportunity of eſcaping over a wall in the night, and of ſecreting herſelf in the houſe of a Chriſtian. At length, ſhe withdrew to Tucci, a village of Andaluſia, where ſhe met with her ſiſter, and they never ſeparated again till her martyrdom.

Mary, who was martyred at the ſame time, was the daughter of a Chriſtian tradeſman at Eſtremadura, who afterwards removed to a town near Corduba.

As ſoon as the perſecution began under Abderrama, king of the Saracens, in Spain, Mary's brother was one who fell a victim to the rage of the infidels on that occaſion. Mary, hearing of his martyrdom, and full of a generous confuſion at being left behind by one ſo much younger than herſelf, gave a free looſe to her grief, which proceeded not ſo much from the loſs of her brother, as her not being allowed to enjoy the happineſs then in his poſſeſſion.

She went full of theſe thoughts to Corduba, where, going into a church, ſhe found Flora, who had left her retreat on the ſame motive, and was there recommending herſelf to the author and rewarder of ſuch victories as Chriſtians then gained over infidels. Upon converſing together, and finding they acted upon the ſame heroic principles, and propoſed the ſame glorious end of their labours, they agreed to go together, and declare their faith before the judge. Accordingly, without further heſitation, they proceeded to the magiſtrate, when Flora boldly told him, ſhe looked on Mahomet as no better than a falſe prophet, an adulterer, and a magician.

Hereupon Mary told the magiſtrate, that ſhe profeſſed the ſame faith, and entertained the ſame ſentiments as Flora, and that ſhe was ſiſter to Walabonzus, who had already ſuffered for being a Chriſtian. This behaviour ſo much enraged the magiſtrate, that he ordered them to be committed to cloſe confinement for ſome time, and then to be beheaded: which ſentence was executed A. D. 850, on the 4th of November.

Perfectus was born at Corduba, in Spain, and brought up in the Chriſtian faith. Having a quick genius, he made himſelf maſter of all the uſeful and polite literature of that age; and, at the ſame time, was not more celebrated for his abilities, then admired for his piety. At length he took prieſt's orders, and performed the duties of his office with great aſſiduity and punctuality.

One day walking in the ſtreets of Corduba, ſome Arabians entered into converſation with him, and, among other queſtions, aſked him his opinion both of Jeſus Chriſt, and of Mahomet.

Perfectus gave them a very exact account of the Chriſtian faith, reſpecting the divinity of Chriſt, and the redemption of mankind; but begged to be excuſed from delivering his ſentiments concerning Mahomet. The Arabians preſſed him to ſpeak freely; but he declined it, ſaying, that what he ſhould utter would not be agreeable to their ideas, and conſequently that it would be diſguſting to their ears; he therefore thought beſt to be ſilent, as he wiſhed not to offend any one. Diſſatisfied with this anſwer, they ſtill entreated him to ſpeak his thoughts, declaring at the ſame time, that they would not be offended at any thing he ſhould ſay.

Believing them ſincere, and hoping this might be the favourable time allotted by God for their converſion, Perfectus let them know the Chriſtians looked on Mahomet as one of the falſe prophets foretold in the goſpel, who were to ſeduce and deceive great numbers, to their eternal ruin. To illuſtrate this aſſertion, he placed before them ſome of the actions of that grand impoſtor; endeavoured to ſhew them the impious doctrines, and abominable abſurdities of the Alcoran; and ended with exhorting them, in very ſtrong terms, to quit the miſerable ſtate in which they then were, and which would certainly be followed by eternal miſery.

It may eaſily be imagined, that the infidels could not hear a diſcourſe like this without feeling ſome warmth, and conceiving an indignation againſt the ſpeaker. They thought proper, however, to diſguiſe their reſentments at that time, but were reſolved not to let him eſcape without puniſhment. At firſt, indeed, they were unwilling to uſe any violence to him, becauſe they had given him a ſolemn aſſurance he ſhould come to no harm, for the liberty he took at their requeſt; but zeal for their law, and its author, ſoon eaſed them of that ſcruple. They watched a favourable opportunity, ſeized on him, hurried him away to one of their chief magiſtrates, and accuſed him of blaſpheming their great prophet and legiſlator.

The whole allegation having been heard, the judge ordered him to be put in chains, and cloſely confined in priſon, till the feaſt of their Ramadan, or Lent, when he ſhould be made a victim to Mahomet. He heard the determination of the judge with joy, and prepared for his martyrdom with great fervency.

When the time arrived, he was led to the place of execution, where he again made a confeſſion of his faith, declared Mahomet an impoſtor, and inſiſted, that the Alcoran was filled with abſurdities and blaſphemies. In conſequence of this he was ſentenced to be beheaded, and was accordingly executed, A. D. 850; after which his body was honourably interred by the Chriſtians.

Winceſlaus, duke of Bohemia, was brought up in the faith of Chriſt, for his father Wrattiſlaus, the preceding duke, was a valiant prince, and a good Chriſtian; but Drahomira, his mother, was a Pagan, whoſe morals were as bad as her ſentiments of religion: ſhe conſented, however, to intruſt her mother, Ludmilla, with the education of her eldeſt ſon. That holy woman had reſided at Prague ever ſince the death of Borivor her huſband, the firſt duke of Bohemia, who embraced the faith of Chriſt; and Winceſlaus was ſent to that city, to be brought up as ſhe pleaſed. Ludmilla undertook to form his heart to devotion and the love of God, and was aſſiſted in that work by Paul her chaplain, a man of great ſanctity and prudence, who likewiſe endeavoured to cultivate his mind with the firſt rudiments of learning. The mind of the young prince correſponded with their endeavours; and the grace of God, who had prepared him for their inſtructions, made the taſk very eaſy. At a convenient age he was ſent to a college at Budweis, about ſixty miles from Prague, where ſeveral young perſons of the firſt rank were placed for their improvement in virtue and learning, and ſtudied under the direction of an excellent maſter, a native of Neiſſe, in the duchy of Sileſia.

At the death of Wrattiſlaus, his ſon Winceſlaus was very young; on which account Drahomira, his mother, declared herſelf regent during his minority. This princeſs, not having any one now to control her, gave a free vent to her rage againſt Chriſtianity; and began her adminiſtration with an order for ſhutting up the churches. She repealed the laws in favour of the Chriſtians, and removed all magiſtrates of that denomination, ſupplying their places with Pagans.

Finding themſelves thus encouraged, the Pagans, upon any frivolous pretence, would murder the Chriſtians with impunity; and if a Chriſtian in his own defence killed a Pagan, his life, and that of nine other Chriſtians, were to be the forfeit.

The venerable Ludmilla was ſenſibly touched at theſe proceedings, and could not, without affliction, behold a religion trampled on which ſhe profeſſed, and which her conſort had eſtabliſhed with ſo much difficulty.

Ludmilla could not think of any expedient to prevent the total extirpation of Chriſtianity in Bohemia, but perſuaded Winceſlaus, young as he was, to aſſume the reins of government. Winceſlaus at firſt declined engaging in this taſk, till maturer years had rendered him better qualified; but upon his grandmother's promiſing to aſſiſt him with her advice, and direct him in his conduct, he complied with her requeſt; and, to prevent all future diſputes, divided the country between himſelf and his younger brother Boliſlaw, whoſe name a town in, and a conſiderable diſtrict of, that country ſtill retains.

On this change of affairs Drahomira attached herſelf to Boliſlaw, who, like herſelf, was a Pagan, and followed implicitly her maxims. With reſpect to the behaviour of Winceſlaus after his aſſuming the ſovereignty, and the fate of the aged and worthy Ludmilla, the annals of Bohemia furniſh us with theſe particulars: "Winceſlaus, purſuant to the impreſſions of virtue which he had received from his grandmother, and others employed in his education, was more careful than ever to preſerve the innocence of his morals, and acquired ſome new degree of perfection every day. He was as humble, ſober, and chaſte, when maſter of his own motions, and in full poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority, as when under the government of thoſe on whom he was taught to look as his ſuperiors. He ſpent great part of the night in prayer, and the whole day in acts of piety; directing all his views to the eſtabliſhment of peace, juſtice, and religion, in his dominions. He was aſſiſted in theſe charitable and truly chriſtian labours by able miniſters; and nothing of conſequence was done without the advice of Ludmilla. That excellent princeſs being informed that Drahomira, tranſported with rage at the ſucceſs of her directions, had formed a deſign againſt her life, and that it would hardly be in her power to avoid the blow, was ſo far from being diſturbed at the apprehenſions of death, or deſiſting from what had made her odious to that wicked woman, that ſhe exerted herſelf more vigorouſly than ever for the maintenance of religion, and confirming the prince in his reſolutions. Being now aſſured that her death was near, and that ſeveral perſons were actually employed to diſpatch her the firſt convenient opportunity, ſhe called all her ſervants together, acknowledged their fidelity in her ſervice with a liberal hand, and diſtributed her goods and money among the poor. Thus diveſted of all ſhe poſſeſſed in the world, ſhe went to her chapel, received the holy euchariſt, and then employed herſelf in prayer, recommended her ſoul to God, and expected his will with the utmoſt tranquillity and reſignation. This was her ſituation, when two ruffians entered the chapel, ſeized on her, and ſtrangled her with her own veil."

The young duke felt ſeverely for the loſs of his grandmother; and the more ſo, as he did not chooſe to puniſh the offenders, well knowing that they had been inſtigated to what they did by his mother. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to God only, entreated the throne of grace for his mother's pardon and converſion, and patiently ſubmitted to the diſpenſations of Providence.

As many factions were ſtirred up in his dominions by means of his mother and brother, and as Winceſlaus himſelf ſeemed of an unwarlike diſpoſition, a neighbouring prince determined to invade that part of Bohemia which belonged to him. This was Radiſlaus, prince of Gurima, who entered Bohemia at the head of a conſiderable army, and immediately commenced hoſtilities. Winceſlaus hearing of theſe proceedings, ſent a meſſage to the invader, to know what offence he had given him, and what terms he required to quit his dominions, and leave him at his repoſe.

Radiſlaus miſtaking the temper of Winceſlaus, looked upon this meſſage to proceed from timidity; he therefore anſwered in a very haughty manner, made ſome frivolous excuſes for having commenced the quarrel, and concluded, by inſiſting that Winceſlaus ſhould ſurrender to him all his dominions.

This unjuſt and inſolent demand obliged Winceſlaus to appear in arms in defence of himſelf and his people. He accordingly raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and marched to oppoſe the enemy. When the two armies were drawn up, and ready to engage, Winceſlaus deſired a conference with Radiſlaus, which being complied with, he obſerved, that as it would be unreaſonable and unjuſt to hazard the lives of ſo many innocent men, the moſt eligible method of putting an end to the diſpute would be by ſingle combat between themſelves.

Radiſlaus heard this propoſal with pleaſure, and accepted it with joy, thinking that he was much more expert in the uſe of arms than his antagoniſt. They accordingly engaged in ſight of the two armies, and the victory ſeemed doubtful for ſome time, till, at length, it declared in favour of Winceſlaus; when his antagoniſt was obliged, according to previous agreement, to relinquiſh his pretended claim, and retire into his own country.

Being thus freed from the fears of a foreign enemy, Winceſlaus had leiſure to turn his thoughts to domeſtic reformation. He removed corrupt judges and venal magiſtrates, and filled their places with perſons of integrity: he put an end to oppreſſion in all it's branches, and puniſhed ſuch nobles as tyrannized over their vaſſals. Theſe regulations, though they relieved the poor and helpleſs, gave great offence to the great and rich, as they abridged their power of uſing thoſe who depended on them ill, and, in ſome degree, took from them that ſelf-importance, and aſſumed conſequence, which is the pride of little minds. Hence many became factious, and ripe for miſchief. The malecontents gave an odious turn to all his beſt actions; ſpoke ſlightingly, and even contemptibly, of his application to prayer, faſting, and other acts of religion, which they endeavoured to inſinuate were low employments for a prince, and incompatible with the courage and policy neceſſary for the government of a ſtate. His mother and brother were ſtill the moſt inveterate of his enemies, who could not bear to ſee this growing proſperity of the patron of religion, and enemy of idolatry; and therefore reſolved to take him off at any rate. Drahomira and Boliſlaw were concerting meaſures for executing their black deſign, when they underſtood that Winceſlaus had deſired the pope to ſend ſome prieſts into his dominions, with whom he propoſed to ſpend the remainder of his days in a religious retreat. This news ſuſpended the execution of their conſpiracy againſt him for ſome time; but, perceiving this affair did not come to a concluſion ſo ſoon as was neceſſary for ſatisfying their ambitious views, they re-aſſumed their criminal practices againſt him, and gained their ends in the following very black and treacherous manner:

Boliſlaw having been ſome time married, his princeſs proved pregnant, and, at length, brought him forth a ſon. This circumſtance, which ſhould have diffuſed joy throughout the family, furniſhed Drahomira and Boliſlaw with an idea of the moſt horrid nature, and the innocent infant was made the object for perpetrating a deed of unexampled cruelty. The ſcheme concerted between the bigoted Boliſlaw, and his wicked mother, was to get Winceſlaus into their power. The birth of the child furniſhed them with a fair pretence; and a polite meſſage was diſpatched to the unſuſpecting duke, to partake of an entertainment given upon the occaſion. Winceſlaus, not having the leaſt ſurmiſe of their barbarous intent, repaired to the court of Boliſlaw, where he was received with the greateſt appearance of cordiality. He partook of the entertainment, and wore the face of feſtivity till it grew rather late at night, when he thought proper to retire before the reſt of the company, as he was not fond of late hours, and as he never neglected his devotions to the Almighty, previous to his laying down to ſleep.

As ſoon as he was withdrawn, Drahomira urged Boliſlaw not to truſt their revenge to another hand, but to follow his brother inſtantly, and murder him. The bloody prince took his mother's ſanguinary advice, and repairing to his brother's chamber, he found him kneeling, and in fervent prayer to the Almighty; when, unmoved by that pious appearance, he ruſhed upon him, and plunged a dagger to his heart. Thus, in A. D. 929, fell Winceſlaus, the third duke of Bohemia, by as infernal an act of treachery as ever was recorded in the annals of any nation.

Adalbert, biſhop of Prague, was a Bohemian by birth. His parents were perſons of rank, but more diſtinguiſhed for their virtue and piety than for their opulence or lineage. They were happy in a ſon, whoſe dawning perfections gave them a pleaſing hope, that he would one day become a ſhining ornament to his family. That he might fulfil their expectations, they gave him a complete education; but their joy was in ſome meaſure damped, by his falling into a dropſy, from which he was with difficulty recovered.

When he was effectually cured, they ſent him to Magdaburg, and committed him to the care of the archbiſhop of that city, who completed his education, and confirmed him in piety and virtue. The rapid progreſs which Adalbert made in human and divine learning, made him dear to the prelate, who, to the authority of a teacher, joined all the tenderneſs of a parent for his amiable pupil.

Having ſpent nine years at Magdaburg, he retired to his own country upon the death of the archbiſhop, and entered himſelf among the clergy at Prague. Dithmar, biſhop of Prague, died ſoon after the return of Adalbert to that city; and, in his expiring moments, expreſſed ſuch contrition for having been ambitious and ſolicitous of worldly honours and riches, as ſurpriſed every one who heard it. Adalbert, who was among the number preſent, was ſo ſenſibly affected at the biſhop's dying ſentiments, that he received them as an admonition to the ſtrict practice of virtue, which he afterwards exerciſed with the greateſt attention, ſpending his time in prayer, and relieving the poor with a cheerful liberality.

A few days after the deceaſe of Dithmar, an aſſembly was held for the choice of a ſucceſſor, which conſiſted of the clergy of Prague, and the chief quality of Bohemia. Adalbert's character for every virtue that important poſt required, ſoon determined them to raiſe him to the vacant ſee, which they did on the 19th of February 983. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to Verona, to deſire Otho II. would confirm the election. The emperor granted the requeſt, ordered Adalbert to repair to court for inveſtiture, gave him the ring and croſier, and then ſent him to the archbiſhop of Mentz for conſecration. That ceremony was performed on the 29th of June the ſame year; and he was received at Prague with all poſſible demonſtrations of public joy. He divided the revenue of his ſee into four parts, according to the direction of the canons extant in the fifth century. The firſt was employed in the fabric, and ornaments of the church; the ſecond went to the maintenance of the clergy; the third was laid out for the relief of the poor; and the fourth reſerved for the ſupport of himſelf and family; which was always made to include twelve indigent perſons, to whom he allowed daily ſubſiſtence.

He now performed his duty with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and ſpent a great portion of his time in preaching to and exhorting the people. His conduct was diſcreet and humane; and his manner neither too ſevere nor too indulgent; ſo that his flock were not terrified into deſpair, or flattered into preſumption. But ſome things which he could not remedy gave him great uneaſineſs, particularly the having a plurality of wives, and ſelling the Chriſtians to the Jews, for trivial offences. Hence he determined to conſult the pope, and made a journey to Rome. Accordingly, John, who then ſat in the papal chair, received him with great cordiality, and having heard his grievance, adviſed him to give up his biſhopric, rather than be the witneſs of enormities which he could not remedy. He determined to take the pope's advice, and to devote the remainder of his days to mortification, poverty, and ſilence; which deſign he began by giving all his treaſures to the poor. He was, however, before he entirely ſecluded himſelf from mankind, deſirous of ſeeing the Holy Land, and ſet off accordingly, with three perſons in his company.

In their way they arrived at Mount Caſſino, where the heads of the monaſtery of that place received them in a very friendly manner, and entertained them as well as the rules of their order would admit. Being apprized of the cauſe of their journey, when they were about to depart, the ſuperior of the monaſtery addreſſed himſelf to Adalbert, and obſerved to him, that the journey he had undertaken would give him more trouble and uneaſineſs than he was aware of; that the frequent deſire of changing place and travelling, often proceeded more from a reſtleſs diſpoſition, and eager curioſity, than real religion, or ſolid devotion. "Therefore, ſaid he, if you will liſten to my advice, leave the world at once with ſincerity, and ſettle in ſome religious community, without deſiring to ſee more than you have already ſeen." Adalbert liſtened attentively, and came readily into the ſentiments of the ſuperior, which ſoon determined him to take up his reſidence in that monaſtery, where he then thought he might live entirely recluſe, and, being unknown, might paſs unhonoured to the grave. But in the latter particular he was miſtaken; for the prieſts, by accident, coming to a knowledge of the rank and former dignity of their colleague, began to treat him with great deference and reſpect, which occaſioned him to leave the place. Nilus, a Grecian, was then at the head of a community not far from Mount Caſſino; Adalbert made his way to him, and begged to be received into his monaſtery. He aſſured him he would willingly comply with his requeſt, if he thought the rule and practice of his religious family would be agreeable to a ſtranger; beſides which, he told him that the houſe in which he and his people lived was given to them by thoſe of Mount Caſſino; and therefore it might not be ſafe for him to receive one that had left that community. When Nilus had thus excuſed himſelf, he adviſed him to return to Rome, and apply himſelf to Leo, an abbot of his acquaintance there, to whom he gave a letter of recommendation. Adalbert went to Rome, where he found Leo, who, before he would admit him, put his virtue and courage to proper trials, by ſpeaking roughly to him, and giving him a terrible account of the labours and ſeverities of the ſtate in which he deſired to engage. But, finding his reſolution was not moved or weakened by the proſpect of the moſt auſtere mortifications, he conducted him to the pope, and, with the conſent of that pontiff and the whole college of cardinals, gave him the habit on Holy Thurſday in the year 990. We have already ſaid, that he had been attended only by three ſelect perſons ever ſince he had the pope's advice for reſigning his biſhopric; two of them left him now; but the third, who was his own-brother Gaudentius, followed his example, and engaged in the ſame community. Adalbert, full of the moſt profound humility, took a particular pleaſure in the loweſt employments of the houſe, and lived here an excellent pattern of chriſtian ſimplicity and obedience.

The archbiſhop of Mentz, as metropolitan, was exceedingly afflicted at the diſorders in the church of Prague, and wiſhed for the return of the biſhop, with whoſe retreat he was not, for ſome time acquainted. At length, after five years abſence, he heard that Adalbert was at Rome, when he ſent a deputation to the pope to preſs his return to his dioceſe. The pope ſummoned a council to conſider of the deputation, and after a warm diſpute between the monks and deputies, the latter carried their point, and Adalbert was ordered to return to his dioceſe; but, at the ſame time, had permiſſion to quit his charge again, if he found his flock as incorrigible as before. The inhabitants of Prague met him, on his arrival, with great joy, and promiſed obedience to his directions; but they ſoon forgot their promiſes, and relapſed into their former vices, which obliged him, a ſecond time, to leave them, and return to his monaſtery.

The archbiſhop of Mentz ſent another deputation to Rome, and deſired that his ſuffragan might be again ordered back to his dioceſe. Gregory V. who was then pope, commanded him to return to Prague; and he obeyed, though with great reluctance.

The Bohemians, however, did not look upon him as before, but deemed him the cenſor of their faults, and the enemy to their pleaſures, and threatened him with death upon his arrival; but not having him yet in their power, contented themſelves with falling on his relations, ſeveral of whom they murdered, plundered their eſtates, and ſet fire to their houſes. Adalbert had intelligence of theſe outrageous proceedings, and could not judge it prudent to proceed on his journey. He therefore went to the duke of Poland, who had a particular reſpect for him, and engaged that prince to ſound the Bohemians in regard to his return; but could get no better anſwer from that wretched people, than "that they were ſinners, hardened in iniquity; and Adalbert a ſaint, and conſequently not fit to live among them; for which reaſon he was not to hope for a tolerable reception at Prague." The biſhop thought this meſſage diſcharged him from any further concern for that church, and began to direct his thoughts to the converſion of infidels; to which end he repaired to Dantzick, where he converted and baptized many, which ſo enraged the pagan prieſts, that they fell upon him, and diſpatched him with darts, on the 23d of April, A. D. 997.

An Account *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in the* Eleventh Century.

ALPHAGE, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was deſcended from a conſiderable family in Glouceſterſhire, and received an education ſuitable to his illuſtrious birth. His parents were worthy Chriſtians, and Alphage ſeemed to inherit all their virtues. He was prudent and humble, pious and chaſte: he made a rapid progreſs both in polite literature and ſcripture learning, and was, at once, the admired ſcholar, and devout Chriſtian: he ſtrove to make the arts uſeful to the purpoſes of life, and to render philoſophy ſubſervient to the cauſe of religion. In order to be more at leiſure to contemplate the divine perfections, he determined to renounce his fortune, quit home, and become a recluſe. He accordingly retired to a monaſtery of Benedictines, at Deerhurſt, in Glouceſterſhire, and ſoon after took the habit.

Conſidering that the principal buſineſs of a Chriſtian was to ſubdue his paſſions, and mortify his appetites, he lived with the utmoſt temperance, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time in prayer. But not thinking the auſterities he underwent in this monaſtery ſufficiently ſevere, he retired to a lonely cell near Bath, and lived in a manner ſtill more rigid and mortifying. Here he thought to remain unknown, but ſome devout perſons finding out his retreat, his auſtere life ſoon became the ſubject of converſation in the neighbouring villages, where many flocked to him, and begged to be taken under his paſtoral care. He yielded to their importunities, raiſed a monaſtery near his cell, by the contributions of ſeveral well-diſpoſed perſons; formed his new pupils into a community, and placed a prior over them. Having preſcribed rules for their regulation, he again retired to his beloved cell, fervently wiſhing to paſs the remainder of his days in religious ſecurity; when the following affair once more drew him from his retreat.

The ſee of Wincheſter being vacant by the death of Ethelwold, it was no eaſy matter to agree upon the choice of a ſucceſſor to that biſhopric. The clergy had been driven out of the cathedral for their ſcandalous lives, but were admitted again by King Ethelred, upon certain terms of reformation. The monks, who had been introduced upon their expulſion, looked upon themſelves as the chapter of that church; and hence aroſe a violent conteſt between them, and the clergy who had been re-admitted, about the election of a biſhop; while both parties were hot, and vigorouſly ſet upon promoting each their own man. This diſpute at laſt ran ſo high, that Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as primate of all England, was obliged to interpoſe in the affair, who conſecrated Alphage to the vacant biſhopric, to the general ſatiſfaction of all concerned in the election, or intereſted in the affair.

Alphage's behaviour was a ſufficient proof of his being equal to the dignity of his vocation. Piety flouriſhed in his dioceſe; unity was eſtabliſhed among his clergy and people; and the church of Wincheſter recovered it's luſtre in ſuch a manner, as made the biſhop the admiration of the whole kingdom.

Dunſtan had an extraordinary veneration for Alphage, and when at the point of death, made it his ardent requeſt to God, that he might ſucceed him in the ſee of Canterbury; which accordingly happened, though not till about eighteen years after Dunſtan's death. In the courſe of that period the metropolitan church was governed by three ſucceſſive prelates; the laſt of whom was Alfrick; upon whoſe deceaſe, in 1006, Alphage was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury.

The people belonging to the dioceſe of Wincheſter were the only perſons who did not ſincerely rejoice at his promotion; for they were too ſenſible of the loſs they ſuſtained by his tranſlation, not to regret his removal to Canterbury.

Soon after his being made archbiſhop, he went to Rome, and received the pall from pope John XVIII. and after his return to England, laboured aſſiduouſly to introduce the beſt regulations into the church.

After Alphage had governed the ſee of Canterbury about four years, with great reputation to himſelf, and benefit to his people, the Danes made an incurſion into England. Ethelred, who then reigned, was a prince of a very weak underſtanding, and puſillanimous diſpoſition. Too fearful to face the enemy himſelf, and too irreſolute to furniſh others with the means of acting in his ſtead, he ſuffered his country to be ravaged with impunity, and the greateſt depredations to be committed at the option of his enemies.

The archbiſhop Alphage, upon this trying occaſion, acted with great reſolution and humanity: he went boldly to the Danes, purchaſed the freedom of ſeveral whom they had made captives; found means to ſend a ſufficient quantity of food to others, whom he had not money enough to redeem, and even made converts of ſome of the Danes: but the latter circumſtance made the Danes, who ſtill continued Pagans, greater enemies to him than they would otherwiſe have been, and determined them to be revenged on him for occaſioning a change in the ſentiments of their companions. Edric, an Engliſh malecontent, and an infamous traitor, gave the Danes every encouragement, and even aſſiſted them in laying ſiege to Canterbury. When the deſign of attacking this city was known, many of the principal people made a precipitate flight from it, and would have perſuaded Alphage to follow their example. But he, like a good paſtor, would not liſten to ſuch a propoſal; he aſſured them he could not think of abandoning his flock, at a time when his preſence was more neceſſary than ever, and was reſolved to hazard his life in their defence, at this calamitous juncture. While he was employed in aſſiſting and encouraging his people, Canterbury was taken by ſtorm; the enemy poured into the town, and deſtroyed all that came in their way, by fire and ſword. The monks did what they could to detain the archbiſhop in the church, where they hoped he might be ſafe. But his concern for his flock made him break from them and run into the midſt of the danger. He had the courage to addreſs the enemy, and offer himſelf to their ſwords, as more worthy their rage than the people: he begged they might be ſaved, and that they would diſcharge their whole fury on him They accordingly ſeized him, tied his hands, inſulted, and abuſed him in a rude and barbarous manner; and obliged him to remain on the ſpot till his church was burnt, and the monks maſſacred. They then decimated all the inhabitants, both eccleſiaſtics, and laymen, leaving only every tenth perſon alive: ſo that they put 7236 perſons to death, and left only four monks, and 800 laymen alive: after which they confined the archbiſhop in a dungeon, where they kept him cloſe priſoner for ſeveral months.

During his confinement, they propoſed to him to redeem his liberty with the ſum of 3000l. and to perſuade the king to purchaſe their departure out of the kingdom, with a further ſum of 10,000l. Alphage's circumſtances would not allow him to ſatisfy the exorbitant demand: they bound him, and put him to ſevere torments, to oblige him to diſcover the treaſure of his church; upon which they aſſured him of his life and liberty. The prelate knew, that what they inſiſted on was the inheritance of the poor, not to be thrown away upon the barbarous enemies of the chriſtian religion; and therefore perſiſted in refuſing to give them any account of it. They remanded him to priſon again, confined him ſix days longer, and then taking him with them to Greenwich, brought him to a trial there. He ſtill remained inflexible with reſpect to the church treaſures; but exhorted them to forſake their idolatry, and embrace Chriſtianity. This ſo greatly incenſed the Danes, that the ſoldiers dragged him out of the camp, and beat him unmercifully. Alphage bore this uſage patiently, and even prayed for his perſecutors. One of the ſoldiers, who had been converted and baptized by him, was greatly afflicted, that his pains ſhould be ſo lingering, as he knew his death was determined on: he, therefore, with the fury of a deſperate zeal, and a kind of barbarous compaſſion, cut off his head, and thus put the finiſhing ſtroke to his martyrdom, on April 19, A. D. 1012. This tranſaction happened on the very ſpot where the church at Greenwich, which is dedicated to him, now ſtands. After his death his body was thrown into the Thames, but being found the next day, it was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's, by the biſhops of London and Lincoln; from whence it was, in the year 1023, removed to Canterbury by Æthelmoth, the archbiſhop of that province.

Gerard, a Venetian, devoted himſelf to the ſervice of God from his tender years; entered into a religious houſe for ſome time, and then determined to viſit the Holy Land. Going into Hungary, he became acquainted with Stephen, the king of that country, who, at once, acted the parts of prince and preacher, and not only regulated his ſubjects by wholeſome laws, but taught them religious duties. Finding Gerard every way qualified to inſtruct his people, he tried, by every means, to detain him in his kingdom; and, at length, founding ſeveral churches, he made Gerard biſhop of that of Chonad.

Gerard had a very difficult taſk to perform; the people of his dioceſe were fond of, and accuſtomed to idolatry; and their perverſeneſs was equal to their immorality. The new biſhop, however, aſſiduous in his charge, and full of zeal for the ſalvation of his flock, laboured diligently to bring them to a ſenſe of their duty. He ſoon had the pleaſure to find that his endeavours were not unſucceſsful, for his ſweetneſs of diſpoſition won upon the people ſo much, that they could not help believing one whom they loved, or of placing a confidence in the doctrines of a man they had ſuch great reaſon to reverence.

His conqueſts over idolatry were not confined to his own dioceſe, but extended to the adjacent country, where his doctrines ſucceſsfully ſpread, and many became converts to the pure faith of Chriſt. Wherever the faith made it's way by his miniſtry, he took care to eſtabliſh eccleſiaſtical diſcipline for the preſervation of religion, and made ſeveral uſeful regulations in the public ſervice of the church. His exemplary conduct was at leaſt as inſtructive as his ſermons and exhortations, and went a great way in convincing his converts of the truth and dignity of their new profeſſion: for who could doubt of the excellency of a religion, that raiſed him above the weakneſſes and paſſions of human nature; and appeared divine, by placing him at a diſtance from all that flatters or delights the ſenſes? He viſited his dioceſe, and was remarkable for an uncommon tenderneſs for the poor, eſpecially ſuch as had the misfortune of ſickneſs, or were incapable of following their accuſtomed employments.

During the life of Stephen, Gerard received every kind of aſſiſtance which that excellent monarch could afford him; but on the demiſe of Stephen, his nephew Peter, who ſucceeded him, was of ſo different a temper, that Gerard was greatly perplexed during his government.

At length, the tyranny of Peter exaſperated his ſubjects ſo much againſt him, that they depoſed him, and placed Ouvo on the throne. They, however, ſoon found that they had changed from bad to worſe; for Ouvo proved a greater monſter of cruelty than his predeceſſor. At Eaſter, Ouvo repaired to Chonad, in order to receive the crown from the hands of Gerard. When he arrived at the place, the other prelates of the kingdom, who were aſſembled on that ſolemn occaſion, aſſured the prince of their affections for his perſon, and promiſed to concur in his coronation; but Gerard abſolutely refuſed to pay that compliment to a public and malicious enemy; and took the liberty of letting the intruder know, that he could not look on Peter's excluſion as regular, and conſequently ſhould not proceed to do any thing to the prejudice of his title: he then told him, that if he perſiſted in his uſurpation, the Divine Providence would ſoon put an end to his life and reign. Ouvo, growing more inſupportable than his predeceſſor, was brought to the ſcaffold in the year 1044; upon which Peter was recalled, and placed on the throne a ſecond time; but his depoſition and retirement had made no alteration in his temper, ſo that he was again deprived of the royal dignity after two years poſſeſſion.

Andrew, ſon of Ladiſlaus, couſin-german to Stephen, had then a tender of the crown made him, upon condition that he would employ his authority in extirpating the chriſtian religion out of Hungary. The ambitious prince came into the propoſal, and promiſed to do his utmoſt in re-eſtabliſhing the idolatrous worſhip of his deluded anceſtors. Gerard, being informed of this impious bargain, thought his duty obliged him to remonſtrate againſt the enormity of Andrew's crime, and perſuade him to withdraw his promiſe. In this view he undertook to go to that prince, attended by three other prelates, full of a like zeal for religion. The new king was at Alba Regalis, but as the four biſhops were going to croſs the Danube, they were ſtopped by a party of ſoldiers poſted there by order of a man of quality in the neighbourhood, remarkable for his averſion to the chriſtian religion, and to Stephen's memory. They bore an attack with a ſhower of ſtones patiently, when the ſoldiers proceeding to greater outrages, beat them unmercifully, and at length diſpatched them with lances. Their martyrdoms happened in the year 1045.

Staniſlaus, biſhop of Cracow, was deſcended from an illuſtrious Poliſh family. The piety of his parents was equal to their opulence, and the latter they rendered ſubſervient to all the purpoſes of charity and benevolence. Staniſlaus was their only child, and conſequently the ſole object of their parental affection. When he was of a proper age, they employed maſters in ſeveral branches of learning to inſtruct him, and were happy to find, that his rapid improvement fully anſwered their moſt ſanguine expectations. He had a penetrating genius, retentive memory, and ſolid underſtanding; hence ſtudy became his amuſement, learning his delight, and books his beloved companions. Nor was his diſpoſition inferior to his abilities; he was modeſt, mild, candid, and grave, temperate in his meals, and moderate in his ſleep; he voluntarily gave himſelf, in the dawn of youth, to ſuch auſterities, as might have given reputation to a profeſſed hermit. Having purſued his ſtudies at home for ſome years, he was ſent to a ſeminary of learning in Poland, and afterwards to the univerſity of Paris, that his education might be completed in that celebrated ſeat of literature. After continuing ſeven years at Paris, he returned to his own country, and on the demiſe of his parents became poſſeſſed of a plentiful fortune. Senſible that riches conſtituted no part of a Chriſtian's happineſs, any further than as they enabled him to aſſiſt the needy; he devoted moſt of his property to charitable uſes, retaining only a ſmall portion for his own ſuſtenance.

His views were now ſolely directed to the miniſtry; but he remained for ſome time undetermined, whether he ſhould embrace a monaſtic life, or engage among the ſecular clergy. He was at length perſuaded to the latter by Lambert Zula, biſhop of Cracow, who gave him holy orders, and made him a canon of his cathedral. In this capacity he lived in a moſt pious and exemplary manner, and performed the duties of his function with unremitting aſſiduity and fervent devotion. Lambert could not help being charmed with the many virtues which ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed Staniſlaus, and would fain have reſigned his biſhopric to him. The reaſon he alleged for ſuch reſignation was his great age, but Staniſlaus abſolutely refuſed to accept of the ſee, for the contrary reaſon, viz. his want of years, for being then only thirty-ſix years old, he deemed that too early a time of life for a man to undertake the important care of a dioceſe. Lambert, however, made him his ſubſtitute upon various occaſions, by which he became thoroughly acquainted with all that related to the biſhopric. Lambert died on November 25, A. D. 1071, when all concerned in the choice of a ſucceſſor declared for Staniſlaus. But his former objection remained, and on account of his age, he declined the acceptance of the prelacy.

Determined however to conquer his ſcruples, the king, clergy, and nobility unanimouſly joined in writing to pope Alexander II. who at their entreaty ſent an expreſs order that Staniſlaus ſhould accept the biſhopric. Thus commanded, he obeyed, and exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in the improvement of his flock. He was equally careful with reſpect both to clergy and laity; and exhorted the former to ſhew a good example as much as he did the latter to imitate it. He kept a liſt of all the poor in his dioceſe, and by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and adminiſtering remedies to the ſick, he proved himſelf not only the godly paſtor, but the bodily phyſician, and generous benefactor.

Boliſlaus, the ſecond king of Poland, had, by nature, many good qualities, but giving way too much to his paſſions he ran into many enormities. He daily grew worſe and worſe, and from being deemed a good king, at length had the appellation of CRUEL beſtowed on him. The nobility were ſhocked at his conduct, but did not care to ſpeak to him concerning it, and the clergy ſaw his proceedings with grief, but were afraid to reprehend him. Staniſlaus alone had the courage to tell him of his faults, when taking a private opportunity he freely diſplayed to him the enormity of his crimes.

The king was greatly exaſperated at this freedom, but awed by the virtues of the biſhop, diſſembled his reſentment, and appearing to be convinced of his errors promiſed to reform his conduct. So far however from deſigning to perform his promiſe, he complained to ſome of his ſycophants of the freedom that Staniſlaus had taken with him; and they, to flatter his folly, condemned the boldneſs of the biſhop. The king, ſoon after, attempted the chaſtity of a married lady, who rejected his offers with diſdain; which piqued his pride ſo much, that he ſeized her by force, and violated her by compulſion. This greatly alarmed all the nobility: none knew how long his own wife, daughter, or ſiſter might be ſafe; and each dreaded for the peace of his family. They, at length, aſſembled together, and calling the clergy to their aſſiſtance, entreated Peter, archbiſhop of Greſne, to remonſtrate to the king on the impropriety and vitiouſneſs of his conduct; adding, that it was more particularly his buſineſs ſo to do, as primate of Poland.

The archbiſhop, however, declined the dangerous taſk; for though a man of ſome virtue, he was of a diſpoſition uncommonly timid. Several other prelates ſheltered themſelves behind his refuſal, and gave their fear the name of modeſty, which would not permit them to undertake what their metropolitan had thought too great for his abilities. Staniſlaus alone was, as before, the only one who had courage and zeal ſufficient to perform what he looked upon as a moſt important and indiſpenſable duty. He, therefore, put himſelf at the head of a ſelect number of eccleſiaſtics, noblemen, and gentlemen; and, proceeding to court, addreſſed the king in a ſolemn and ſerious manner, and fully repreſented the heinouſneſs of his crimes, and what would be the fatal conſequences of his debaucheries.

The king had ſcarce patience to hear him out; and, as ſoon as he had done ſpeaking flew into a violent paſſion, at once complaining of the want of reſpect to his royal dignity, and vowing revenge for what he called an inſult to his perſon. Staniſlaus, however, not in the leaſt intimidated by his menaces, viſited him twice more, and remonſtrated with him in a ſimilar manner, which ſo much exaſperated the king, that he knew not how to contain himſelf.

The nobility and clergy, finding that the admonitions of the biſhop had not the deſired effect upon the king, thought proper to interpoſe between them. The nobility entreated the biſhop to refrain from any more exaſperating a monarch of ſo ferocious and untractable a temper; and the clergy endeavoured to perſuade the king not to be offended with Staniſlaus for his charitable remonſtrances. Neither, however, ſucceeded, for the king remained as obſtinate, and the biſhop as zealous, as ever. The haughty ſovereign, at length, determined, at any rate, to get rid of a prelate, who, in his opinion, was ſo extremely troubleſome. Hearing one day that the biſhop was by himſelf, in the chapel of St. Michael, at a ſmall diſtance from the town, he diſpatched ſome ſoldiers to murder him. The ſoldiers readily undertook the bloody taſk; but when they came into the preſence of Staniſlaus, the venerable aſpect of the prelate ſtruck them with ſuch awe, that they could not perform what they had promiſed. On their return, the king, finding they had not obeyed his orders, ſtormed at them violently, ſnatched a dagger from one of them, and ran furiouſly to the chapel, where, finding Staniſlaus at the alter, he plunged the weapon to his heart. The prelate immediately expired, on the 8th of May, A. D. 1079, receiving a crown of martydom, as a reward for his zeal.

An Account of the PERSECUTIONS of the WALDENSES, in France.

POPERY having brought various innovations into the church, and overſpread the chriſtian world with darkneſs and ſuperſtition, ſome few, who plainly perceived the pernicious tendency of ſuch errors, determined to ſhew the light of the goſpel in it's real purity, and to diſperſe thoſe clouds which artful prieſts had raiſed about it, in order to blind the people, and obſcure it's real brightneſs.

The principal among theſe was Berengarius, who, about the year 1000, boldly preached goſpel truths according to their primitive purity. Many, from conviction, aſſented to his doctrine, and were, on that account, called Berengarians. To Berengarius ſucceeded Peter Bruis, who preached at Thoulouſe, under the protection of an earl, named Hildephonſus; and the whole tenets of the reformers, with the reaſons of their ſeparation from the church of Rome, were publiſhed in a book written by Bruis under the title of Antichrist.

By the year of Chriſt 1140, the number of the reformed was very great, and the probability of their increaſing alarmed the pope, who wrote to ſeveral princes to baniſh them their dominions, and employed many learned men to write againſt their doctrines.

A. D. 1147, Henry, of Thoulouſe, being deemed their moſt eminent preacher, they were called Henricians; and as they would not admit of any proofs relative to religion, but what could be deduced from the ſcriptures themſelves, the popiſh party gave them the name of Apoſtolics. At length, Peter Waldo, or Valdo, a native of Lyons, became a ſtrenuous oppoſer of Popery: and from him the reformed, at that time, received the appellation of Waldenſes, or Waldoys.

Peter Waldo was a man eminent for his learning, piety, and benevolence; ſo that his doctrines were admired by great numbers, and he was followed by multitudes. The biſhop of Lyons taking umbrage at the freedom with which he treated the pope and the Romiſh clergy, ſent to admoniſh him to refrain, in future, from ſuch diſcourſes. To which meſſage Waldo returned this reply: "That he could not be ſilent in a cauſe of ſuch importance as the ſalvation of men's ſouls; wherein he muſt obey God rather than man."

Waldo's principal accuſations againſt the pope and Popery were, that the Roman-Catholics affirm the church of Rome to be the only infallible church of Chriſt upon earth; and that the pope is it's head, and the vicar of Chriſt: that they hold the abſurd doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, inſiſting, that the bread and wine given in the ſacrament is the very identical body and blood of Chriſt which was nailed to the croſs: that they believe there is a place called purgatory, where the ſouls of perſons, after this life, are purged from the ſins of mortality; and that the pains and penalties here inflicted may be abated according to the maſſes ſaid by, and the money paid to the prieſts: that they teach, the communion of one kind, or the receiving the wafer only, is ſufficient for the lay-people, though the clergy muſt be indulged with both bread and wine: that they pray to the Virgin Mary and ſaints, though their prayers ought to be immediately to God: that they pray for ſouls departed, though God decides the fate immediately on the deceaſe of the perſon: that they will not perform the ſervice of the church in a language underſtood by the people in general: that they place their devotion in the number of prayers, and not in the intent of the heart: that they forbid marriage to the clergy, though God allowed it; and that they uſe many things in baptiſm, though Chriſt uſed only water.

Pope Alexander the Third being informed of theſe tranſactions, excommunicated Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the biſhop of Lyons to exterminate them, if poſſible, from the face of the earth; and hence began the papal perſecutions againſt the Waldenſes.

Before we deſcribe the ſufferings and martydom of the Waldenſes, it is neceſſary to ſhew their tenets, which will explain how, and for what reaſon, they differed from the church of Rome:

1. That holy oil is not to be mingled in baptiſm.

2. That prayers uſed over things inanimate are ſuperſtitious.

3. Fleſh may be eaten in Lent; the clergy may marry; and auricular confeſſion is unneceſſary.

4. Confirmation is no ſacrament; we are not bound to pay obedience to the pope; miniſters ſhould live upon tithes; no dignity ſets one clergyman above another, for their ſuperiority can only be drawn from real worth.

5. Images in churches are abſurd; image-worſhip is idolatry; the pope's indulgences ridiculous; and the miracles pretended to be done by the church of Rome are falſe.

6. Fornication and public ſtews ought not to be allowed; purgatory is a fiction; and deceaſed perſons, called ſaints, ought not to be prayed to.

7. Extreme unction is not a ſacrament; and maſſes, indulgences, and prayers are of no ſervice to the dead.

8. The Lord's prayer ought to be the rule of all other prayers.

Waldo himſelf remained three years undiſcovered in Lyons, though the utmoſt diligence was uſed to apprehend him. However, being greatly beloved, he was not betrayed; but at length found an opportunity of eſcaping from the place of his concealment to the mountains of Dauphiny. Waldo ſoon after found means to propagate his doctrines in Dauphiny and Picardy, which ſo exaſperated Philip, king of France, that he put the latter province, as the moſt obnoxious of the two, under military execution; deſtroying above 300 gentlemen's ſeats, eraſing ſome walled towns, burning many of the reformed, and driving others into Flanders and Germany.

Notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, the reformed religion ſeemed to flouriſh; and the Waldenſes, in various parts, became more numerous than ever. Hence the pope accuſed them of hereſy, and the monks with immorality; the firſt aſſerting that they had fallen into many errors, and the latter that they committed many bad practices. Theſe ſlanders they, however, refuted in a modeſt publication, which at once defended the purity of their doctrines, and the piety of their lives.

The pope, incenſed at their increaſe, uſed all manner of arts for their extirpation; ſuch as excommunications, anathemas, canons, conſtitutions, decrees, &c. by which they were rendered incapable of holding places of truſt, honour, or profit; their lands were ſeized, their goods confiſcated, and they were not permitted to be buried in conſecrated ground.

Some of the Waldenſes having taken refuge in Spain, Aldephonſus, king of Arragon, at the inſtigation of the pope, publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly ordering all Roman-Catholics to perſecute them wherever they could be found; and decreeing that all who gave them the leaſt aſſiſtance ſhould be deemed traitors, and puniſhed accordingly.

The year after this edict Aldephonſus was ſeverely puniſhed by the hand of Providence: for his ſon was defeated in a great battle, and 50,000 of his men ſlain, by which a conſiderable portion of his kingdom fell into the hands of the Moors.

Notwithſtanding all the cruelties of the Papiſts, the reformed miniſters preached boldly againſt the Romiſh church; and Peter Waldo, in particular, wherever he went, aſſerted,

1. That the pope was antichriſt.
2. Maſs was an abomination.
3. The hoſt was an idol.
4. Purgatory was a fable.

Theſe proceedings of Waldo, and the reformed, occaſioned the firſt riſe of inquiſitors; for pope Innocent III. authorized certain monks inquiſitors to inquire for, and deliver over, the reformed to the ſecular power. The monks greatly abuſed this authority; for, upon the leaſt ſurmiſe or information, they delivered over the reformed to the magiſtrate, and the magiſtrate delivered them to the executioner; for the proceſs was ſhort, as an accuſation was deemed adequate to guilt, and a candid trial was never granted to the accuſed.

The pope finding that theſe cruel means had not the intended effect, determined to try others of a more rational and mild nature. To this end he ſent ſeveral learned monks to preach among the Waldenſes, and to endeavour to argue them out of their opinions. Among theſe monks was one Dominic, who appeared extremely zealous in the cauſe of Popery. This Dominic inſtituted an order, which, from him, was called the order of Dominican friars; and the members of this order have ever ſince been the principal inquiſitors in the various inquiſitions in the world. The power of the inquiſitors was unlimited; they proceeded againſt whom they pleaſed without any conſideration of age, ſex, or rank. Let the accuſers be ever ſo infamous, the accuſation was deemed valid; and even anonymous informations ſent by letter were thought ſufficient evidence. To be rich was a crime equal to hereſy; therefore many who had money were accuſed of hereſy, or of being favourers of heretics, that they might be obliged to pay for their opinions. The deareſt friends or neareſt kindred could not, without danger, ſerve any one who was impriſoned on account of religion. To convey to thoſe who were confined, a little ſtraw, or give them a cup of water, was called favouring of the heretics, and they were proſecuted accordingly. No lawyer dared to plead even for his own brother, or notary regiſter any thing in favour of the reformed; the malice of the Papiſts, indeed, went beyond the grave, and the bones of many Waldenſes, who had been long dead, were dug up in order to be burnt, as examples to the living. If a man on his death-bed was accuſed of being a follower of Waldo, his eſtates were confiſcated, and the heir to them defrauded of his inheritance; and ſome were even obliged to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land while the Dominicans took poſſeſſion of their houſes and properties, and when the owners returned would often pretend not to know them.

Enraudus, a knight, being accuſed of embracing the opinions of Waldo, was delivered to the ſecular power, and burnt at Paris, A. D. 1201. About the year 1228 ſuch numbers of the reformed were apprehended, that the archbiſhops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, took compaſſion on them, and thus expreſſed themſelves to the inquiſitors. "We hear that you have apprehended ſuch a multitude of the Waldenſes, that it is not only impoſſible to defray the charge of their food and confinement, but to provide lime and ſtone to build priſons for them."

In the year 1380, a monk inquiſitor, named Francis Boralli, had a commiſſion granted him by pope Clement the ſeventh, to ſearch for and puniſh the Waldenſes in Aix, Ambrune, Geneva, Savoy, Orange, Arles, Vienne, Ambone, Venice, and Avignon.

Boralli opened his commiſſion at Ambrune, and ſummoned all the inhabitants to appear before him. Thoſe who appeared, and were found to be of the reformed religion, were immediately delivered over to the ſecular power, and burnt; and thoſe who did not appear were excommunicated for contumacy, and had their effects confiſcated. In the diſtribution of the effects, however, they provided well for the ſons of the church; for the clergy had two thirds of every man's property who was condemned, and the ſecular power only one third. All the reformed inhabitants of the other places, named in the commiſſion of this eccleſiaſtic, were equal ſufferers; for devaſtations marked his journey, and his footſteps might be traced in blood.

In the year 1400, the Waldenſes, who reſided in the valley of Pragela, were, at the inſtigation of ſome prieſts, ſuddenly attacked by a body of troops, who plundered their houſes, murdered many, and drove others into the Alps, where great numbers were frozen to death, it being in the depth of winter.

A. D. 1460, a proſecution was carried on in Dauphiny againſt the Waldenſes, by the archbiſhop of Ambrune, who employed a monk, named John Vayleti; and this monk proceeded with ſuch violence, that not only the Waldenſes but even many Papiſts were ſufferers. For if any Papiſts expreſſed compaſſion or pity for the inoffenſive people, who were ſo cruelly treated, they were ſure to be accuſed of favouring the Waldenſes, and to be puniſhed for commiſerating the miſeries of their fellow-creatures. At length Vayleti's proceedings became ſo intolerable, that a great number of the Papiſts themſelves wrote a petition againſt him to Lewis the eleventh, king of France. The monarch, on receiving this petition, granted the requeſt of the petitioners, and ſent an expreſs order to the governor of Dauphiny to ſtop the perſecution.

Vayleti, however, by the order of the archbiſhop, ſtill continued the perſecution; for taking advantage of the laſt clauſe of the edict, he pretended that he did nothing contrary to the king's precept, who had ordered puniſhment to ſuch as affirmed any thing againſt the holy catholic faith. This perſecution at length concluded with the death of the archbiſhop, which happened A. D. 1487.

Pope Innocent the eighth, A. D. 1488, determined to perſecute the Waldenſes. To this end he ſent one Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, to France. When Albert arrived in Dauphiny, he craved the aſſiſtance of the king's lieutenant to exterminate the Waldenſes from the valley of Loyſe. The lieutenant very readily granted his aſſiſtance, and marched a body of troops to the place. When they arrived at the valley, they found that it had been deſerted by the inhabitants, who had retired to the mountains, and hid themſelves in caves, caverns, &c. The archdeacon and lieutenant immediately followed them with the troops, and catching many, they caſt them headlong from precipices, by which they were daſhed to pieces. Several, however, retired to the further parts of the caverns, and knowing the intricacies better than the troops, they were able to conceal themſelves. The archdeacon and lieutenant, not being able to come at them, ordered the mouths of the caves to be filled with faggots, which being lighted, thoſe within were ſuffocated. On the caves being afterwards ſearched, 400 infants were found ſmothered, either in their cradles or their mother's arms; and, upon the whole, about 3000 men, women, and children, were deſtroyed in this perſecution.

Having completed this tragical work, the lieutenant and archdeacon proceeded with the troops to Pragelo and Fraſſaniere, in order to perſecute the Waldenſes in thoſe parts. But theſe having heard of the fate of their brethren in the valley of Loyſe, thought proper to arm themſelves; and by fortifying the different paſſes, and bravely diſputing the paſſages through them, they ſo haraſſed the troops, that the lieutenant was compelled to retire without effecting his purpoſe.

In 1594, Anthony Fabri, and Chriſtopher de Saliènce, having a commiſſion to perſecute the Waldenſes of Dauphiny, put ſome to death, ſequeſtered the eſtates of others, and confiſcated the goods and chattels of many; but Lewis the twelfth coming to the crown in 1598, on the deceaſe of his predeceſſor, the Waldenſes petitioned him for a reſtitution of their properties. The king determined to have the affair impartially canvaſſed, and to this end ſent a commiſſioner of his own, together with a commiſſary from the pope, to make the proper inquiries. The witneſs againſt the Waldenſes having been examined, the innocence of thoſe poor people evidently appeared, and the king's commiſſioner in particular declared, "That he only deſired to be as good a Chriſtian as the worſt of them." When this favourable report was made to the king, he immediately gave orders that the Waldenſes ſhould have their property reſtored to them. The archbiſhop of Ambrune, having the greateſt quantity of theſe poor people's goods, it was generally imagined that he would ſet a laudable example to others, by being the firſt to reſtore them. The archbiſhop, however, to the ſurpriſe of the people in general, and to the affliction of the Waldenſes in particular, declared, that he would not reſtore any of the property alluded to, for they were incorporated with, and became part of his archbiſhopric itſelf. He, however, with an affectation of ſome ſmall degree of candour, offered to relinquiſh ſeveral vineyards, of which he had diſpoſſeſſed the Waldenſes, provided, at the ſame time, the lords of Dauphiny would reſtore all they had taken from thoſe poor people. This the lords abſolutely refuſed, for they were as fond of keeping their ill-got plunder as the archbiſhop himſelf.

The Waldenſes finding, by theſe mean ſubterfuges, and unjuſt proceedings, that they were not likely to recover any of their property, without ſomething further being done, again appealed to the king. The monarch having attended to their complaints, wrote to the archbiſhop; but that artful and avaricious prelate replied, "That at the commencement of the perſecution the Waldenſes had been excommunicated by the pope, in conſequence of which their goods were diſtrained; therefore, till the ſentence of excommunication was taken off, which had occaſioned them to be ſeized, they could not be reſtored with propriety, or conſiſtent with the reſpect due to the pontiff." This plea was allowed to be reaſonable; and application was ineffectually made to the pope to remove the ſentence of excommunication; for the archbiſhop, ſuppoſing this would be the caſe, had uſed all his intereſt at the court of Rome, to prevent ſuch application from ſucceeding. Thus were the poor Waldenſes robbed of their property, only becauſe they would not ſacrifice their conſciences to the will of their inhuman perſecutors.

The Waldenſes having ſpread from Dauphiny into ſeveral other provinces, became very numerous in Provence. At their firſt arrival, Provence was almoſt a deſert, but by their great induſtry it ſoon abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruit, &c.

The pope, by being often near them at his ſeat at Avignon, heard occaſionally many things concerning their differing from the church of Rome. His intelligence greatly exaſperated him, and he determined to have them perſecuted on account of their religious tenets. Proceeding to ſome extremities, under the ſanction of his eccleſiaſtical authority, only without conſulting the king of France, the latter became alarmed, and ſent his maſter of requeſts, and his confeſſor, to examine into the affair. On their return they reported that the Waldenſes were not ſuch dangerous or bad people as they had been repreſented; that they lived with perfect honeſty, were friendly to all, hurt none, cauſed their children to be baptized, had them taught the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments; expounded the ſcriptures with purity, kept the Lord's-day ſacred, feared God, honoured the king, and wiſhed well to the ſtate. Then, ſaid the king, they are much better Chriſtians than myſelf or my catholic ſubjects, and therefore they ſhall not be perſecuted: the king was as good as his word, and ſent orders to ſtop the perſecution accordingly.

Some time after, the inhabitants of Merindol received a ſummons, that the heads of the families of that town ſhould appear before the eccleſiaſtical court. When they appeared, and confeſſed themſelves Waldenſes, they were ordered to be burnt, their families outlawed, their habitations laid waſte, and the woods that ſurrounded the town to be cut down, two hundred paces each way; ſo that the whole ſhould be rendered deſolate. The king however, being informed of this barbarous decree, ſent to countermand the execution of it: but his order was ſuppreſſed by cardinal Tournon, and the greateſt cruelties were conſequently exerciſed.

The preſident of Opede ſent ſeveral companies of ſoldiers to burn ſome villages that were occupied by Proteſtants, which they performed; and, without the leaſt reſpect to ſex or age, murdered the men immediately, raviſhed the women, cut off the breaſts of mothers, and then ſuffered the infants to famiſh, &c. &c. The preſident likewiſe proclaimed, that none ſhould give any manner of aſſiſtance, or ſuſtenance, to the Waldenſes.

Going to another ſmall town, the preſident found there only a boy, who had ſurrendered himſelf to a ſoldier, for the other inhabitants had deſerted the place. The boy he ordered to be ſhot by the ſoldier to whom he had ſurrendered, and then deſtroyed every houſe in the place.

After this the preſident marched againſt Cabrieres, and began to cannonade it. At this time there were not above ſixty poor peaſants, with their families, in the town; and they ſent him word, that he need not expend powder and ſhot upon the place, as they were willing to open the gates, and ſurrender, provided they might be permitted to retire, with their families, to Geneva, or Germany. This was promiſed them; but the gates were no ſooner opened, than the preſident ordered all the men to be cut to pieces; which cruel command was executed with the utmoſt barbarity. Several women and children were crammed into a large barn, which was ſet fire to, and every one periſhed in the flames. Other women and children having taken refuge in a church, the preſident ordered one of his officers to go in and kill them all: the captain, at firſt, refuſed, ſaying, "Such unneceſſary cruelty is unbecoming a military man." The preſident, being diſpleaſed at this reply, ſaid, "I charge you, on pain of being accuſed of mutiny, immediately to obey my orders:" when the captain, afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a reply, thought proper to comply, and make a ſacrifice of humanity to the fear of military puniſhment.

The preſident then ſent a detachment of his troops to ravage the town of Coſta, which deſign was accompliſhed with the greateſt barbarity, and cruelties were exerciſed, ſhocking both to modeſty and nature.

At length, the judgment of God overtook this monſter of cruelty, the preſident; for he was, at once, afflicted with a dreadful bloody-flux, and a painful ſtrangury. In this extremity he ſent for a ſurgeon from Arles, who, on examining his diſorders, told him they were of a ſingular nature, and much worſe than he had ever ſeen

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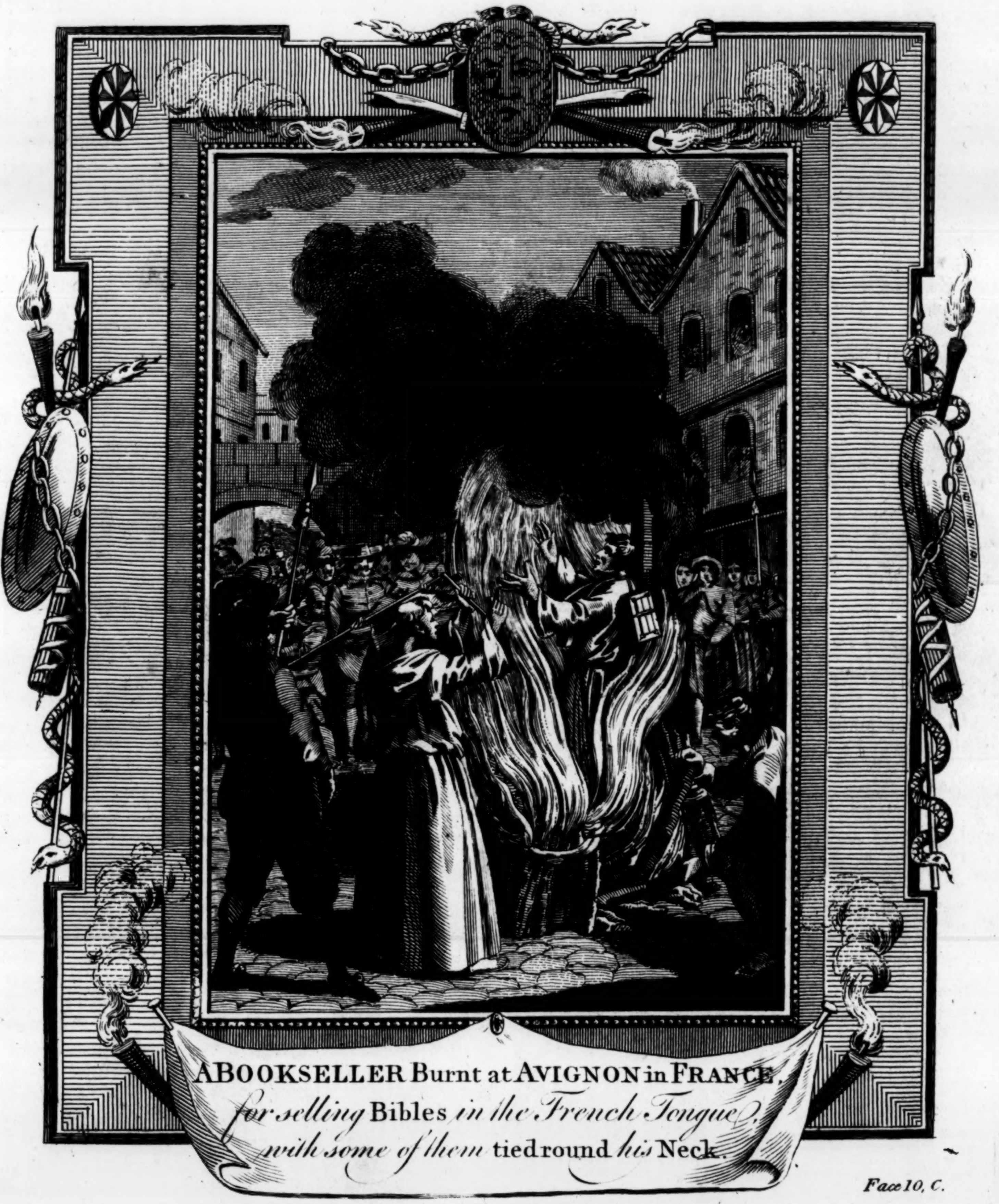

A BOOKSELLER Burnt at **AVIGNON** in **FRANCE**, *for selling* Bibles *in the French Tongue*, *with some of them* tied round *his* Neck.

Face 10, C.

them on any other perſon. He then took an occaſion to reprehend him for his cruelties, and told him, that unleſs he repented, he might expect that the hand of heaven would fall ſtill heavier upon him. On hearing theſe words, the preſident flew into a violent paſſion, and ordered his attendants to ſeize upon the ſurgeon as an heretic.

The ſurgeon was ſeized, but found means to eſcape, and ſoon after the preſident's diſorder increaſed to a moſt terrible degree. As he before found ſome little eaſe from the ſurgeon, he again ſent to him, for he had been informed of the place of his retirement. His meſſage was accompanied with an apology for his former behaviour, and a promiſe of perſonal ſecurity. The ſurgeon forgiving what was paſt, went to him, but too late to be of any ſervice; for he found the preſident raving like a madman, and crying out, that he had a fire within him. After ſtorming and blaſpheming for ſome time, he expired in the moſt dreadful agonies; and his body in a few hours, became ſo offenſive, that hardly any one could endure the ſtench.

John de Roma, a monk, having a commiſſion from the pope to ſearch for heretics, he executed it with great ſeverity in Provence. The king of France hearing of his proceedings, ſent an order to the parliament of Provence to apprehend him; but the monk made his eſcape to Avignon, and thought to live luxuriouſly upon what he had plundered from the Waldenſes. But in this he was miſtaken, for ſome robbers ſoon after plundered him of the greateſt part of his ill-got wealth; and his grief on this account brought on a violent diſorder, which, by turning him, even while living, into a mere maſs of putrefaction, ſoon put a period to his exiſtence.

The biſhop of Aix, with ſome prieſts, being at Avignon together, were one day walking along the ſtreets with ſome courtezans. Seeing a man who ſold obſcene pictures, they purchaſed ſeveral, and preſented them to the women. Cloſe by was a bookſeller, who had a great number of Bibles in the French language for ſale. The biſhop ſtepping up to him, ſaid, "How dareſt thou be ſo bold as to ſell French merchandize in this town?" The bookſeller replied, with a kind of ſneer, "My lord, do you not think that Bibles are as good as thoſe pictures which you have bought for the ladies?" Enraged at the ſarcaſm, the biſhop exclaimed, "I'll renounce my place in paradiſe if this fellow is not one of the Waldenſes. Take him away, take him away, take him away to priſon." Theſe expreſſions occaſioned him to be terribly uſed by the rabble; and the next day he was brought before the judge, who, at the inſtigation of the biſhop, condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly burnt, with two Bibles hanging from his neck, the one before and the other behind.

An Account *of the PERSECUTIONS of the* ALBIGENSES.

THE Albigenſes were people of the reformed religion, who inhabited the country of Albi. They were condemned on the ſcore of religion, in the council of Lateran, by order of pope Alexander the Third. Nevertheleſs they increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that many cities were inhabited by perſons only of their perſuaſion, and ſeveral eminent noblemen embraced their doctrines. Among the latter were Raymond, earl of Thoulouſe, Raymond, earl of Foix, the earl of Beziers, &c. The pope, at length, pretended that he wiſhed to draw them to the Romiſh faith by ſound argument and clear reaſoning, and for this end ordered a general diſputation, in which, however, the popiſh doctors were entirely overcome by the arguments of Arnold, a reformed clergyman, whoſe reaſons were ſo ſtrong, that they were compelled to confeſs their force.

A friar, named Peter, having been murdered in the dominions of the earl of Thoulouſe, the pope made the murder a pretence to perſecute that nobleman and his ſubjects. To effect this, he ſent perſons throughout all Europe, in order to raiſe forces to act coercively againſt the Albigenſes, and promiſed paradiſe to all that would come to this war, which he termed a Holy War, and bear arms for forty days. The ſame indulgences were likewiſe held out to all who entered themſelves for this purpoſe, as to ſuch as engaged in cruſades to the Holy Land.

The pope then ſent orders to all archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. to excommunicate the earl of Thoulouſe every ſabbath and feſtival; at the ſame time abſolving all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and commanding them to purſue his perſon, poſſeſs his lands, deſtroy his property, murder ſuch of his ſubjects as continued faithful to him, &c. &c.

The earl of Thoulouſe hearing of theſe mighty preparations againſt him, wrote to the pope in a very candid manner, deſiring not to be condemned unheard, and aſſuring him that he had not the leaſt hand in Peter's death: for that friar was killed by a gentleman, who immediately after the murder fled out of his territories, or otherwiſe he would have puniſhed him as the crime deſerved.

But arguments were in vain: for the pope, being determined on his deſtruction, was reſolved not to hear reaſon. A formidable army, with ſeveral noblemen and prelates at the head of it, began their march againſt the Albigenſes. The earl had only the alternative, to oppoſe force by force, or ſubmit. As he deſpaired of ſucceſs in attempting the former, he determined on the latter. The pope's legate being at Valence, the earl repaired thither, and ſaid, "He was ſurpriſed that ſuch a number of armed men ſhould be ſent againſt him, before the leaſt proof of his guilt had been deduced. He therefore came voluntarily to ſurrender himſelf, armed only with the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and hoped that the troops would be prevented from plundering his innocent ſubjects, as he thought himſelf a ſufficient pledge for any vengeance they choſe to take on account of the death of the friar."

To this reaſonable propoſal the legate replied, that he was very glad the earl had voluntarily ſurrendered; but, with reſpect to the propoſal, he could not pretend to countermand the orders to the troops, unleſs he would conſent to deliver up ſeven of his beſt fortified caſtles, as ſecurities for his future behaviour.

This demand made the earl perceive his error in ſubmitting, but it was too late; he knew himſelf to be a priſoner, and therefore ſent an order for the delivery of the caſtles. The pope's legate had no ſooner garriſoned theſe places, than he ordered the reſpective governors to appear before him. When they came, he ſaid, "That the earl of Thoulouſe having delivered up his caſtles to the pope, they muſt conſider that they were now the pope's ſubjects, and not the earl's; and that they muſt therefore act conformable to their new allegiance."

The governors were greatly aſtoniſhed to ſee their lord thus in chains, and themſelves compelled into a new allegiance, ſo much againſt their inclinations and conſciences. But what afflicted them ſtill more, was the affronts afterwards put upon the earl; for he was ſtripped naked, except his drawers, led nine times round the grave of friar Peter, and ſeverely ſcourged before all orders of people. Not contented with this, they obliged him to ſwear that he would be obedient to the pope during the remainder of his life, conform to the church of Rome, and make irreconcilable war againſt the Albigenſes. The legate even went further than this, and ordered him, by the oaths he had newly taken, to join the troops, and inſpect the ſiege of Beziers. But thinking this too hard an injunction, he took an opportunity privately to quit the army, and determined to go to the pope, and relate all the ill uſage he had received. The army, however, proceeded to beſiege Beziers; and the earl of Beziers, who was likewiſe governor of that city, thinking it impoſſible to defend the place, came out, and preſenting himſelf before the pope's legate, implored mercy for the inhabitants; intimating at the ſame time, that there were as many Roman-Catholics as Albigenſes in the city. The legate replied, that all excuſes availed nothing; that the place muſt be delivered up at diſcretion, or the moſt dreadful conſequences ſhould enſue.

The earl of Beziers returning into the city, told the inhabitants he could obtain no mercy, unleſs the Albigenſes would abjure their religion, and conform to the worſhip of the church of Rome. The Roman-Catholics preſſed the Albigenſes to comply with this requeſt; but the Albigenſes nobly anſwered, that they would not forſake their religion for the baſe price of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleaſed, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confeſſion of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his ſake. That they had rather diſpleaſe the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who could caſt both body and ſoul into hell.

The popiſh parties finding their importunities ineffectual, ſent their biſhop to the pope's legate, beſeeching him not to include them in the chaſtiſement of the Albigenſes; and repreſenting, that the beſt means to win the latter over to the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion was by gentle means, and not by rigour. The legate, upon hearing this, flew into a violent paſſion with the biſhop, and declared, that "If all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they ſhould taſte of one curſe without diſtinction of religion, ſex, or age."

The inhabitants refuſing to yield upon ſuch terms, a general aſſault was given, and the place taken by ſtorm; when it is impoſſible for the imagination to paint a more horrid ſcene than now enſued. Every cruelty that barbarous ſuperſtition could deviſe was practiſed; nothing was to be heard but the groans of men who lay weltering in their blood; the lamentations of mothers who were doubly wounded, wounded in the body by the ſpears of the ſoldiers, and to the ſoul, by having their children taken from them, and daſhed to pieces before their faces. The plaints of violated maidens and raviſhed matrons, the cries of helpleſs infants, and the execrations of the barbarians who committed theſe cruelties, added to the ſounds of horror. The city being fired in various parts, new ſcenes of confuſion aroſe; in ſeveral places the ſtreets were ſtreaming with blood; here lofty buildings appeared in clouds of ſmoke, and there large ranges of houſes were ſeen in flames. Thoſe who hid themſelves in the receſſes of their dwellings, had only the dreadful alternative to remain and periſh in the flames, or ruſh out and fall by the ſwords of the ſoldiers. The bloody legate, during theſe infernal proceedings, ſeemed to enjoy the carnage, and even cried out to the troops, "Kill them, kill them all, kill man, woman, and child; kill Roman-Catholics as well as Albigenſes, for when they are dead the Lord knows how to pick out his own." Thus the beautiful city of Beziers was reduced to a heap of ruins; and 60,000 perſons of different ages, and both ſexes, were murdered upon the occaſion.

The earl of Beziers and a few others made their eſcape, and went to Carcaſſon, which they put into the beſt poſture of defence they could. The legate, not to loſe an opportunity of ſpilling blood during the forty days which the troops were to ſerve, led them immediately againſt Carcaſſon. As ſoon as the place was inveſted, a furious aſſault was given, but the beſiegers were repulſed with great ſlaughter; and upon this occaſion the earl of Beziers gave the moſt diſtinguiſhed proofs of his courage, ſaying, to encourage the beſieged, "We had better die fighting than fall into the hands of ſuch bigoted and bloody enemies."

It is to be obſerved, that two miles from the city of Carcaſſon there was a ſmall town of the ſame name, which the Albigenſes had likewiſe fortified. The legate, being enraged at the repulſe he had received from the city of Carcaſſon, determined to wreak his vengeance upon the town. The next morning he made a general aſſault; and, though the place was bravely defended, the legate took it by ſtorm, put all within it to the ſword, and then burnt the town.

During theſe tranſactions the king of Arragon arrived at the camp, and after paying his obedience to the legate, told him, he underſtood the earl of Beziers, his kinſman, was in the city of Carcaſſon, and that, if he would grant him permiſſion, he would go thither, and endeavour to make him ſenſible of the duty he owed both to the pope and church. The legate readily acquieſcing, the king immediately repaired to the earl, and, among other queſtions, aſked him from what motives he ſhut himſelf up in that city, and againſt ſo great an army? The earl anſwered, it was to defend his life, goods, and ſubjects; that he knew the pope, under pretence of religion, reſolved to deſtroy his uncle, the earl of Thouloufe, and himſelf; that he ſaw the cruelty which they had uſed at Beziers, even againſt the prieſts: adding alſo what they had done to the town of Carcaſſon, and that they muſt look for no mercy from the legate or his army; he, therefore, rather choſe to die, defending himſelf with his ſubjects, than fall into the hands of ſo inexorable an enemy as the legate: that though he had in his city ſome that were of another religion, yet they were ſuch as had not wronged any, were come to his ſuccour in his greateſt extremity, and for their good ſervice he was reſolved not to abandon them; that his truſt was in God, the defender of the oppreſſed; and that he would aſſiſt them againſt thoſe ill-adviſed men, who forſook their own houſes to burn, ſack, and kill other men without reaſon, judgment, or mercy.

The king reported to the legate what the earl had ſaid: the legate, after conſidering for ſome time, replied, "For your ſake, ſir, I will receive the earl of Beziers to mercy, and with him twelve others ſhall be ſafe, and be permitted to retire with their property: but as for the reſt, I am determined to have them at my diſcretion."

This anſwer diſpleaſed the king; and when the earl heard it, he abſolutely refuſed to comply with ſuch terms. The legate then commanded another aſſault, but his troops were again repulſed with great ſlaughter, and the dead bodies occaſioned a ſtench that was exceedingly offenſive both to the beſieged and beſiegers.

The legate, being ſhagrined at this ſecond diſappointment, determined to act by ſtratagem. He therefore ſent a gentleman, who was well ſkilled in diſſimulation and artifice, to the earl of Beziers, with a ſeeming friendly meſſage. The deſign was, by any means, to induce the earl to leave the city, in order to have an interview with the legate; and to this end the gentleman was to promiſe, or ſwear, whatever he thought proper; for, ſays the legate, "Swear to what falſehoods you will in ſuch a cauſe, as I will give you abſolution."

Unfortunately, this infamous plot ſucceeded: for the earl, believing the promiſes made him of perſonal ſecurity, and crediting the ſolemn oaths that the perjured agent ſwore upon the occaſion, left the city and went with him. The legate no ſooner ſaw him, than he told him "He was a priſoner, and muſt remain ſo till Carcaſſon was ſurrendered, and the inhabitants taught their duty to the pope."

The earl on hearing this, cried out that he was betrayed, and exclaimed againſt the treachery of the legate, and perjury of the perſon he had employed. His complaints, however, availed him nothing, for he was ordered into cloſe confinement, and the place ſummoned to ſurrender immediately.

The people, on receiving the ſummons, and hearing of the captivity of the earl, were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, when one of the citizens begging to be heard, informed the reſt, "That he had been formerly told by ſome old men, that there was a very capacious ſubterraneous paſſage, which led from thence to the caſtle of Cameret, at three leagues diſtance. If (continued he) we can find this paſſage, we may all eſcape before the legate can be apprized of our flight."

This information was joyfully received; all were employed to ſeach for the paſſage, and at length, it was happily found. In the beginning of the evening the inhabitants began their flight, taking with them their wives, children, a few days proviſions, and ſuch moveables as were moſt valuable and portable. They reached the caſtle by the morning, and eſcaped to Arragon, Catalonia, and ſuch other places as they thought would ſecure them from the power of the bloody legate.

In the morning the troops were ſtrangely aſtoniſhed, not hearing any noiſe, nor ſeeing any man ſtirring in the city; yet they approached the walls with much fear, leſt it ſhould be but a ſtratagem to endanger them; but finding no oppoſition they mounted the walls, crying out, that the Albigenſes were fled; and thus was the city, with all the ſpoils, taken, and the earl of Beziers committed to priſon in one of the ſtrongeſt towers of Carcaſſon, where he ſoon after died.

The legate being now in poſſeſſion of the city, called all the prelates, and great lords of his army together, telling them, that though it was requiſite there ſhould be always a legate in the army, yet it was likewiſe neceſſary that there ſhould be a ſecular general, wiſe and valiant, to command in all their affairs, &c. This charge was firſt offered to the duke of Burgongue, then to the earl of Ennevers, and thirdly, to the earl of St. Paul; but they all refuſed it. At length, it was offered to Simon, earl of Montfort, who, after ſome excuſes, accepted of it.

Four thouſand men were left to garriſon Carcaſſon, and the deceaſed earl of Beziers was ſucceeded in title and dignity by earl Simon, a bigoted Roman-Catholic, who threatened vengence on the Albigenſes, unleſs they conformed to the worſhip of the church of Rome.

The king of Arragon, however, who was in his heart of the reformed perſuaſion, ſecretly encouraged the Albigenſes, and gave them hopes, that if they acted with prudence, they might caſt off the yoke of the tyrannical earl Simon. They took his advice, and while Simon was gone to Montpellier, they ſurpriſed ſome of his fortreſſes, and were ſucceſsful in ſeveral expeditions againſt his officers.

Theſe proceedings ſo enraged earl Simon, that returning from Montpellier, he collected together ſome forces, marched againſt the Albigenſes, and ordered every priſoner he took to be immediately burnt. Failing, however, in ſome of his enterprizes, he grew diſheartened, and wrote to every Roman-Catholic power in Europe, to ſend him ſome aſſiſtance, otherwiſe he ſhould not be able to hold out againſt the Albigenſes.

Having received ſome ſuccours, he attacked the caſtle of Beron, and making himſelf maſter of it, ordered the eyes to be put out, and the noſes to be cut off, of all the garriſon, one perſon alone excepted, and he was deprived of one eye only, that he might conduct the reſt to Cabaret.

Being joined by ſome additional forces, earl Simon undertook the ſiege of Menerbe, which, on account of the want of water, was obliged to yield to him. The lord of Termes, the governor, was put in priſon, where he died; his wife, ſiſter, and daughter, were burnt; and one hundred and eighty others were committed to the flames. Many other caſtles ſurrendered to the forces of earl Simon, and the inhabitants were butchered in a manner equally inhuman.

It is now neceſſary to take ſome notice of the earl of Thouloufe, who by means of letters of recommendation from the king of France, after many difficulties, was reconciled to the pope: at leaſt the pope pretended to give him remiſſion for the death of friar Peter, and to abſolve him from all other crimes he had committed.

The legate, however, by the connivance of the pope, did all he could to ruin the earl of Thouloufe. Some altercations having paſſed between them, the legate excommunicated the earl; and the Roman-Catholic biſhop of Thouloufe, upon this encouragement, thought proper to ſend this imprudent meſſage to the earl, "That as he was an excommunicated perſon, he commanded him to depart the city; for an eccleſiaſtic could not ſay maſs with propriety, while a perſon of ſuch a deſcription was ſo near him."

The earl was greatly exaſperated at the biſhop's inſolence, and ſent him an order immediately to depart from the place on pain of death. This order was all the prelate wanted, and was what he wiſhed for, as it would give him ſome ſhadow of a reaſon to complain of that nobleman.

The biſhop with the canons of the cathedral church marched out of the city in ſolemn proceſſion, barefooted and bareheaded, taking with them the croſs, banner, hoſt, &c. and proceeded in that manner to the legate's army. Here they were received with great reſpect as perſecuted martyrs, and the legate thought this a ſufficient excuſe to proceed againſt the earl of Thouloufe, for having as he termed it, relapſed from the truth. The legate attempted to get him into his power by ſtratagem, but the earl being apprized of the deſign, eſcaped the ſnare.

Enraged at his diſappointment, the legate laid ſiege to the caſtle of Montferrand, which belonged to the earl, and was governed by Baldwin his brother. On the firſt ſummons, Baldwin not only ſurrendered, but abjured his religion, and turned Papiſt. This ſtroke, which ſeverely afflicted the earl of Thouloufe, was followed by another that gave him ſtill greater mortification; for his old friend the king of Arragon forſook his intereſt; and it was ſtipulated, that the king of Arragon's daughter ſhould be married to earl Simon's eldeſt ſon. The legate's troops were then joined by the forces of Arragon and thoſe belonging to earl Simon, when they jointly laid ſiege to Thouloufe.

The earl of Thouloufe determined to interrupt the beſiegers by frequent ſallies. In the firſt of theſe he met with a ſevere repulſe; but in the ſecond he took earl Simon's ſon priſoner, and in the third he unhorſed earl Simon himſelf. After ſeveral furious aſſaults given by the popiſh army, and ſome other ſucceſsful ſallies of the Albigenſes, the earl of Thouloufe compelled his enemies to raiſe the ſiege. In their retreat they did much miſchief in the countries through which they paſſed, and put many defenceleſs Albigenſes to death.

The earl of Thouloufe now did all he could to recover the friendſhip of the king of Arragon, and as the marriage ceremony between that monarch's daughter, and earl Simon's ſon, had not been performed, he entreated him to break off that prepoſterous match, and propoſed another more proper, viz. that his own eldeſt ſon and heir to the earldom of Thouloufe ſhould wed the princeſs of Arragon, and that by this match their friendſhip ſhould be again united and more firmly cemented.

The king of Arragon was eaſily perſuaded not only to come into this propoſal, but to form a league with the principal Albigenſes, and to put himſelf as captain general at the head of their united forces, conſiſting of his own people, and of the troops of the earls of Thouloufe, Foix, and Comminges. The Papiſts were greatly alarmed at theſe proceedings; earl Simon ſent all over Chriſtendom to engage the aſſiſtance of the Roman-Catholic powers, and the pope's legate began hoſtilities by entering the dominions of the earl of Foix, and committing the moſt cruel depredations.

The army of the Albigenſes being ready to take the field, the king of Arragon began his operations by laying ſiege to Murat, a town near Thouloufe, belonging to the Roman-Catholics, ſtrongly fortified, and pleaſantly ſituated upon the river Garonne. Earl Simon, by forced marches, came to the aſſiſtance of the place; and unfortunately the king of Arragon, who kept up very little diſcipline in his army, was feaſting and revelling, at a time when all his attention was requiſite. Earl Simon ſuddenly attacked the Albigenſes, while they were in confuſion, when the united forces of the reformed were defeated, and the king of Arragon himſelf was ſlain. The loſs of this battle was imputed to the negligence of the king of Arragon, who kept up no manner of order in his army, and was as fond of entertainment in a camp, as if he had been ſecurely at peace in a palace.

Fluſhed with this victory, the popiſh commanders declared they would entirely root out and extirpate the whole race of the Albigenſes; and earl Simon ſent an inſolent meſſage to the earls of Thouloufe, Foix, and Comminges, to deliver to him all the caſtles and fortreſſes of which they were poſſeſſed. Thoſe noblemen did not think proper to return an anſwer to the demand, but retired to their reſpective territories, in order to put them into the beſt poſture of defence.

Earl Simon marched towards the city of Thoulouſe, when the earl of Thoulouſe, who had retired to Montalban, ſent word to the citizens of the former place, to make the beſt terms they could with the Roman-Catholics, as he was confident they could not hold out a ſiege; but at the ſame time recommended them to preſerve their hearts for him, though they ſurrendered their perſons to another. The citizens of Thoulouſe, upon receiving this intimation, ſent deputies to earl Simon, with offers of immediate ſurrender, provided the city itſelf, and the perſons and properties of it's inhabitants, ſhould be perfectly ſafe, and protected from devaſtations or injury.

Theſe conditions were agreed to immediately, and earl Simon, in order to ingratiate himſelf at court, wrote a letter to prince Lewis, the ſon of Philip, king of France, informing him that the city of Thoulouſe had offered to ſurrender to him; but being willing that the prince ſhould have the honour of receiving the keys, and taking the homage of the people, he begged that he would repair to the camp for that purpoſe.

Prince Lewis, pleaſed with the invitation, went directly to the army, and had the city of Thoulouſe ſurrendered to him in form. The pope's legate, however, was greatly diſpleaſed at the mild conditions granted to the people of Thoulouſe, and inſiſted, that though the prince might take upon him the ſovereignty of the place, and receive the homage of the people, yet the plunder belonged to the holy pilgrims (for ſo the popiſh ſoldiers employed in theſe expeditions were called); and that the place, as a receptacle of heretics, ought to be diſmantled.

In vain did the prince and earl Simon, remonſtrate againſt ſuch harſh proceedings, ſo contrary to the conditions granted at the ſurrender of the place: the legate was peremptory, when earl Simon, and the prince, unwilling to come to an open rupture with him, gave up the point, and ſuffered him to do as he pleaſed. The legate immediately ſent his holy pilgrims, as he termed them, to work, when they preſently diſmantled the city, and plundered the inhabitants: thus the poor people were ſtripped of all their property, at a time they thought themſelves perfectly ſecured, by the articles of the treaty of ſurrender.

The pope's legate finding that among the Albigenſes were many lucrative places, which would of courſe fall to the diſpoſal of the prince, he determined, by an artifice, to deprive him of any advantage which might accrue from thence; for he thought the Romiſh church ought to engroſs and monopolize every thing that was valuable. To this end he gave abſolution to the Albigenſes, which, though they had not in the leaſt changed their religious opinions, he cunningly called reconciling them to the church. The prince, not apprized of this ſtratagem, was going to put ſuch of his officers as he thought merited encouragement, into the poſſeſſion of ſome places of profit; when, to his great aſtoniſhment, the legate informed him, that he had no power to diſpoſe of thoſe places. The prince demanded an explanation of his meaning. "My meaning (replied the legate) is, that the people have received abſolution, and being reconciled to, are conſequently under the protection of, the church; therefore, all places among, or connected with them, are in the diſpoſal of the church only."

The prince, though offended at this curious mode of reaſoning, and highly diſpleaſed at the meanneſs of the ſubterfuge, thought proper, at that time, to diſſemble his reſentment. Determined, however, to quit the legate, he put the troops that were under his command in motion, and marched to attack ſome other fortreſſes; but he found, wherever he came, that the legate had played the ſame trick, and plainly perceived, if he continued his military operations, that when unſucceſsful, he ſhould bear all the blame, and when ſucceſsful, the legate would run away with all the profit. Theſe conſiderations convinced him of the folly of remaining longer in the army; he therefore left it in diſguſt, and returned to court.

Earl Simon now, with his own forces, thoſe the prince had juſt quitted, and ſome other auxiliaries, undertook the ſiege of Foix, being provoked to it by two reaſons, viz. the death of his brother, who was ſlain by the earl of Foix, who was of the reformed perſuaſion. He lay before the caſtle of Foix for the ſpace of ten days, during which time he frequently aſſaulted it, but was as often repulſed. Hearing that an army of Arragonians were in full march towards him, in order to revenge the death of their king, he raiſed the ſiege of Foix, and went to meet them. The earl of Foix immediately ſallied out and haraſſed his rear, and the Arragonians attacking his front, gave him a total defeat, which compelled him to ſhut himſelf up in Carcaſſon.

The pope's legate called a council at Montpellier, for renewing the military operations againſt the Albigenſes, and for doing proper honour to earl Simon, who was preſent; for the Arragonians not taking advantage of their victory, had neglected to block up Carcaſſon, by which omiſſion earl Simon had the liberty to repair to Montpellier.

At the council the legate, in the pope's name, paid many compliments to earl Simon, and declared, that he ſhould be prince of all the countries that might in future be taken from the Albigenſes: at the ſame time, by order of the pontiff, he ſtyled him, The active and dextrous ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, and the invincible defender of the Catholic faith. But juſt as the earl was going to return thanks for theſe great honours, and fine encomiums, a meſſenger brought word, that the people having heard earl Simon was in the council, had taken up arms, and were coming thither to deſtroy him as a common diſturber.

This threw the whole council into great confuſion; and earl Simon, though a minute before ſtyled an Invincible Defender of the Faith, was glad to jump out of a window, and ſteal away from the city by the moſt private paſſages.

The affair becoming ſerious, according to the opinions of the Papiſts, the pope himſelf ſoon after called a council, to be held at Lateran, in which great powers were granted to Roman-Catholic inquiſitors, and many Albigenſes were immediately put to death. This council of Lateran likewiſe confirmed to earl Simon all the honours intended him by the council of Montpellier, and empowed him to raiſe another army againſt the Albigenſes.

Earl Simon immediately repaired to court, received his inveſtiture from the French king, and began to levy forces. Having raiſed a conſiderable number of troops, he determined if poſſible, to exterminate the Albigenſes, when he received advice, that his counteſs was beſieged in Narbonne, by the earl of Thoulouſe. Earl Simon proceeded to the relief of his wife, when the Albigenſes met him, gave him battle, and defeated him. He, however, found means to eſcape from the fight, and get into the caſtle of Narbonne.

During earl Simon's misfortunes, Thoulouſe was recovered by the Albigenſes; but the pope ſtill eſpouſing earl Simon's cauſe, raiſed forces on his account, and enabled him, once more, to undertake the ſiege of that city. The earl aſſaulted the place furiouſly, but being repulſed with great loſs, he ſeemed ſunk in affliction; when the pope's legate ſaid, to comfort him, "Fear nothing, my lord, make another vigorous attack; let us by any means recover the city, and deſtroy the inhabitants; and thoſe of our men who are ſlain in the fight, I will aſſure you ſhall immediately paſs into paradiſe." One of earl Simon's principal officers, on hearing this, ſaid with a ſneer, "Monſieur Cardinal, you talk with great aſſurance; but if the earl believes you, he will, as heretofore, pay dearly for his confidence."

Earl Simon, however, took the legate's advice, made another aſſault, and was again repulſed. To complete his misfortune, before the troops could recover from their confuſion, the earl of Foix made his appearance at the head of a formidable body of forces, and attacking the already diſpirited army of earl Simon, eaſily put them to the rout; when the earl himſelf narrowly eſcaped being drowned in the Garonne, into which he had haſtily plunged, in order to avoid being apprehended.

Now this miſcarriage almoſt broke earl Simon's heart; but the pope's legate bad him yet be of good cheer, for he would raiſe him another army; which promiſe, with ſome difficulty, and three years delay, he at length performed, and that bigoted nobleman was, once more, enabled to take the field. He bent his whole force againſt Thoulouſe, which he beſieged for the ſpace of nine months, when in one of the ſallies made by the beſieged, his horſe was wounded. The animal being in great anguiſh, ran away with him, and bore him directly under the ramparts of the city, when an archer taking aim, ſhot him in the thigh with an arrow; and a woman immediately after throwing a large ſtone from the wall, it ſtruck him upon the head, and killed him inſtantly. Upon the death of the earl, the ſiege was raiſed; but the legate, greatly enraged to be diſappointed of his wiſhed-for vengeance on the inhabitants of that devoted city, engaged the king of France in the cauſe, who ſent his ſon to beſiege it. The French prince, with ſome choſen troops, furiouſly aſſaulted Thoulouſe, but meeting with a ſevere repulſe, he grew ſick of the enterprize, and abandoned Thoulouſe to beſiege Miromand. This place he ſoon took by ſtorm, and put to the ſword all the inhabitants, conſiſting of 5000 men, women, and children.

Bertrand (for that was the legate's name) being very old, grew weary of following the army; but his paſſion for blood-ſpilling ſtill remained, as appears by his epiſtle to the pope, in which he begs to be recalled, on account of his age and infirmities; but entreats the pontiff to appoint a ſucceſſor, who might continue the wars, as he had done, with ſpirit and perſeverance.

Accordingly, the pope recalled Bertrand, and appointed Conrade, biſhop of Portua, to be legate in his room. The new legate determined to tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, and to perſecute the Albigenſes with the greateſt ſeverity. Guido, earl of Monfort, the ſon and heir of earl Simon, undertook the command of the troops, and immediately laid ſiege to Thoulouſe, before the walls of which he was ſlain. His brother Almerick ſucceeded to the command; but he was ſoon obliged to raiſe the ſiege by the ſpirited conduct of the beſieged.

Thereupon the legate prevailed upon the king of France to undertake the ſiege of Thoulouſe in perſon, and reduce to the obedience of the church thoſe obſtinate heretics, as he thought proper to call the brave Albigenſes. Hearing of the great preparations made by the king of France, the earl of Thoulouſe ſent the women, children, cattle, &c. into ſecret and ſecure places in the mountains, ploughed up the land, that the king's forces ſhould not obtain any forage, and did all that a ſkilful general could perform to ſave his country, and diſtreſs the enemy. By theſe wiſe regulations the French army, ſoon after entering the earldom of Thoulouſe, ſuffered all the extremities of famine, which obliged the troops to feed on the carcaſes of horſes, on dead dogs, cats, &c. which unwholeſome food produced the plague. This complicated diſtreſs broke the king's heart; nevertheleſs, his ſon, who ſucceeded him, determined to carry on the war, but was defeated in three ſeveral engagements by the earl of Thoulouſe.

However, the king, the queen-mother, and three archbiſhops, raiſed another formidable army, and had the art to perſuade the earl of Thoulouſe to come to a conference, when he was treacherouſly ſeized upon, made a priſoner, forced to appear bare-footed and bare-headed before his enemies, and compelled to ſubſcribe to the unreaſonable and ignominious conditions which follow:

1. That he ſhould abjure the faith he had hitherto defended.

2. That he ſhould be ſubject to the church of Rome.

3. That he ſhould give his daughter Joan in marriage to one of the brothers of the king of France.

4. That he ſhould maintain in Thoulouſe ſix popiſh profeſſors of the liberal arts, and two grammarians.

5. That he ſhould take upon him the croſs, and ſerve five years againſt the Saracens in the Holy Land.

6. That he ſhould level the walls of Thoulouſe with the ground.

7. That he ſhould deſtroy the walls and fortifications of thirty of his other cities and caſtles, as the legate ſhould direct.

8. That he ſhould remain priſoner in the Louvre at Paris, till his daughter was delivered to the king's commiſſioners.

Theſe cruel conditions were followed by a ſevere perſecution againſt the Albigenſes (many of whom ſuffered for the faith) and expreſs orders, that the laity ſhould not be permitted to read the ſacred writings.

The perſecution againſt the Albigenſes was very great in the year 1620. At a town called Tell, while the miniſter was preaching to a congregation of the reformed, the Papiſts attacked and murdered many of the people. A lady of conſiderable eminence, being exhorted to change her religion, if not for her own ſake, at leaſt for the ſake of the infant ſhe held in her arms, the lady, with an undaunted courage, ſaid, "I did not quit Italy, my native country, nor forſake the eſtate I had there, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt, to renounce him here. With reſpect to my infant, why ſhould I not deliver him up to death, ſince God delivered up his Son to die for us?" As ſoon as ſhe had done ſpeaking, they took the child from her, delivered it to a popiſh nurſe to bring up, and then cut to pieces the poor mother.

A youth of ſixteen, named Dominico Berto, refuſing to turn Papiſt, was ſet upon an aſs with his face to the tail, which he was obliged to hold in his hand for a bridle. In this condition he was led to the market-place, amidſt the acclamations of the populace; after which they cut off his noſe, ears, and cheeks, and burnt holes in ſeveral parts of his body till he at laſt died.

There was an Albigenſes young lady, of a noble family, ſeized by the Papiſts, and carried through the ſtreets with a paper mitre upon her head. After mocking, beating, and ſmearing her face with dirt, they bade her call upon the ſaints; to which ſhe replied, "My truſt and ſalvation is in Chriſt only; for even the Virgin Mary, without the merits of her Son, could not be ſaved." On hearing this, the multitude fell upon her, and ſoon put an end to her exiſtence.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *in* FRANCE, *previous to, and during the Civil Wars of that Nation.*

A Learned man, named Almericus, and ſix of his diſciples, were in the third century ordered to be burnt at Paris; for holding theſe tenets:

1. That God was no otherwiſe preſent in the ſacramental bread, than in any other bread.

2. That it was idolatry to build altars, or ſhrines, to ſaints.

3. That it was ridiculous to offer incenſe to ſaints.

4. That it was abſurd to kiſs the relics of ſaints.

However, the martyrdom of Almericus and his pupils did not prevent many from acknowledging the juſtneſs of his notions, and ſeeing the purity of the reformed religion; ſo that the faith of Chriſt continually increaſed, and in time not only ſpread itſelf over many parts of France, but diffuſed the light of the goſpel over various other nations.

About the year 1524, at a town in France, called Melden, one John Clark ſet up a bill on the church door, wherein he called the pope Antichriſt. For this offence he was repeatedly whipped, and then branded in the forehead: his mother, who ſtood by at the time, cried with a loud voice, "Bleſſed be Chriſt, and welcome theſe marks for his ſake." Going afterwards to Metz, in Lorraine, he demoliſhed ſome images, for which he had his right hand and noſe cut off, and his arms and breaſts torn by ſharp pincers. He ſuſtained theſe cruelties with amazing fortitude, and was even ſufficiently cool to ſing the 115th pſalm, which expreſsly forbids ſuperſtition.

Having ſung this pſalm with admirable patience, he was thrown into the fire, and burnt to aſhes.

Several perſons of the reformed perſuaſion were, about this time, beaten, racked, ſcourged, and burnt to death, in ſeveral parts of France; but more particularly at Paris, Malda, and Limoſin.

There was a native of Malda burnt in a ſlow fire for ſaying that maſs was a plain denial of the death and paſſion of Chriſt. At Limoſin, John de Cadurco, a clergyman of the reformed religion, was apprehended, degraded, and ordered to be burnt.

On his degradation, a friar undertook to preach a ſermon upon the occaſion; when opening the New Teſtament he pitched upon this text, in the firſt epiſtle of St. Paul the apoſtle, to Timothy, chap. iv. ver 1. "Now the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſsly, that in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrines of devils." The friar began to expound this verſe in favour of the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion, and in condemnation of the reformed religion, when John de Cadurco called to him, and begged, that before he proceeded in his ſermon, he would read the two verſes which followed that he had choſen for his text. The friar again opened the Teſtament, but on caſting his eye on the paſſage, he ſtood mute and confounded. John de Cadurco then deſired that the book might be handed to him; this requeſt being complied with, he read thus, "Speaking lies in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſeared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The Roman-Catholics plainly ſaw, but had not candour ſufficient to own their error; but inſtead of thanking the perſon who pointed out their being wrong, they condemned him to the flames, and he was accordingly burned.

Alexander Kanus, a reformed clergyman, was burnt at Paris in a ſlow fire; four men were committed to the flames for diſtributing about papers that ridiculed the ſaying maſs. One had his tongue bored through for ſpeaking ill of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. Peter Gaudet, a Genoeſe, was burnt by the deſire of his own uncle, a bigoted Roman-Catholic; and John Pointer, a ſurgeon, had his tongue cut out, and was then committed to the fire.

Many were martyred at Arras, Foutanis, and Rutiers, for being of the reformed religion; in particular, at the latter place, one Stephen Brune was condemned to be burnt for refuſing to attend maſs. When the fire was kindled, the flames were driven from him by a briſk gale of wind: this occaſioned the executioner to heap more faggots round him, and pour oil on them. Still, however, the wind blew the flames into a contrary direction, when the executioner abſurdly grew angry with Stephen Brune, and in his paſſion ſtruck him on the head. Brune very calmly ſaid in return, "As I am condemned only to be burnt, why do you ſtrike me with a ſtaff like a dog." This expreſſion ſo greatly enraged the executioner, that he ran him through with a pike, and then burnt the body when lifeleſs.

One Aymond de Lavoy, a miniſter of Bourdeaux, had a complaint lodged againſt him by the Romiſh clergy of that city. On hearing this, his friends adviſed him to abſcond; but he abſolutely refuſed ſo to do, and told them: "That ſhould he be abſent himſelf, the people might well imagine what he had preached conſiſted only of dreams and fables, and was not extracted from the pure word of God; but to prevent them from entertaining ſuch a notion, he determined to ſeal his teſtimony of the truth with his blood." When he was ſeized upon, the people would have reſcued him, but he deſired them to forbear, ſaying, "Since it is the will of God that I ſhould ſuffer for him, I will not reſiſt his will." He remained nine months in priſon on the information only, and patiently ſuffered all the inclemencies of a gaol. Being brought to trial, he was ordered to be racked; when in the extremity of the torture he comforted himſelf with this expreſſion; "This body muſt once die, but the ſoul ſhall live; for the kingdom of God endureth for ever." At length he ſwooned away; but on recovering, prayed for his perſecutors. The queſtion was then put to him, "Whether he would embrace the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion; which poſitively refuſing, he was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution he ſaid, "O Lord, make haſte to help me; tarry not; deſpiſe not the work of thy hands." And perceiving ſome who uſed to attend his ſermons, he addreſſed them thus, "My friends, I exhort you to ſtudy and learn the goſpel; for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power over the ſoul." The executioner then ſtrangled him, and burnt his body afterwards.

An apothecary of Blois, of the name of Huſſon, went from that city to Rouen, and there privately diſtributed and ſcattered about ſeveral ſmall pamphlets, explaining the tenets of the reformed church, and expoſing the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. Theſe books gave a general alarm, and a council being called, an order was iſſued for diligent ſearch to be made for the author and diſtributer. With ſome difficulty it was at length diſcovered that Huſſon had brought them to Rouen, and that he was gone towards Dieppe. Orders for a purſuit were given, and Huſſon being apprehended, was brought back to Rouen, where he confeſſed that he was both author and diſtributer of the books in queſtion. This confeſſion occaſioned his condemnation, when he was executed in the following manner. His tongue being cut out, his hands and feet were tied behind, and he was drawn up by a pulley to a gibbet, and then let down into a fire kindled beneath; in which ſituation he called upon the Lord, and ſoon breathed his laſt.

One Francis Bribard, ſecretary to cardinal de Bellay, for ſpeaking in favour of the reformed, had his tongue cut out, and was then burnt, A. D. 1554. James Cobard, a ſchool-maſter in the city of St. Michael, was burnt, A. D. 1545, for ſaying "That maſs was uſeleſs and abſurd;" and about the ſame time, fourteen men were burnt at Malda, their wives being compelled to ſtand by and behold the execution.

Peter Chapot brought a number of Bibles in the French tongue to France, and publicly ſold them there in the year 1546, for which being apprehended, he was condemned to be burnt; which ſentence was executed a few days after it paſſed. Soon after a cripple of Meaux, a ſchool-maſter of Fera, named Stephen Polliot, and a man named John Engliſh, were burned for the truth.

The choice being offered to Michael Michelot, either to recant and be beheaded, or to perſevere and be burned; he choſe the latter, making uſe, at the ſame time, of theſe words: "God, who has given me grace not to deny the truth, will give me ſtrength to endure the fire." Many, about the ſame time were burnt at Paris, Bar, &c. and at Langres, five men and two women were, by the Roman-Catholics, committed to the flames for being of the reformed religion: when the youngeſt woman encouraged the other, ſaying, "This day ſhall we be married to Jeſus Chriſt, and be with him for ever."

A rich jeweller, named Monſieur Blondel, was, A.D. 1548, apprehended at Lyons, and ſent to Paris: where he was burnt for the faith, by order of the high court. A. D. 1549. Hubert, a youth of nineteen years of age, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Floage, was committed to the flames at Dijon; as was Florent Venote, at the ſame time.

There was a lady, named Ann Audebert, who deſigned, on account of her faith, to retire to Geneva, ſeized and ſent to Paris. Being condemned, ſhe was led to execution by a rope placed round her waiſt. This rope ſhe called her wedding girdle; and as it was on a Saturday, ſhe ſaid, "I was once married to a man on a Saturday, and now I ſhall be married to God on the ſame day of the week." She was at length faſtened to the ſtake, and burnt, meeting her fate with the moſt exemplary fortitude and reſignation.

Many ſingular circumſtances happened immediately after the coronation of Henry the Second, king of France, which we ſhall relate. A taylor was apprehended for working on a ſaint's day; being aſked why he gave ſuch offence to religion, his reply was, "I am a poor man, and have nothing but my labour to depend upon; neceſſity requires that I ſhould be induſtrious, and my conſcience tells me there is no day but the ſabbath which I ought to keep ſacred from labour." Having expreſſed himſelf thus, he was committed to priſon, and the affair being ſoon after rumoured at court, ſome of the nobles perſuaded the king to be preſent at the trial. On the day appointed, the monarch appeared in a ſuperb chair of ſtate, and the biſhop of Maſcon was ordered to interrogate the priſoner. The taylor, on perceiving the king, paid his obedience to him in the moſt reſpectful manner, ſaying, "I thank God for honouring me thus, and for permitting me to vindicate the light of his goſpel before ſo great a prince." The prelate then queſtioned him concerning the tenets of his faith, when the clearneſs and ſpirit of his anſwers amazed all that heard him. The king was much affected and ſeemed to muſe, when the biſhop exclaimed, "He is an obſtinate and impudent heretic; let him be taken back again to priſon, from thence conveyed to the place of execution, and there burnt to death." As the king did not oppoſe what the biſhop ſaid, the officers proceeded to do as they were ordered; and, in the mean time, left what the taylor had uttered might alarm the conſcience of the king, the biſhop artfully inſinuated. "That the heretics (as he called the reformed) had many ſpecious arguments in their mouths, which, at the firſt hearing, appeared concluſive, but on ſerious examination, they were found to be falſe and deceitful. He then uſed his utmoſt endeavours in perſuading the king to be preſent at the execution, who at length conſented, and repaired to a balcony which overlooked the place where perſons under condemnation were uſually put to death. When the taylor ſaw the king, he fixed his eyes ſtedfaſtly upon him, and even while the flames were conſuming him, he kept gazing in ſuch a manner, as threw the monarch into viſible confuſion, and obliged him to retire before the martyr gave up the ghoſt. The king was ſo ſhocked upon this occaſion, that he could not recover his ſpirits for ſome time; and what added to his diſquiet was, his continually dreaming, for many ſucceſſive nights, that he ſaw the taylor with his eyes fixed upon him, in the ſame manner as he had done during the execution.

One Claudius, a pious man, was burnt at Orleans; a Genoeſe youth, called Thomas, having rebuked a Roman-Catholic for profanely ſwearing, was informed againſt as an heretic, and committed to the flames at Paris: and three men at Lyons, being condemned for their religion, were conducted to the place of execution; two of them with ropes about their necks; but the third, having been an officer in the king's ſervice, was exempted from that diſgrace. He, however, told the officer, that he begged to be treated in the ſame manner as his companions, and deſired they would indulge him with one of thoſe precious collars about his neck, in honour of the Lord. His requeſt was complied with; and after having ſung a pſalm with great fervency, they were all three committed to the flames.

Simon Laloe, a citizen of Geneva; Matthew Dimonet, a converted libertine; and Nicholas Naile, a bookſeller of Paris, were martyred by fire, for profeſſing the reformed religion.

Peter Serre was originally a prieſt, but reflecting on the errors of Popery, he, at length, embraced the reformed religion, and learned the trade of a ſhoe-maker, that by honeſt induſtry he might obtain a ſubſiſtence. Having a brother at Thoulouſe, who was a bigoted Roman-Catholic, Serre, out of fraternal love, made a journey to that city, in order to diſſuade him from his ſuperſtitions. The brother's wife not approving of his deſign, lodged a complaint againſt him. He was ſoon apprehended, and very candidly made a full declaration of his faith. The judge then aſked him concerning his occupation: to which he replied, "I have of late practiſed the trade of a ſhoe-maker." Of late, ſaid the judge, and what did you practiſe formerly? That I am almoſt aſhamed to tell you, exclaimed Serre, becauſe it was the vileſt and moſt wicked occupation imaginable. The judge and all who were preſent, from theſe words ſuppoſed he had been a murderer, or thief, and that what he ſpoke was through contrition for his paſt crimes. The judge, however, to put the matter beyond doubt, ordered him to explain preciſely what he meant; when Serre, with tears in his eyes, cried, "O! I was formerly that abominable thing—A Popiſh Prieſt." This reply ſurpriſed all who heard it, and ſo much exaſperated the judge, that he condemned Serre to be firſt degraded, then to have his tongue cut, and afterwards to be publicly burnt; which ſentence was punctually executed.

Two men of the reformed religion, with the ſon and daughter of one of them, were, in the year 1554, apprehended and committed to the caſtle of Niverne. On examination, they confeſſed their faith, and were ordered for execution: being ſmeared with greaſe, brimſtone, and gunpowder, they cried, "Salt on, ſalt on this ſinful and rotten fleſh." Their tongues were then cut out, and they were afterwards committed to the flames, which ſoon conſumed them, by means of the combuſtible matter with which they were beſmeared all over.

A prieſt of the name of Philip Hamlin, was apprehended for having renounced the errors of Popery, and embraced the reformed religion. Being condemned to the ſtake, the faggots were piled about him, when he began earneſtly to exhort the people to quit the errors of the church of Rome. The officer who preſided at the execution, on hearing this, ordered the faggots to be immediately lighted, and that one ſhould blow a trumpet while Hamlin was burning, that the people ſhould not hear his voice, or be induced to change their opinions from what he might ſay to them.

A full and particular Account of the Martyrdom *of* John Calas.

SEEING that we are now treating of the perſecutions in the kingdom of France, it may not be improper to look a little forward to modern times, wherein we may ſee the ſame perſecuting ſpirit of Popery, that raged formerly, moſt ſtrikingly exhibited in the martyrdom of John Calas.

Without doubt, this is one of the moſt ſingular affairs that ever happened, and by being tranſacted in a poliſhed age, ſhews that neither experience, or improvement, can root out the inveterate prejudices of the Roman-Catholics; or render them leſs cruel, or inexorable, to the Proteſtants.

This John Calas was a merchant of the city of Thoulouſe, where he had been ſettled, and lived in good repute, and had married an Engliſh woman of French extraction.

Both Calas and his wife were Proteſtants, and had five ſons, whom they educated in the ſame religion; but Lewis, one of the ſons, became a Roman-Catholic, having been converted by a maid-ſervant, who had lived in the family above thirty years. The father, however, did not expreſs any reſentment or ill-will upon the occaſion, but kept the maid in the family, and ſettled an annuity upon the ſon. In October 1761, the family conſiſted of John Calas and his wife, one woman ſervant, Mark Anthony Calas, the eldeſt ſon, and Peter Calas, the ſecond ſon. Mark Anthony was bred to the law, but could not be admitted to practiſe, on account of his being a Proteſtant: hence he grew melancholy, read all the books which he could procure relative to ſuicide, and ſeemed determined to deſtroy himſelf. To this may be added, that he led a diſſipated life, was greatly addicted to gaming, and did all which could conſtitute the character of a libertine. On which account his father frequently reprehended him, and ſometimes in terms of ſeverity, which conſiderably added to the gloom that ſeemed to oppreſs him.

Mr. Gober La Vaiſſe, a young gentleman about nineteen years of age, the ſon of La Vaiſſe, a celebrated advocate of Thoulouſe, having been ſome time at Bourdeaux, came back to Thoulouſe to ſee his father on the 13th of October 1761; but finding that he was gone to his country-houſe, at ſome diſtance from the city, he went to ſeveral places, endeavouring to hire a horſe to carry him thither. No horſe, however, was to be hired; and, about five o'clock in the evening, he was met by John Calas the father, and the eldeſt ſon Mark Anthony, who was his friend. Calas, the father, invited him to ſupper, as he could not ſet out for his father's that night, and La Vaiſſe conſented. All three, therefore, proceeded to Calas's houſe together, and when they came thither, finding that Mrs. Calas was ſtill in her own room, which ſhe had not quitted that day, La Vaiſſe went up to ſee her. After the firſt compliments, he told her, he was to ſup with her by her huſband's invitation, at which ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction, and a few minutes after left him, to give ſome orders to her maid. When that was done, ſhe went to look for her ſon Anthony, whom ſhe found ſitting alone in the ſhop, very penſive: ſhe gave him ſome money, and deſired him to go and buy ſome Roquefort cheeſe, as he was a better judge of the quality of cheeſe than any other perſon in the family. She then returned to her gueſt La Vaiſſe, who very ſoon after went again to the livery-ſtable, to ſee if any horſe was come in, that he might ſecure it for the next morning.

Anthony in a ſhort time returned, having bought the cheeſe, and La Vaiſſe alſo coming back about the ſame time, the family and their gueſt ſat down to ſupper, in a room up one pair of ſtairs; the whole company conſiſting of Calas the father and his wife, Anthony and Peter Calas the ſons, and La Vaiſſe the gueſt, no other perſon being in the houſe, except the maid-ſervant, who has been mentioned already.

Now it was about ſeven o'clock: the ſupper was not long; but before it was over, or, according to the French expreſſion, "when they came to the deſert," Anthony left the table, and went into the kitchen, which was on the ſame floor, as he was accuſtomed to do. The maid aſked him if he was cold? He anſwered, "Quite the contrary, I burn;" and then left her. In the mean time his friend and family left the room they had ſupped in, and went into a bed-chamber; the father and La Vaiſſe ſat down together on a ſofa; the younger ſon Peter in an elbow chair; and the mother in another chair; and without making any inquiry after Anthony, continued in converſation together till between nine and ten o'clock, when La Vaiſſe took his leave, and Peter, who had fallen aſleep, was awakened to attend him with a light.

There was on the ground floor of Calas's houſe a ſhop and a warehouſe; the latter of which was divided from the ſhop by a pair of folding-doors. When Peter Calas and La Vaiſſe came down ſtairs into the ſhop, they were extremely ſhocked to ſee Anthony hanging in his ſhirt, from a bar which he had laid acroſs the top of the two folding-doors, having half opened them for that purpoſe. On diſcovery of this horrid ſpectacle, they ſhrieked out, which brought down Calas the father, the mother being ſeized with ſuch a terror as kept her trembling in the paſſage above. The unhappy old man ruſhed forward, and taking the body in his arms, the bar, to which the rope that ſuſpended him was faſtened, ſlipped off from the folding-door of the warehouſe, and fell down. Having placed the body on the ground, he looſed and took off the cord in an agony of grief and anguiſh not to be expreſſed, weeping, trembling, and deploring himſelf and his child. The two young men, his ſecond ſon and La Vaiſſe, who had not had preſence of mind enough to attempt taking down the body, were ſtanding by, ſtupid with amazement and horror. In the mean time the mother, hearing the confuſed cries and complaints of her huſband, and finding no one come to her, found means to get down ſtairs. At the bottom ſhe ſaw La Vaiſſe, and haſtily demanded what was the matter. This queſtion rouſed Calas in a moment, and inſtead of anſwering her, he urged her to go again up ſtairs, to which, with much reluctance, ſhe conſented; but the conflict of her mind being ſuch as could not be long borne, ſhe ſent down the maid to know what was the matter. When the maid diſcovered what had happened, ſhe continued below, either becauſe ſhe feared to carry an account of it to her miſtreſs, or becauſe ſhe buſied herſelf in doing ſome good office to her maſter, who was ſtill embracing the body of his ſon, and bathing it in his tears. The mother, therefore, being thus left alone, went down, and mixed in the ſcene, that has been already deſcribed, with ſuch emotions as it muſt naturally produce. In the mean time Peter had been ſent for La Moire, a ſurgeon in the neighbourhood. La Moire was not at home, but his apprentice, Mr. Groſſe, came inſtantly. Upon examination, he found the body quite dead; and upon taking off the neckcloth, which was of black taffata, he ſaw the mark of the cord, and immediately pronounced that the deceaſed had been ſtrangled. This particular had not been told, for the poor old man, when Peter was going for La Moire, cried out, "Save at leaſt the honour of my family; do not go and ſpread a report that your brother has made away with himſelf."

A crowd of people by this time were gathered about the houſe, and one Caſing, with another friend or two of the family, were come in. Some of thoſe who were in the ſtreet had heard the cries and exclamations of the father, the mother, the brother, and his friend, before they knew what was the matter; and having by ſome means heard that Anthony Calas was ſuddenly dead, and that the ſurgeon, who had examined the body, declared he had been ſtrangled, they took it into their heads he had been murdered; and as the family were Proteſtants, they preſently ſuppoſed that the young man was about to change his religion, and had been put to death for that reaſon. The cries they had heard they fancied were thoſe of the deceaſed, while he was reſiſting the violence that was offered him. The tumult in the ſtreet increaſed every moment: ſome ſaid that Anthony Calas was to have abjured the next day; others, that Proteſtants are bound by their religion to ſtrangle or cut the throats of their children when they are inclined to become Catholics. Others who had found out that La Vaiſſe was in the houſe when the accident happened, very confidently affirmed, that the Proteſtants, at their laſt aſſembly, appointed a perſon to be their common executioner upon theſe occaſions, and that La Vaiſſe was the man, who, in conſequence of the office to which he had been appointed, had come to Calas's houſe to hang his ſon.

Now the poor father, who was overwhelmed with grief for the loſs of his child, was adviſed by his friends to ſend for the officers of juſtice to prevent his being torn to pieces by the multitude, who ſuppoſed that he had murdered his ſon. This was accordingly done: a meſſenger was diſpatched to the capitoul, one David, the firſt magiſtrate of the place; and another to an inferior officer, called an aſſeſſor. The capitoul was already ſet out, having been alarmed by the rumour of a murder before the meſſenger ſent from Calas's got to his houſe. He entered Calas's houſe with forty ſoldiers, took the father, Peter the ſon, the mother, La Vaiſſe, and the maid, all into cuſtody, and ſet a guard over them. He ſent for M. de la Tour, a phyſician, and M. la Marque and Perronet, ſurgeons, who examined the body for marks of violence, but found none except the mark of the ligature on the neck: they found alſo the hair of the deceaſed done up in the uſual manner, perfectly ſmooth, and without the leaſt diſorder: his clothes were alſo regularly folded up, and laid upon the counter, nor was his ſhirt either unbuttoned or torn.

The capitoul, notwithſtanding theſe appearances, thought proper to agree with the opinion of the mob, and took it into his head that old Calas had ſent for La Vaiſſe, telling him he had a ſon to be hanged; that La Vaiſſe had come to perform the office of executioner; and that he had received aſſiſtance from the father and brother.

On account of theſe notions the capitoul ordered the body of the deceaſed to be carried to the town-houſe, with the clothes. The father and ſon were thrown into a dark dungeon; and the mother, La Vaiſſe, the maid, and Caſing, were impriſoned in one that admitted the light. The next day, what is called the verbal proceſs was taken at the town-houſe, inſtead of the ſpot where

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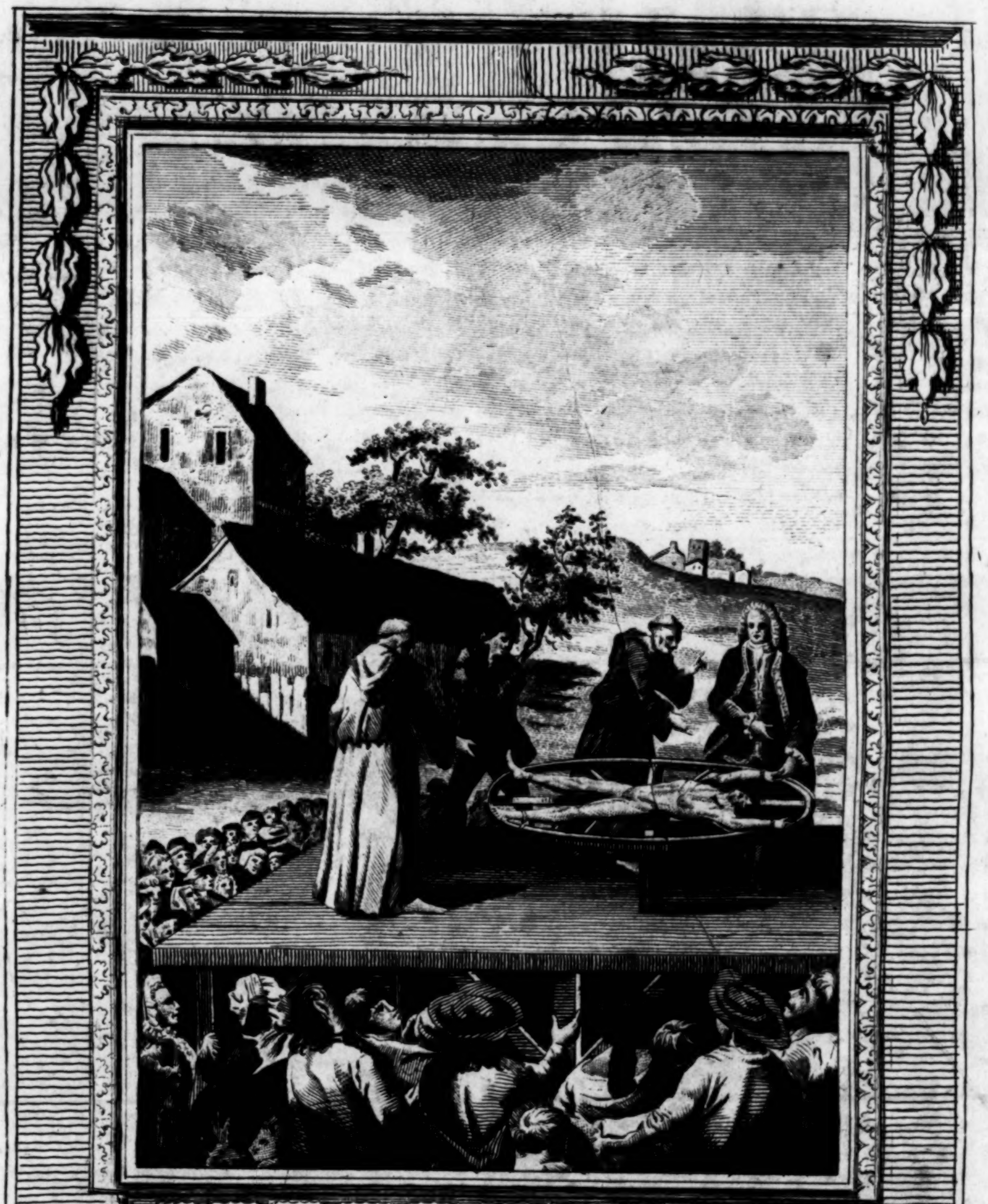

M^r^ JOHN CALAS *a French* Protestant
Merchant BROKE *on the* WHEEL *by*
order of the Parliament *of* Thoulouse.

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the body was found, as the law directs, and was dated at Calas's houſe to conceal the irregularity. This verbal proceſs is ſomewhat like the coroner's inqueſt in England: witneſſes are examined, and the magiſtrate makes his report, which is the ſame there as the verdict of the coroner's jury in England. The witneſſes examined by the capitoul were, the phyſician and ſurgeon, who proved Anthony Calas to have been ſtrangled. The ſurgeon having been ordered to examine the ſtomach of the deceaſed, depoſed alſo, that the food which was found there had been taken four hours before his death.

Seeing that no proof of the ſuppoſed fact could be procured, the capitoul had recourſe to a monitory, or general information, in which the crime was taken for granted, and all perſons were required to give ſuch teſtimony againſt it as they were able, particularizing the points to which they were to ſpeak. This recites, that La Vaiſſe was commiſſioned by the Proteſtants to be their executioner in ordinary, when any of their children were to be hanged for changing their religion: it recites alſo, that when the Proteſtants thus hang their children, they compel them to kneel, and one of the interrogatories was, whether any perſon had ſeen Anthony Calas kneel before his father when he ſtrangled him: it recites likewiſe, that Anthony died a Roman-Catholic, and requires evidence of his Catholiciſm.

Now theſe ridiculous opinions being adopted and publiſhed by the principal magiſtrate of a conſiderable city, the church of Geneva thought itſelf obliged to ſend an atteſtation of it's abhorrence of opinions ſo abominable and abſurd, and of it's aſtoniſhment that they ſhould be ſuſpected of ſuch opinions by perſons whoſe rank and office required them to have more knowledge and better judgment.

However, before this monitory was publiſhed, the mob had got a notion, that Anthony Calas was the next day to have entered into the fraternity of the White Penitents. The capitoul immediately adopted this opinion alſo, without the leaſt examination, and ordered Anthony's body to be buried in the middle of St. Stephen's church, which was accordingly done, forty prieſts, and all the White Penitents, aſſiſting in the funeral proceſſion.

Some ſhort time after the interment of the deceaſed, the White Penitents performed a ſolemn ſervice for him in their chapel: the church was hung with white, and a tomb was raiſed in the middle of it, on the top of which was placed a human ſkeleton, holding in one hand a paper, on which was written, "Abjuration of hereſy," and in the other a palm, the emblem of martyrdom.

The Franciſcans performed a ſervice of the ſame kind for him the next day; and it is eaſy to imagine how much the minds of the people were inflamed by this ſtrange folly of their magiſtrates and prieſts.

Still the capitoul continued the proſecution with unrelenting ſeverity; and though the grief and diſtraction of the family, when he firſt came to the houſe, were alone ſufficient to have convinced any reaſonable being that they were not the authors of the event which they deplored, yet having publicly atteſted that they were guilty, in his monitory, without proof, and no proof coming in, he thought fit to condemn the unhappy father, mother, brother, friend, and ſervant, to the torture, and put them all into irons on the 18th of November. Caſing was enlarged upon proof that he was not in Calas's houſe till after Anthony was dead.

From theſe dreadful proceedings the ſufferers appealed to the parliament, which immediately took cognizance of the affair, and annulled the ſentence of the capitoul as irregular; but the proſecution ſtill continued.

As ſoon as the trial came on, the hangman, who had been taken to Calas's houſe, and ſhewn the folding-doors and the bar, depoſed, that it was impoſſible Anthony ſhould hang himſelf as was pretended. Another witneſs ſwore, that he looked through the key-hole of Calas's door into a room, where he ſaw men running haſtily to and fro. A third ſwore, that his wife had told him, a woman named Maundrill had told her, that a certain woman unknown had declared, ſhe heard the cries of Anthony Calas at the further end of the city.

Agreeable to this evidence the majority of the parliament were of opinion, that the priſoners were guilty, and therefore ordered them to be tried by the criminal court of Thoulouſe.

There was among thoſe who preſided at the trial one La Borde, who had zealouſly eſpouſed the popular prejudices; and though it was manifeſt to demonſtration that the priſoners were either all innocent or all guilty, he voted that the father ſhould firſt ſuffer the torture, ordinary and extraordinary, to diſcover his accomplices, and be then broken alive upon the wheel; to receive the laſt ſtroke when he had laid two hours, and then to be burnt to aſhes. In this opinion he had the concurrence of ſix others; three were for the torture alone; two were of opinion that they ſhould endeavour to aſcertain upon the ſpot whether Anthony could hang himſelf or not; and one voted to acquit the priſoner. After long debates the majority was for the torture and wheel, and probably condemned the father by way of experiment, whether he was guilty or not, hoping he would in the agony, confeſs the crime, and accuſe the other priſoners, whoſe fate, therefore, they ſuſpended. It is, however, certain, that if they had evidence againſt the father that would have juſtified the ſentence they pronounced againſt him, that very evidence would have juſtified the ſame ſentence againſt the reſt; and that they could not juſtly condemn him, for they were all in the houſe together when Anthony died. All concurred in declaring he hanged himſelf, that the perſons accuſed could have had no motive to do ſuch an act, nor could they have hanged him by violence, without the knowledge of the reſt.

However, poor Calas, an old man of 68, was condemned to this dreadful puniſhment alone. He ſuffered the torture with great conſtancy, and was led to execution in a frame of mind which excited the admiration of all that ſaw him.

Father Bourges and father Coldagues, the two Dominicans, who attended him in his laſt moments, wiſhed their latter end might be like his; and declared, that they thought him not only wholly innocent of the crime laid to his charge, but an examplary inſtance of true Chriſtian patience, charity, and fortitude.

He gave but one ſingle ſhriek, and that not very violent, when he received the firſt ſtroke; after that he uttered no complaint. Being at length placed on the wheel, to wait for the moment which was to end his life and his miſery together, he expreſſed himſelf with an humble hope of an happy immortality, and a compaſſionate regard for the judges who had condemned him. When he ſaw the executioner prepared to give him the laſt ſtroke, he made a freſh declaration of his innocence to father Bourges; but while the words were yet in his mouth, the capitoul, the author of this cataſtrophe, and who came upon the ſcaffold merely to gratify his deſire of being a witneſs of his puniſhment and death, ran up to him, and bawled out, "Wretch, there are the faggots which are to reduce your body to aſhes; ſpeak the truth." Mr. Calas made no reply, but turned his head a little aſide, and that moment the executioner did his office.

Donat Calas, a boy of fifteen years of age, and the youngeſt ſon of the unfortunate victim, was apprentice to a merchant at Niſmes, when he heard of the dreadful puniſhment by which ſeven unfortunately prejudiced judges of Thoulouſe, had put his worthy father to death.

So violent was the popular outcry againſt this family in Languedoc, that every body expected to ſee the children of Calas broke upon the wheel, and the mother burnt alive. Even the attorney-general expected it. So weak, it is ſaid, had been the defence made by this innocent family, oppreſſed by misfortunes, and terrified at the ſight of lighted piles, racks, and wheels.

Young Donat Calas was made to dread ſharing the fate of the reſt of his family, and was adviſed to fly into Switzerland: he went and found a gentleman, who, at firſt, could only pity and relieve him, without daring to judge of the rigour exerciſed againſt the father, mother, and brothers.

Shortly after, one of the brothers, who was only baniſhed, likewiſe threw himſelf into the arms of the ſame perſon, who, for more than a month, took every poſſible precaution to be aſſured of the innocence of the family. But when he was once convinced, he thought himſelf obliged, in conſcience, to employ his friends, his purſe, his pen, and his credit, to repair the fatal miſtake of the ſeven judges of Thoulouſe, and to have the proceedings reviſed by the king's counſel. This reviſion laſted three years, and it is well known what honour Meſſrs. de Groſne and Bacquancourt acquired by reporting this memorable cauſe. Fifty maſters of the Court of Requeſts unanimouſly declared the whole family of Calas innocent, and recommended them to the benevolent juſtice of his majeſty. The duke de Choiſeul, who never let ſlip an opportunity of ſignalizing the greatneſs of his character, not only aſſiſted this unfortunate family with money, but obtained for them a gratuity of 36,000 livres from the king.

The arret which juſtified the family of Calas, and changed their fate, was ſigned on the 9th of March 1765. The 9th of March 1762, was the very day on which the innocent and virtuous father of that family had been executed. All Paris ran in crowds to ſee them come out of priſon, and clapped their hands for joy, while the tears ſtreamed down their cheeks.

Now have we traced, through all it's circumſtances, one of the moſt ſingular affairs that ever the annals of ſuperſtition, or the hiſtory of bigotry produced; and lament, that a worthy and innocent man fell a ſacrifice to that narrowneſs, which a popiſh education beſtows, and which ſettled prejudices always convert to cruelty. Hence we may perceive, to what a depraved ſtate the human mind may be reduced, when left to the guidance of the paſſions, or ſuffered to be the ſlave of enthuſiaſm. A ſect, which would propagate it's doctrines in blood, cannot be the favourer of truth: that perſuaſion alone can merit the ſacred name of religion, which wiſhes to reform mankind.

The purity of the goſpel will equally ſhun ſuperſtition and cruelty, as the mildneſs of Chriſt's tenets teaches only to comfort in this world, and procure ſalvation in the next. To perſecute for being of a different opinion, is as abſurd as to perſecute for having a different countenance: if we honour God, keep ſacred the pure doctrines of Chriſt, put a full confidence in the promiſes contained in the holy ſcriptures, and obey the political laws of the ſtate in which we reſide, we have an undoubted right to protection inſtead of perſecution, and to ſerve heaven, as our conſciences may direct, when regulated by the goſpel precepts.

CHAP. IV.

Including an HISTORICAL SURVEY *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* SPAIN, PORTUGAL, ITALY, &c. &c.

A full and particular Account of the RISE, PROGRESS, &c. *of the* INQUISITION.

AS ſoon as the reformed religion began to diffuſe the goſpel light throughout Europe, pope Innocent the Third entertained great fear for the Romiſh church. Unwilling that the ſpirit of free inquiry ſhould gain ground, or that the people ſhould attain more knowledge than the prieſts were willing to admit, he determined to impede, as much as poſſible, the progreſs of reformation. He accordingly inſtituted a number of inquiſitors, or perſons who were to make inquiry after, apprehend, and puniſh heretics, as the reformed were called by the Papiſts.

One Dominic was at the head of theſe inquiſitors, who had been canonized by the pope, in order to render his authority the more reſpectable. Dominic, and the other inquiſitors, ſpread themſelves into various Roman-Catholic countries, and treated the Proteſtants with the utmoſt ſeverity. In proceſs of time, the pope, not finding theſe roving inquiſitors ſo uſeful as he had imagined, reſolved upon the eſtabliſhment of fixed and regular courts of inquiſition. After the order for theſe regular courts, the firſt office of inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in the city of Thoulouſe, and Dominic became the firſt regular inquiſitor, as he had before been the firſt roving inquiſitor.

Now courts of inquiſition were erected in ſeveral countries; but the Spaniſh inquiſition became the moſt powerful, and the moſt dreadful of any. Even the kings of Spain themſelves, though arbitrary in all other reſpects, were taught to dread the power of the lords of the inquiſition; and the horrid cruelties they exerciſed, compelled multitudes, who differed in opinion from the Roman-Catholics, carefully to conceal their ſentiments.

The Dominicans and Franciſcans were the moſt zealous of all the popiſh monks, and thoſe who moſt implicitly obeyed the church of Rome: theſe, therefore, the pope thought proper to inveſt with an excluſive right of preſiding over, and managing the different courts of inquiſition. The friars of thoſe two orders were always ſelected from the very dregs of the people, and therefore were not much troubled with punctilios of honour: they were obliged, by the rules of their reſpective orders, to lead very auſtere lives, which rendered their manners unſocial and brutiſh, and, of courſe, the better qualified them for the employment of inquiſitors.

Now the pope thought proper to give the inquiſitors the moſt unlimited powers, as judges delegated by him, and immediately repreſenting his perſon: they were permitted to excommunicate, or ſentence to death, whom they thought proper, upon the moſt ſlight information of hereſy. They were allowed to publiſh cruſades againſt all whom they deemed heretics, and enter into leagues with ſovereign princes, to join thoſe cruſades with their forces.

In the year 1244, their power was further increaſed by the emperor Frederic the Second, who declared himſelf the protector and friend of all inquiſitors, and publiſhed two very cruel edicts as follows:

1. That all heretics, who continued obſtinate, ſhould be burnt.

2. That all heretics, who repented ſhould be impriſoned for life.

This zeal in the emperor for the inquiſitors, and the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion, aroſe from a report which had been propagated throughout Europe, that he intended to renounce Chriſtianity, and turn Mahometan; the emperor therefore attempted, by the heighth of bigotry, to contradict the report, and by cruelty to ſhew his attachment to Popery.

The officers of the inquiſition are, three inquiſitors, or judges, a fiſcal proctor, two ſecretaries, a magiſtrate, a meſſenger, a receiver, a gaoler, an agent of confiſcated poſſeſſions; ſeveral aſſeſſors, counſellors, executioners, phyſicians, ſurgeons, door-keepers, familiars, and viſitors, who are all ſworn to profound ſecrecy.

The chief accuſation againſt thoſe who are ſubject to this tribunal, is hereſy, which compriſes all that is ſpoken, or written, againſt any of the articles of the creed, or the traditions of the Romiſh church. The other articles of accuſation are, renouncing the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion, and believing that perſons of any other religion may be ſaved, or even admitting that the tenets of any but Papiſts are, in the leaſt, reaſonable or proper. We ſhall mention two other things which incur the moſt ſevere puniſhments, and ſhew the inquiſitors, at once, in an abſurd and a tyrannical light, viz. To diſapprove of any action done by the inquiſition, or diſbelieve any thing ſaid by an inquiſitor.

This grand article, hereſy, compriſes many ſubdiviſions; and, upon a ſuſpicion of any of theſe, the party is immediately apprehended: advancing an offenſive propoſition; failing to impeach others who may advance ſuch; contemning church ceremonies; defacing idols; reading books condemned by the inquiſition; lending ſuch books to others to read; deviating from the ordinary practices of the Romiſh church; letting a year paſs without going to confeſſion; eating meat on faſt-days; neglecting maſs; being preſent at a ſermon preached by an heretic; not appearing when ſummoned by the inquiſition; lodging in the houſe of, contracting a friendſhip with, or making a preſent to an heretic; aſſiſting an heretic to eſcape from confinement, or viſiting one in confinement, are all matters of ſuſpicion, and proſecuted accordingly. Nay, all Roman-Catholics were commanded, under pain of excommunication, to give immediate information, even of their neareſt and deareſt friends, if they judged them to be what was called heretics, or any ways inclining to hereſy.

All who give the leaſt countenance or aſſiſtance to Proteſtants, are called fautors, or abettors of hereſy, and the accuſations againſt theſe uſually turn upon ſome of the following points; comforting ſuch as the inquiſition have begun to proſecute; aſſiſting, or not informing againſt ſuch, if they ſhould happen to eſcape; concealing, abetting, adviſing, or furniſhing heretics with money; viſiting, or writing to, or ſending them ſubſiſtence; ſecreting, or burning books and papers, which might ſerve to convict them.

In like manner the inquiſition takes cognizance of ſuch as are accuſed of being magicians, witches, blaſphemers, ſoothſayers, wizards, common ſwearers; and of ſuch who read, or even poſſeſs the Bible in the common language, the Talmud of the Jews, or the Alcoran of the Mahometans.

The inquiſitors upon all occaſions carry on their proceſſes with the utmoſt ſeverity, and puniſh thoſe who offend them with the moſt unparalleled cruelty. A Proteſtant has ſeldom any mercy ſhewn him; and a Jew, who turns Chriſtian, is far from being ſecure; for if he is known to keep company with another new-converted Jew, a ſuſpicion immediately ariſes that they privately practiſe together ſome Jewiſh ceremonies; if he keeps company with a perſon who was lately a Proteſtant, but now profeſſes Popery, they are accuſed of plotting together; but if he aſſociates with a Roman-Catholic, an accuſation is often laid againſt him for only pretending to be a Papiſt, and the conſequence is, a confiſcation of his effects as a puniſhment for his inſincerity, and the loſs of his life if he complains of ill uſage.

In the inquiſition a defence is of little uſe to the priſoner, for a ſuſpicion only, is deemed ſufficient cauſe of condemnation, and the greater his wealth the greater his danger. The principal part of the inquiſitors cruelties is owing to their rapacity: they deſtroy the life to poſſeſs the property; and, under the pretence of zeal, plunder each obnoxious individual.

Any priſoner to the inquiſitors is never allowed to ſee the face of his accuſer, or of the witneſſes againſt him, but every method is taken, by threats and tortures, to oblige him to accuſe himſelf, and by that means corroborate their evidence. If the juriſdiction of the inquiſition is not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced againſt ſuch as call it in queſtion; or if any of it's officers are oppoſed, thoſe who oppoſe them are almoſt certain to be ſufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquiſition being to ſtrike terror, and awe thoſe who are the objects of it's power, into obedience. High birth, diſtinguiſhed rank, great dignity, or eminent employments, are no protection from it's ſeverities; and the loweſt officers of the inquiſition can make the higheſt characters dread them.

Such are the circumſtances which ſubject a perſon to the rage of the inquiſition, and the modes of beginning the proceſs are four in number, viz.

1. To proceed by imputation, or proſecute on common report.

2. To proceed by the information of any indifferent perſon who chuſes to impeach another.

3. To found the proſecution on the information of thoſe ſpies who are regularly retained by the inquiſition.

4. To proſecute on the confeſſion of the priſoner himſelf.

As ſoon as a perſon is ſummoned to appear before the inquiſition, the beſt method (unleſs he is ſure of eſcaping by flight) is immediately to obey the ſummons; for though really innocent, the leaſt delay increaſes his criminality in the eye of the inquiſitors, as one of their maxims is, that backwardneſs to appear always indicates guilt in the perſon ſummoned; and if he eſcapes, it is the ſame as perpetual baniſhment, for ſhould ſuch ever return, the moſt cruel death would be the certain conſequence thereof.

Now the inquiſitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their reſentments; nor can the humbleſt conceſſions, or moſt liberal preſents, obtain a pardon: they carry the deſire of revenge to the grave, and would have both the property and lives of thoſe who have offended them. Hence, when a perſon once accuſed to the inquiſition, after eſcaping, is retaken, he ought ſeriouſly to prepare himſelf for martyrdom, and arm his ſoul againſt the fear of death. Every perſon, in ſuch a ſituation, ought to be compoſed for the awful occaſion, without expectation of remedy.

If a poſitive accuſation is given, the inquiſitors direct an order under their hands to the executioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to aſſiſt in the execution. The calamity of a man under ſuch circumſtances can ſcarce be deſcribed, he being probably ſeized when ſurrounded by his family, or in company with his friends. Father, ſon, brother, ſiſter, huſband, wife, muſt quietly ſubmit; none dare reſiſt or even ſpeak; either would ſubject them to the puniſhment of the devoted victim. No reſpite is allowed to ſettle the moſt important affairs, but the priſoner is inſtantaneouſly hurried away to meet his fate.

From this we may judge how critically dangerous muſt be the ſituation of perſons who reſide in countries where there is an inquiſitorial tribunal; and how carefully cautious all ſtates ought to be who are not curſed with ſuch an arbitrary court, to prevent it's introduction. In ſpeaking of this ſubject, an elegant author pathetically ſays, "How horrid a ſcene of perfidy and inhumanity? What kind of community muſt that be whence gratitude, love, and mutual forbearance with regard to human frailties are baniſhed! What muſt that tribunal be, which obliges parents not only to eraſe from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguiſh all thoſe keen ſenſations of tenderneſs and affection wherewith nature inſpires them, but even to extend their inhumanity ſo far as to force them to commence their accuſers, and conſequently to become the cauſe of the cruelties inflicted upon them! What ideas ought we to form to ourſelves of a tribunal, which obliges children not only to ſtifle every ſoft impulſe of gratitude, love, and reſpect, due to thoſe who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the moſt rigorous penalties, to be ſpies over their parents, and to diſcover to a ſet of mercileſs inquiſitors, the crimes, the errors, and even the little lapſes to which they are expoſed by human frailty. In a word, a tribunal which will not permit relations, when impriſoned in it's horrid dungeons, to give each other the ſuccours, or perform the duties which religion enjoins, muſt be of an infernal ſtamp. What diſorder and confuſion muſt ſuch conduct give riſe to, in a tenderly affectionate family? An expreſſion innocent in itſelf, and perhaps, but too true, ſhall, from an indiſcreet zeal, or a panic of fear, give infinite uneaſineſs to a family; ſhall ruin it's peace entirely, and perhaps cauſe one or more of it's members to be the unhappy victims of the moſt barbarous of all tribunals. What diſtractions muſt neceſſarily break forth in a houſe where the huſband and wife are at variance, or the children looſe and wicked! Will ſuch children ſcruple to ſacrifice a father, who endeavours to reſtrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will not they rather, after plundering his houſe to ſupport their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a tribunal, founded on the blackeſt injuſtice? A riotous huſband, or a looſe wife, have an eaſy opportunity, aſſiſted by means of the perſecution in queſtion, to rid themſelves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him, or her, up to the rigours of the inquiſition."

As ſoon as the inquiſitors have taken umbrage againſt an innocent perſon, all expedients are uſed to facilitate condemnation; falſe oaths and teſtimonies, founded on perjury, are directed by the virulence of prejudice to find the accuſed guilty; and all laws, divine and human, all inſtitutions, moral and political, are ſacrificed to bigoted revenge.

If a perſon accuſed be taken and impriſoned, his treatment is deplorable indeed. The gaolers firſt begin by ſearching him for books or papers which might tend to his conviction, or for inſtruments which might be employed in ſelf-murder, or breaking from the place of confinement. But it is to be obſerved, that the obvious articles of the ſearch are not the only things taken from a priſoner; for the conſcientious gaolers make free with money, rings, buckles, apparel, &c. under various pretences, ſuch as, that money or rings may be ſwallowed, to the great detriment of the priſoner's health, the prongs of buckles may be uſed to take away life, by means of a neckcloth or a pair of garters a priſoner may hang himſelf, &c. &c. Thus he is robbed under the plauſible pretext of humanity, and uſed ill through pretended affection.

When the priſoner has been ſearched under the name of care, and robbed beneath the maſk of juſtice, he is committed to priſon by way of ſecurity. "Here, ſays an authentic writer, he is conveyed to a dungeon, the ſight of which muſt fill him with horror, torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed acceſs, or even to ſend him one conſolatory letter, or take the leaſt ſtep in his favour in order to prove his innocence. He ſees himſelf inſtantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to melancholy and deſpair, and even often to his moſt inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence on ſuch an occaſion is a weak reed, nothing being eaſier than to ruin an innocent perſon."

The uſual portion of a priſoner is death, the mildeſt ſentence being impriſonment for life; yet the inquiſitors proceed by degrees, at once ſubtle, ſlow, and cruel. The gaoler firſt of all inſinuates himſelf into the priſoner's favour, by pretending to wiſh him well, and adviſe him well, and among other hints, falſely kind, tells him to petition for an audit.

Now this is the worſt thing a priſoner can do, for the mere petition is deemed a ſuppoſition of guilt, and he is perſuaded to it only with a view to entraphim. When he is brought before the conſiſtory, the firſt demand is, What is your requeſt?

To this the priſoner very naturally anſwers that he would have a hearing.

Hereupon one of the inquiſitors replies, your hearing is this—confeſs the truth—conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy.

Then if the priſoner makes a confeſſion of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it: if he is mute, they ſhut him up without light, or any food but a ſcanty allowance of bread and water till he overcomes his obſtinacy as they call it; and if he declares he is innocent, they torment him, till he either dies with the torment, or confeſſes himſelf guilty.

On the re-examinations of ſuch as confeſs, they continually ſay, "You have not been ſincere, you tell not all—you keep many things concealed, and therefore muſt be remanded to your dungeon." When thoſe who ſtood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue ſilent, ſuch tortures are ordered as will either make them ſpeak, or kill them; and when thoſe who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are ſolemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confeſſion of faith. This brings them to the teſt, they muſt either ſwear they are Roman-Catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not Roman-Catholics, they are proceeded againſt as heretics. If they acknowledge they are Roman-Catholics, a ſtring of accuſations is brought againſt them, to which they are obliged to anſwer extempore, no time being given even to put their anſwers into proper method.

When they have verbally anſwered, pen, ink, and paper are given them, in order to produce a written anſwer, which it is required ſhall in every degree coincide with the verbal anſwer. If the verbal and the written anſwer differ, the priſoners are charged with prevarication; if one contains more than the other, with wiſhing to conceal certain circumſtances; if they both agree, they are accuſed with premeditated artifice.

After the perſon impeached is condemned, he is either ſeverely whipped, violently tortured, ſent to the gallies, or ſentenced to death; and in either caſe the effects are confiſcated. After judgment a proceſſion is performed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called, an *Auto de Fe*, or Act of Faith.

The following is an exact account of an *Auto de Fe*, performed at Madrid in the year 1682.

The officers of the inquiſition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great ſquare, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the ſentence of the priſoners would be put in execution.

Now there had not been a ſpectacle of this kind at Madrid for ſeveral years before, for which reaſon it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greateſt feſtivity and triumph.

When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared dreſſed as ſplendid as their reſpective circumſtances would admit. In the great ſquare was raiſed a high ſcaffold; and thither, from ſeven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both ſexes; all the inquiſitions in the kingdom ſending their priſoners to Madrid.

Twenty men and women out of theſe priſoners, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jeweſſes, having never before been impriſoned, and repenting of their crimes, were ſentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were ſentenced to be whipped, and then ſent to the gallies: theſe laſt wore large paſte-board caps, with inſcriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands.

On this ſolemn occaſion the whole court of Spain was preſent. The grand inquiſitor's chair was placed in a ſort of tribunal far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the ſheriffs officers in England, leading ſuch criminals as were to be burned, and holding them when faſt bound with thick cords: the reſt of the criminals were conducted by the familiars of the inquiſition.

There was among thoſe who were to ſuffer, a young Jeweſs of exquiſite beauty, and but ſeventeen years of age. Being on the ſame ſide of the ſcaffold where the queen was ſeated, ſhe addreſſed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic ſpeech: "Great "queen! will not your royal preſence be of ſome ſervice to me in my miſerable condition? Have regard "to my youth; and, oh! conſider that I am about to "die, for profeſſing a religion imbibed from my earlieſt "infancy!" Her majeſty ſeemed greatly to pity her diſtreſs, but turned away her eyes, as ſhe did not dare to ſpeak a word in behalf of a perſon who had been declared an heretic by the inquiſition.

Maſs now began, in the midſt of which the prieſt came from the altar, placed near the ſcaffold, and ſeated himſelf in a chair prepared for that purpoſe.

Then the chief inquiſitor deſcended from the amphitheatre, dreſſed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by ſome of his officers, carrying a croſs and the goſpels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themſelves to protect the catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and ſupport, with all their power, the proſecutions and decrees of the inquiſition.

On the approach of the inquiſitor, and his preſenting this book to the king, his majeſty roſe up, bare-headed, and ſwore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counſellors: after which the king continued ſtanding till the inquiſitor was returned to his place; when the ſecretary of the holy office mounted a ſort of pulpit, and adminiſtered a like oath to the counſellors and the whole aſſembly. The maſs was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the ſentences of the ſeveral criminals, which were all ſeparately rehearſed aloud one after the other.

Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whoſe intrepidity in ſuffering that horrid death was truly aſtoniſhing: ſome thruſt their hands and feet into the flames with the moſt dauntleſs fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with ſuch reſolution, that many of the amazed ſpectators lamented that ſuch heroic ſouls had not been more enlightened.

The near ſituation of the king to the criminals rendered their dying groans very audible to him; he could not, however, be abſent from this dreadful ſcene, as it is eſteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a ſanction by his preſence to all the acts of the tribunal.

Another Auto de Fe is thus deſcribed by the reverend Doctor Gedde:

"At the place of execution there are ſo many ſtakes ſet as there are priſoners to be burned, a large quantity of dry furze being ſet about them. The ſtakes of the Proteſtants, or, as the inquiſitors call them, the profeſſed, are about four yards high, and have each a ſmall board, whereon the priſoner is ſeated within half a yard of the top. The profeſſed then go up a ladder betwixt two prieſts, who attend them the whole day of execution. When they come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the prieſt ſpends near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the ſee of Rome. On their refuſing, the prieſts come down, and the executioner aſcending, turns the profeſſed from off the ladder upon the ſeat, chains their bodies cloſe to the ſtakes, and leaves them.

"Then the prieſts go up a ſecond time to renew their exhortations, and if they find them ineffectual, uſually tell them at parting, "That they leave them to the Devil, who is ſtanding at their elbow ready to receive their ſouls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell fire, as ſoon as they are out of their bodies."

"A general ſhout is then raiſed, and when the prieſts get off the ladder, the univerſal cry is, "Let the dogs' beards be made" (which implies, ſinge their beards); this is accordingly performed by means of flaming furzes thruſt againſt their faces with long poles.

"This barbarity is repeated till their faces are burnt, and is accompanied with loud acclamations. Fire is then ſet to the furzes, and the criminals are conſumed."

Innumerable are the martyrs who have borne theſe rigours with the moſt exemplary fortitude: and we hope that every Proteſtant, whoſe fate may expoſe him to the mercileſs tyranny of Papiſts, will act conſiſtent with the duty of a Chriſtian, when they conſider the great rewards that await them.

Theſe remarks may be applied to inquiſitions in general, as well as to that of Spain in particular. The inquiſition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a ſimilar plan to that of Spain, having been inſtituted much about the ſame time, and put under the ſame regulations, and the proceedings nearly reſemble each other; we ſhall therefore introduce an account of it in this place. The houſe, or rather palace, of the inquiſition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet ſquare, round which are about three hundred dungeons, or cells.

Theſe dungeons on the ground floor are allotted to the loweſt claſs of priſoners, and thoſe on the ſecond ſtory to perſons of ſuperior rank. The galleries are built of freeſtone, and hid from view both within and without by a double wall of about fifty feet high, which greatly increaſes the gloom, and darkens them exceedingly.

So extenſive is the whole priſon, which contains ſo many turnings and windings, that none but thoſe well acquainted with it can find the way through it's various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquiſitor are ſpacious, and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a court-yard, round which are ſeveral chambers, and ſome large ſaloons for the king, royal family, and the reſt of the court to ſtand and obſerve the executions during an Auto de Fe.

Reſpecting the dungeons where the priſoners are confined, they are not only gloomy in themſelves, but as miſerably furniſhed as can be imagined; the only accommodations being a frame of wood by way of bedſtead, and a ſtraw bed, mattreſs, blankets, ſheets, an urinal, waſh-hand baſon, two pitchers, one for clean, the other for foul water, a lamp, and a plate.

A teſtoon, which is ſeven-pence halfpenny Engliſh money, is allowed every priſoner daily; and the principal gaoler, accompanied by two other officers, monthly viſits every priſoner, to inquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This viſit, however, is only a matter of form, for the gaoler uſually lays out the money as he pleaſes, and commonly allows the priſoner daily, viz. a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef, a ſmall piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheeſe.

All theſe articles are charged to the priſoner at the rate of ſeventeen teſtoons in the month; four are allowed for brandy, or wine; two for fruit, making in the whole twenty-three; and the reſt of the money, to make up the number of teſtoons for the month, are ſcandalouſly ſunk in the articles of ſugar and ſoap.

Many, who find their allowance too little, petition the lords inquiſitors for a greater portion, when the petition is frequently granted; and in this particular the only mark of humanity hath been caſually ſhewn; in all other circumſtances they are inhuman, cruel, and ſevere. They not only exclude the priſoners from every intercourſe with their relations or friends, make them ſuffer every inclemency of a gaol, or torture them in confinement, but even prohibit them from making the leaſt noiſe by ſpeaking loud, ſinging pſalms or hymns, exclaiming, or even uttering the ſighs which affliction naturally heaves from the breaſt.

Centinals walk about continually to liſten; if the leaſt noiſe is heard, they call to, and threaten the priſoner; if the noiſe is repeated, a ſevere beating enſues, as a puniſhment to what is deemed the offending party, and to intimidate others. As an inſtance of this take the following fact: a priſoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noiſe; to which he replied, that from the violence of his cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increaſing, the guard went into the cell, ſtripped the poor creature naked, and beat him ſo unmercifully, that he ſoon after died of the blows.

In this inquiſition, as in that of Spain, if the priſoners plead their innocence, they are condemned as obdurate, and their effects embezzled; if they plead guilty, they are ſentenced on their own confeſſion, and their effects confiſcated of courſe; and if they are ſuffered to eſcape with their lives (which is but ſeldom the caſe) as penitent criminals who have voluntarily accuſed themſelves, they dare not reclaim their effects, as that would bring on them an accuſation of being hypocritical and relaxed penitents, when a moſt cruel death would be the certain conſequence.

Sometimes a priſoner paſſes months without knowing of what he is accuſed, or having the leaſt idea of when he is to be tried. The gaoler at length informs him, that he muſt petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken bare-headed for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the gaoler knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the priſoner, and accommodates him with a ſtool.

Then the priſoner is ordered by the preſident to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is preſented to him cloſe ſhut. This being complied with, the following queſtion is put to him: Will you promiſe to conceal the ſecrets of the holy office, and to ſpeak the truth?

Should he anſwer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he anſwers in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again ſeated, and the examination proceeds; when the preſident aſks a variety of queſtions, and the clerk minutes both them and the anſwers.

When the examination is cloſed, the bell is again rung, the gaoler appears, and the priſoner is ordered to withdraw, with this exhortation; Tax your memory, recollect all the ſins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office.

Now the gaolers and attendants, when apprized that the priſoner hath made an ingenuous confeſſion, and readily anſwered every queſtion, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindneſs, as a reward for his candour.

He is brought in a few days to a ſecond examination, with the ſame formalities as before. It is then demanded of him, If he has taken a ſerious review of his paſt life, and will divulge it's various ſecrets, and the crimes and follies into which he has run at different times. If he refuſes to confeſs any thing, many enſnaring queſtions are put to him, and the arts of caſuiſtry are exhauſted to draw ſome ſecret from him. But if he accuſes himſelf of any crimes or follies, they are written down by the ſecretary, and a proceſs extracted from them. The inquiſitors often over-reach priſoners, by promiſing the greateſt lenity, and even to reſtore their liberty, if they will accuſe themſelves. The unhappy perſons, who are in their power, frequently fall into this ſnare, and are ſacrificed to their own ſimplicity, and ill-placed confidence. Inſtances have been known of ſome, who relying on the faith of the judges, and believing their fallacious promiſes, have accuſed themſelves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining their liberty ſpeedily; and thus, being duped by the inquiſitors, they became martyrs to their own folly, and ſuffered death for fictitious tranſgreſſions.

There is another artifice uſed by the inquiſitors; if a priſoner has too much reſolution to accuſe himſelf, and too much ſenſe to be enſnared by their ſophiſtry, they proceed thus: a copy of an indictment againſt the priſoner is given him, in which, among many trivial accuſations, he is charged with the moſt enormous crimes, of which human nature is capable. This, of courſe, rouzes his temper, and he exclaims againſt ſuch falſities. He is then aſked which of the crimes he can deny? He naturally ſingles out the moſt atrocious, and begins to expreſs his abhorrence of them, when the indictment being ſnatched out of his hand, the preſident ſays, "By your denying only thoſe crimes which you mention, you implicitly confeſs the reſt, and we ſhall therefore proceed accordingly."

Theſe wretches make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the priſoner may be indulged with a counſellor, if he chuſes to demand one. Such a requeſt is ſometimes made, and a counſellor appointed; but upon theſe occaſions, as the trial itſelf is a mockery of juſtice, ſo the counſellor is a mere cypher: for he is not permitted to ſay any thing that might offend the inquiſitor, or to advance a ſyllable that might benefit the priſoner. Amazing profligacy, to turn that to a farce, which ought to be reverenced as a ſuperior virtue.

It may be ſeen from what hath been ſaid, that a priſoner to the inquiſitors is reduced to the ſad neceſſity of defending himſelf againſt accuſers he does not know, and of anſwering to the evidence of witneſſes he muſt not ſee. The only perſon he is permitted to have a ſight of upon his trial, excluſive of the judges and ſecretary, is the fiſcal, who acts officially as the oſtenſible accuſer, from the collected information of others. A deſire of being informed of the real accuſer's name, or to ſee the actual witneſſes, avail nothing, thoſe things he is told are always kept ſecret. Thus is he continued in ſuſpence reſpecting his fate, and frequently interrogated, perhaps, for years together, before his trial is finally concluded. When that fatal time comes, if he is condemned to die, death is deferred for a conſiderable time. To put him out of his miſery immediately would be too great a favour, and prevent the inquiſitors from indulging their ſanguinary diſpoſitions with other ſufferings which they intend to inflict. They begin by putting him to the torture, under the pretence of making the poor wretch diſcover his accomplices. For this purpoſe the tortures are various, and the torments inflicted excruciating to the laſt degree. Well might a late writer, in ſpeaking of theſe cruelties, exclaim, "O, that I was able to give ſome faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miſerable victims are here forced to ſuffer; but no language can repreſent ſuch a complicated ſcene of horrors. It is utterly impoſſible for any words to deſcribe which of them is the moſt cruel and inhuman. Every one is ſo exquiſite in it's kind as to ſurpaſs all imagination. What deteſtable monſters then muſt thoſe judges be, who are the inventors, and perpetrators of ſuch miſery? They are ſhaped, it is true, like other men, but ſurely they ſeem to have a different kind of ſouls. They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow-creatures, as the cords, chains, racks, and tortures, which are applied to their writhing limbs. The hearts of theſe eccleſiaſtical butchers are grown callous, and, like thoſe of common butchers are ſo inured to the ſhedding of blood, and horrid ſight of mangled carcaſſes, as to have loſt all the impreſſions of ſenſibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity. Perpetual ſcenes of horror and diſtreſs become ſo familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heartſtrings of ſome men, make no more impreſſion on their's than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without ſuch a fiend-like temper, it would be impoſſible for any man to act the part of an inquiſitor."

Though the inquiſitors allow the torture to be uſed only three times, yet at thoſe three it is ſo ſeverely inflicted, that the priſoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple, and ſuffers the ſevereſt pains upon every change of weather. We ſhall give an ample deſcription of the ſevere torments occaſioned by the torture, from the account of one who ſuffered it the three reſpective times, but happily ſurvived the cruelties he underwent.

The firſt Time of Torturing.

A priſoner on refuſing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquiſitors, by confeſſing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, was immediately conveyed to the torture room, where no light appeared but what two candles gave. That the cries of the ſufferers might not be heard by the other priſoners, this room is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices and deadens the ſound.

Very great was the priſoner's horror on entering this infernal place, when ſuddenly he was ſurrounded by ſix wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, ſtripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of ſtand, elevated a few feet from the floor.

The operation they began by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which faſtened him to the ſtand. His limbs being thus ſtretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being paſſed under the ſcaffold, through holes made for that purpoſe, were all drawn tight at the ſame inſtant of time, by four of the men on a given ſignal.

We may naturally conceive that the pains which immediately ſucceeded were intolerable; the ropes which were of a ſmall ſize, cut through the priſoner's fleſh to the bone, making the blood guſh out at eight different places thus bound at a time. As the priſoner perſiſted in not making any confeſſion of what the inquiſitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times ſucceſſively.

Let it be obſerved, that a phyſician and ſurgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a ſmall ſpace ſuſpended, that he might have ſufficient opportunity of recovering his ſpirits, to ſuſtain each enſuing torture.

During this extremity of anguiſh, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces, while at every pore it feels the ſharpeſt pangs of death, and the agonizing ſoul is juſt ready to burſt forth, and quit it's wretched manſion, the miniſters of the inquiſition have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to adviſe the poor diſtracted creature, to confeſs his imputed guilt, in doing which they tell him he may obtain a free pardon, and receive abſolution. All this however, was ineffectual with the priſoner, whoſe mind was ſtrengthened by a ſweet conſciouſneſs of innocence, and the divine conſolation of religion.

While he was thus ſuffering, the phyſician and ſurgeon were ſo barbarouſly unjuſt as to declare, that if he died under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obſtinacy, of ſelf-murder. In ſhort, at the laſt time of the ropes being drawn tight he grew ſo exceedingly weak, by the circulation of his blood being ſtopped, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away; upon which he was unlooſed, and carried back to his dungeon.

The ſecond Time of Torturing.

Theſe inhuman wretches of the inquiſition, finding that all the torture inflicted, as above deſcribed, inſtead of extorting a diſcovery from the priſoner, only ſerved the more fervently to excite his ſupplications to heaven for patience and power to perſevere in truth and integrity, were ſo inhuman, ſix weeks after, as to expoſe him to another kind of torture, more ſevere if poſſible, than the former; the manner of inflicting which was as follows: they forced his arms backwards, ſo that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that faſtened them together at the wriſts, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees, nearer each other, in ſuch a manner that the back of each hand touched, and ſtood exactly parallel to the other. In conſequence of this violent contortion, both his ſhoulders became diſlocated, and a conſiderable quantity of blood iſſued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the phyſician and ſurgeon, who, in ſetting the diſlocated bones, put him to the moſt exquiſite torment.

The third Time of Torturing.

About two months after the ſecond torture, the priſoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture room; and there, for the laſt time, made to undergo another kind of puniſhment, which was inflicted twice without any intermiſſion. The executioners faſtened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which croſſing upon his ſtomach, terminated at the wriſts. They then placed him with his back againſt a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that catched the ends of the chain at his wriſts.

Then the executioner ſtretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller placed at a diſtance behind him, preſſed or bruiſed his ſtomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to ſuch a degree, that his wriſts, as well as his ſhoulders, were quite diſlocated. They were, however, ſoon ſet by the ſurgeons; but the barbarians, not yet ſatisfied with this ſeries of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a ſecond time; which he ſuſtained (though if poſſible attended with keener pains) with equal conſtancy and reſolution.

This done, he was again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the ſurgeon to dreſs his bruiſes and adjuſt the parts diſlocated; and here he continued till their Auto de Fe, or gaol delivery, when he was happily diſcharged.

It may eaſily be judged from the before-mentioned relation, what dreadful agony the ſufferer muſt have laboured under, at being ſo frequently put to the torture. Moſt of his limbs were diſjointed; and ſo much was he bruiſed and exhauſted, as to be unable, for ſome weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly ſwelled from the inflammation cauſed by ſuch frequent diſlocations. After his diſcharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently ſeized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been ſubject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the mercileſs and bloody lords of the inquiſition.

The unhappy females who fall into the hands of the inquiſitors, have not the leaſt favour ſhewn them on account of the ſoftneſs of their ſex, but are tortured with as much ſeverity as the male priſoners, with the additional mortification of having the moſt ſhocking indecencies added to the moſt ſavage barbarities.

Should the above-mentioned modes of torturing force a confeſſion from the priſoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his ſituation, to the anguiſh ariſing from what he has ſuffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuſe to confeſs, he is, in the ſame manner, remanded to his dungeon, but a ſtratagem is uſed to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till his wounds are healed: this perſon, who is always ſelected for his cunning, inſinuates himſelf into the good graces of the priſoner, laments the anguiſh he feels, ſympathizes with him, and, taking an advantage of the haſty expreſſions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his ſecrets.

This companion ſometimes pretends to be a priſoner like himſelf, and impriſoned for ſimilar charges. This is to draw the unhappy perſon into a mutual confidence, and perſuade him in unboſoming his grief, to betray his private ſentiments.

Frequently theſe ſnares ſucceed, as they are the more alluring by being gloſſed over with the appearance of friendſhip, ſympathy, pity, and every tender paſſion. In fine, if the priſoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured, or haraſſed to death, though a few have ſometimes had the good fortune to be diſcharged, but not without having, firſt of all, ſuffered the moſt dreadful cruelties. If he is found guilty, all his effects are confiſcated, and he is condemned to be whipped, impriſoned for life, ſent to the gallies, or put to death. Theſe ſentences are put in execution at an Auto de Fe, or gaol delivery, which is not held annually, or at any ſtated periods, but ſometimes once in two, three, or even four years.

Having now mentioned the barbarities with which the perſons of priſoners are treated by the inquiſitors, we ſhall proceed to recount the ſeverity of their proceedings againſt publications.

When a book is publiſhed, it is carefully read by ſome of the familiars belonging to the inquiſition. Theſe wretched critics are too ignorant to have taſte, too bigoted to ſearch for truth, and too malicious to reliſh beauties. They ſcrutinize, not for the merits, but for the defects of another, and purſue the ſlips of his pen with unremitting diligence. Hence they read with prejudice, judge with partiality, purſue errors with avidity, and ſtrain that which is innocent into an offenſive meaning.

They miſapply, miſunderſtand, confound, and pervert the ſenſe; and when they have gratified the malignity of their diſpoſition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a proſecution may be founded upon their falſe conceptions, and deſigned miſinterpretations.

Any trivial charge cauſes the cenſure of a book;

but it is to be obſerved, that the cenſure is of a threefold nature, viz.

1. When the book is wholly condemned.

2. When the book is partly condemned, that is, when certain paſſages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.

3. When the book is deemed incorrect; the meaning of which is, that a few words or expreſſions diſpleaſe the inquiſitors. Theſe, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and ſuch alterations go under the name of corrections.

It is evident, from what has been ſaid that the inquiſitors check the progreſs of learning, impede the increaſe of arts, nip genius in the bud, deſtroy the national taſte, and continue the cloud of ignorance over the minds of the people.

There is a catalogue of condemned books annually publiſhed under the three different heads of cenſures, already mentioned, and being printed on a very large ſheet of paper, is hung up in the moſt public and conſpicuous places. After which, people are obliged to deſtroy all ſuch books as come under the firſt cenſure, and to keep none belonging to the other two cenſures, unleſs the exceptionable paſſages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either caſe diſobedience would be of the moſt fatal conſequence: for the poſſeſſing or reading the proſcribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes.

Every publiſher of ſuch books is uſually ruined in his circumſtances, and ſometimes obliged to paſs the remainder of his life in the inquiſition.

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Inſtances of the Barbarities exerciſed by the INQUISITIONS *of* Spain *and* Portugal, *on various Perſons, upon ſeveral Occaſions, and at different Times, from the moſt genuine Hiſtorians and the moſt authenticated Records.*

I. FRANCIS ROMANES, a native of Spain, being of a mercantile turn of mind, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp, to tranſact ſome buſineſs for them at Breme. He had been educated in the Romiſh perſuaſion, but going one day into a Proteſtant church, he was ſtruck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to perceive the errors of Popery, he determined to ſearch further into the matter.

Peruſing the ſacred ſcriptures attentively, and reading the writings of ſome Proteſtant divines, he plainly perceived how erroneous the principles were he had formerly embraced; and renounced the impoſitions of Popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all it's genuine purity.

Reſolving to give over worldly thoughts, and think of his eternal ſalvation, he ſtudied religious truths more than trade, and purchaſed books rather than merchandize, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to thoſe of the ſoul.

Now he reſigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the ſame time of his converſion; and then reſolving, if poſſible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpoſe. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquiſitors, he was ſeized upon, impriſoned for ſome time, and then condemned to be burnt as an heretic.

Romanes was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head, by way of deriſion. As he paſſed by a wooden croſs, one of the prieſts bade him kneel to it; but he abſolutely refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, It is not for Chriſtians to worſhip wood.

Having been placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, whereupon he lifted up his head ſuddenly; the prieſts thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were miſtaken, and that he ſtill retained his conſtancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating the ſeventh pſalm.

II. At St. Lucar in Spain reſided a carver named Rochus, whoſe principal buſineſs was to make images of ſaints and other popiſh idols. Becoming, however, convinced of the errors of the Romiſh perſuaſion, he embraced the Proteſtant faith, left off carving images, and for ſubſiſtence followed the buſineſs of a ſeal engraver only. He had, however, retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a ſign; when an inquiſitor paſſing by, aſked if he would ſell it; Rochus mentioned a price; the inquiſitor objected to it, and offered half the mony: Rochus replied, I would rather break it to pieces than take ſuch a trifle. "Break it to pieces! ſaid the inquiſitor, break it to pieces if you dare!"

At this expreſſion Rochus, being provoked, immediately ſnatched up a chiſſel, and cut off the noſe of the image. This was ſufficient, the inquiſitor went away in a rage, and ſoon after ſent to have him apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he defaced was his own property, and that if it was not proper to do as he would with his own goods, it was not proper for the inquiſitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided: he was condemned to be burnt, and the ſentence was executed accordingly.

III. One Doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis, and his ſiſter Blanch, were burnt at Valladolid, for having ſpoken againſt the inquiſitors.

IV. A gentlewoman with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville on account of their profeſſing the Proteſtant religion. They were all put to the torture: and when that was over, one of the inquiſitors ſent for the youngeſt daughter, pretended to ſympathize with her, and pity her ſufferings; then binding himſelf with a ſolemn oath not to betray her, he ſaid, "If you will diſcloſe all to me, I promiſe you I will procure the diſcharge of your mother, ſiſter, couſin, and yourſelf."

Now made confident by his oath, and intrapped by promiſes, ſhe revealed the whole of the tenets they profeſſed; when the perjured wretch, inſtead of acting as he had ſworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, ſaying, "Now you have revealed ſo much, I will make you reveal more." Refuſing, however, to ſay any thing further, they were all ordered to be burnt, which ſentence was executed at the next Auto de Fe.

V. The keeper of the caſtle of Triano, belonging to the inquiſitors of Seville, happened to be of a diſpoſition more mild and humane than is uſual with perſons in his ſituation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the priſoners, and ſhewed them every favour in his power with as much ſecrecy as poſſible. At length, however, the inquiſitors became acquainted with his kindneſs, and determined to puniſh him ſeverely for it, that other gaolers might be deterred from ſhewing the leaſt traces of that compaſſion which ought to glow in the breaſt of every human being. With this view they ſuperſeded, threw him into a diſmal dungeon, and uſed him with ſuch dreadful barbarity that he loſt his ſenſes.

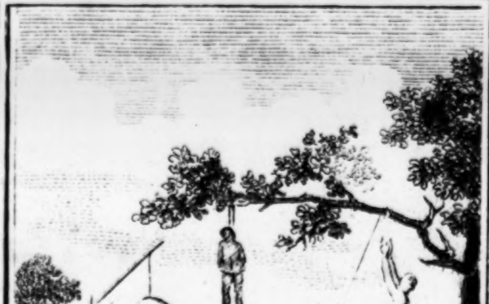
However, his deplorable ſituation, procured him no favour; for frantic as he was, they brought him from priſon at an Auto de Fe to the uſual place of puniſhment, with a ſambenito (or garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His ſentence was then read, and ran thus; that he ſhould be placed upon an aſs, led through the city, receive two hundred ſtripes, and then be condemned ſix years to the gallies.

This unhappy frantic wretch, juſt as they were about to begin his puniſhment, ſuddenly ſprung from the back of the aſs, broke the cords that bound him, ſnatched a ſword from one of the guards, and dangerouſly wounded an officer of the inquiſition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing further miſchief, ſeized, bound more ſecurely to the aſs, and puniſhed according to his ſentence. But ſo inexorable were the inquiſitors, that for the raſh effects of his madneſs an additional four years was added to his ſlavery in the gallies.

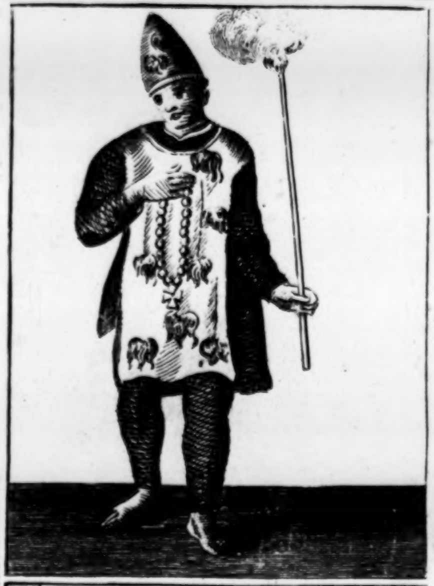
VI. A maid ſervant to another gaoler belonging to the inquiſition was accuſed of humanity, and detected in

bidding

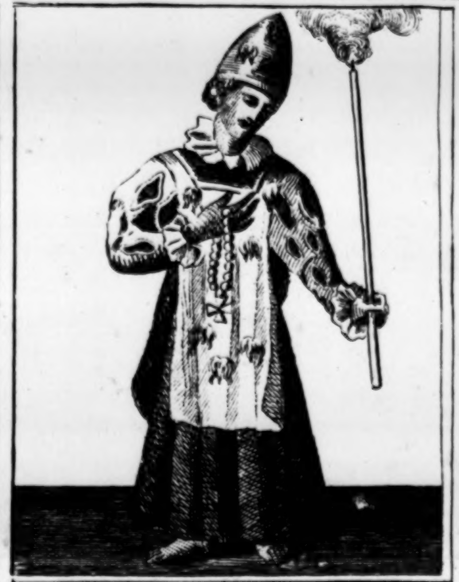
BRITISH
8 OC 75
MUSEUM



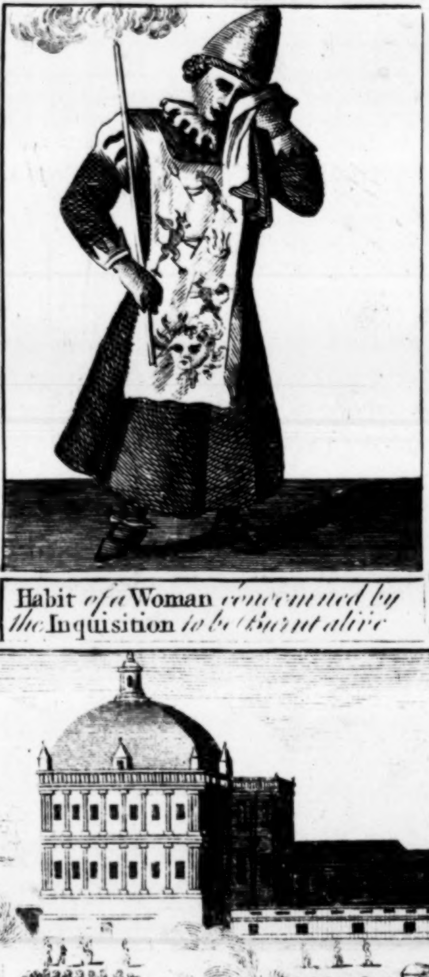
The Manner of exercising SOME of the Cruelties in the Popish Inquisition.



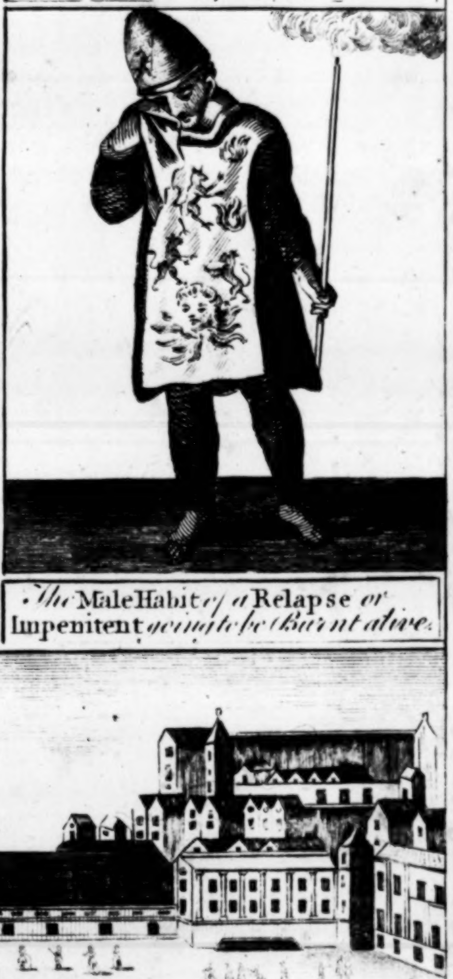
The Male Habit wore by Penitents who by Confession escape the Flames after Sentence is pronounced.



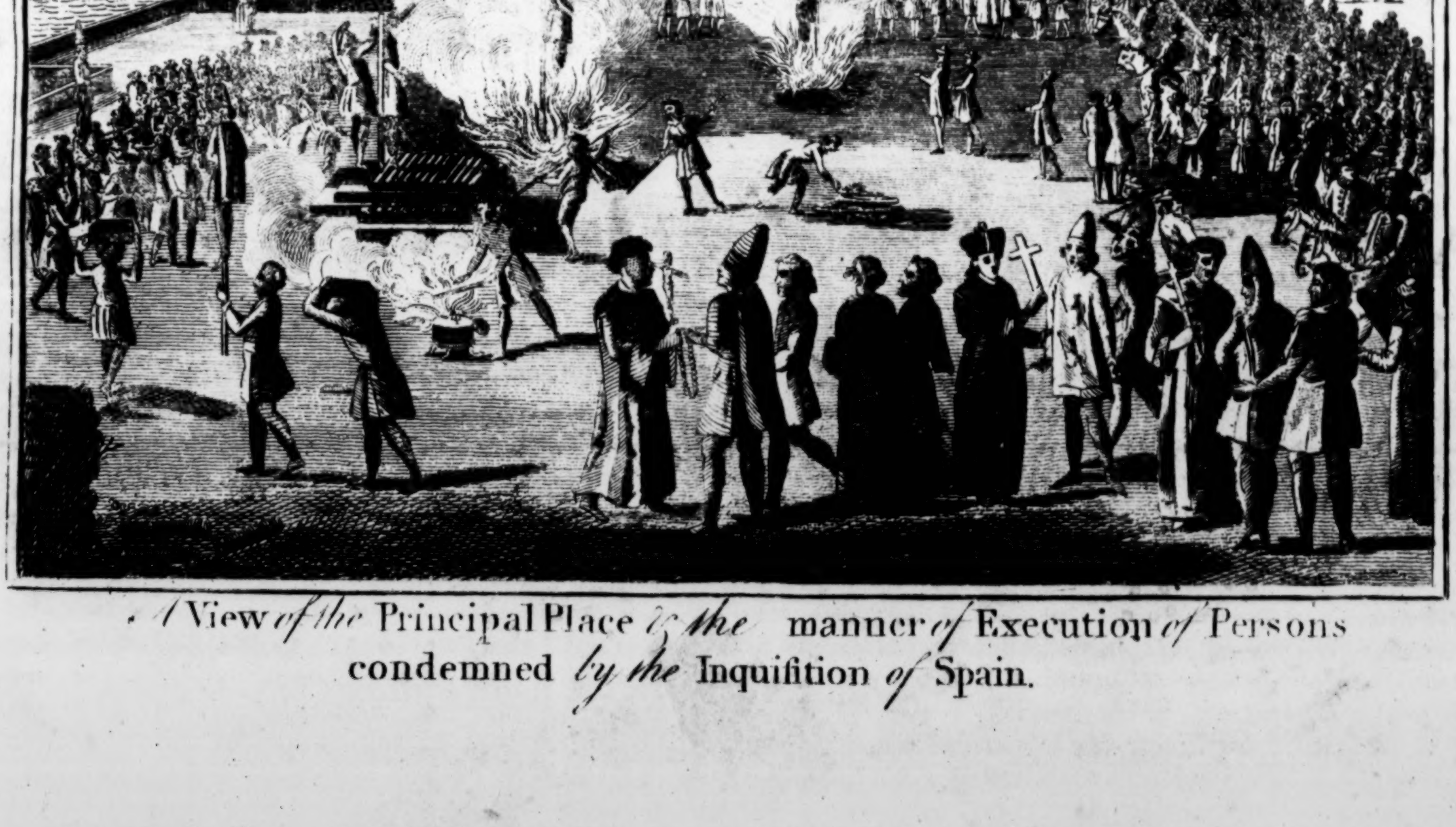
The Habit wore by Penitents who by Confession escape the Flames after Sentence is pronounced.



Habit of a Woman condemned by the Inquisition to be Burnt alive



The Male Habit of a Relapse or Impenitent going to be Burnt alive.



A View of the Principal Place & the manner of Execution of Persons condemned by the Inquiſition of Spain.

Face 16

bidding the priſoners keep up their ſpirits. For theſe heinous crimes, as they were called, ſhe was publicly whipped, baniſhed her native place for ten years, and what is worſe, had her forehead branded by means of red hot irons, with theſe words, "A favourer and aider of heretics."

VII. One John Pontic, a Spaniard by birth, a gentleman by education, and Proteſtant by profeſſion, was, principally on account of his great eſtate, apprehended by the inquiſitors, when the charges exhibited againſt him were as follow:

1. That he had ſaid he abhorred the idolatry of worſhipping the hoſt.
2. That he ſhunned going to maſs.
3. That he aſſerted the merits of Jeſus Chriſt alone was a full juſtification for a Chriſtian.
4. That he declared there was no purgatory; and
5. That he affirmed the pope's abſolution not to be of any value.

All his effects, on theſe charges, were confiſcated to the uſe of the inquiſitors, and his body was burnt to aſhes to gratify their revenge and indignation.

VIII. Alſo John Gonſalvo, originally a prieſt, but who now embraced the reformed religion, was with his mother, brother, and two ſiſters, ſeized upon by the inquiſitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution, where they ſung part of the 106th pſalm.

They were ordered at the place of execution to ſay the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to theſe words, "The holy Catholic church," they were commanded to add the monoſyllables "of Rome," which abſolutely refuſing, one of the inquiſitors ſaid, "Put an end to their lives directly;" when the executioners obeyed, and ſtrangled them that very inſtant.

IX. There were four Proteſtant women who were ſeized upon at Seville, tortured, and in proceſs of time ordered for execution. On the way thither they began to ſing pſalms; but the officers of the inquiſition, thinking that the words of the pſalms reflected on themſelves, put gags into all their mouths, to make them ſilent. They were then burnt, and the houſes where they reſided ordered to be demoliſhed.

X. A Proteſtant ſchool-maſter of the name of Ferdinando, was apprehended by order of the inquiſition, for inſtructing his pupils in the principles of Proteſtantiſm; and after being ſeverely tortured, committed to the flames.

XI. There was a monk, who had abjured the errors of Popery, impriſoned at the ſame time as the above Ferdinando; but through the fear of death, and to procure mercy, he ſaid he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando hearing of this, got an opportunity to ſpeak to him, reproached him with his weakneſs, and threatened him with eternal perdition. The monk, ſenſible of his crime, returned to, promiſed to continue in the Proteſtant faith, and declared to the inquiſitors that he ſolemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore paſſed upon him, and he was burned at the time that Ferdinando ſuffered.

XII. A Spaniſh Roman-Catholic, named Juliano, on travelling into Germany, became a convert to the Proteſtant religion: and having entertained no little zeal for the faith he had embraced, he undertook a very arduous taſk, which was to convey from Germany into his own country, a great number of Bibles, concealed in caſks, and packed up like Rheniſh wine. This important commiſſion he ſucceeded in ſo far as to diſtribute the books. A pretended Proteſtant, however, who had purchaſed one of the Bibles, betrayed him, and laid an account of the whole affair before the inquiſition. No ſooner was this diſcovery made than Juliano was ſeized upon, and all poſſible means being uſed to find out the reſpective purchaſers of theſe Bibles, eight hundred perſons were apprehended upon the occaſion. They were all indiſcriminately tortured, and then moſt of them were ſentenced to various puniſhments. Juliano was burnt, twenty were roaſted upon ſpits, ſeveral impriſoned for life, ſome were publicly whipped, many ſent to the gallies, and very few indeed releaſed.

XIII. A Proteſtant taylor of Spain, named John Leon, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where hearing that a great number of Engliſh Proteſtants were returning to their native country, he, and ſome more Spaniards, determined to go with them. The Spaniſh inquiſitors being apprized of their intentions, ſent a number of familiars ſo expeditiouſly in purſuit of them, that they overtook them at a ſea-port in Zealand, one of the United-Provinces (which was then under the juriſdiction of Spain) juſt before they had embarked. Having thus ſucceeded in their commiſſion, the poor priſoners were heavily fettered, handcuffed, gagged, and had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net work. In this miſerable condition they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a diſmal dungeon, almoſt famiſhed with hunger, barbarouſly tortured, and then burnt in a cruel manner.

XIV. A young lady having been put into a convent, abſolutely refuſed to take the veil, or turn nun. On leaving the cloiſter ſhe embraced the Proteſtant faith, which being known to the inquiſitors, ſhe was apprehended, and every method uſed to draw her back again to Popery. This proving ineffectual, her inexorable judges condemned her to the flames, and ſhe was burnt according to her ſentence, perſiſting in her faith to the very laſt moment.

XV. An eminent phyſician, and learned philoſopher of the name of Chriſtopher Loſada, became extremely obnoxious to the inquiſitors, on account of expoſing the errors of Popery, and profeſſing the tenets of Proteſtantiſm. For theſe reaſons he was apprehended, impriſoned, and racked; but thoſe ſeverities not bringing him to confeſs the Roman-Catholic church to be the only true church, he was ſentenced to the fire; the flames of which he bore with exemplary patience, and reſigned his ſoul to that Creator by whom it was given.

XVI. Arias, a monk of St. Iſidore's monaſtery at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vitious diſpoſition. He ſometimes pretended to forſake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a Proteſtant, and ſoon after turned Roman-Catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both perſuaſions, till God thought proper to touch his heart, and ſhew him the great danger of inconſtancy in religious matters. He now became a true Proteſtant, and bewailed his former errors with contrition. The ſincerity of his converſion being known, he was ſeized by the officers of the inquiſition, ſeverely tortured, and afterwards burnt at an Auto de Fe in a cruel manner.

XVII. There was a young lady named Maria de Coceicao, who reſided with her brother at Liſbon, taken up by the inquiſitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The exquiſite torments ſhe felt ſtaggered her reſolution, and ſhe fully confeſſed the charges againſt her. Hereupon the cords were immediately ſlackened, and ſhe was re-conducted to her cell, where ſhe remained till ſhe had recovered the uſe of her limbs, and was then brought again before the tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confeſſion, and ſign it. This ſhe abſolutely refuſed to do, telling them, that what ſhe had ſaid was forced from her by the exceſſive pain ſhe underwent. Incenſed at this reply, the inquiſitors ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakneſs of nature once more prevailed; and ſhe repeated her former confeſſion. She was immediately remanded to her cell till her wounds were again healed, when being a third time brought before the inquiſitors, they in a ſtern manner ordered her to ſign her firſt and ſecond confeſſions. She anſwered as before, but added, "I have twice given way to the frailty of the fleſh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do ſo again; but depend upon it, if you torture me an hundred times, as ſoon as I am releaſed from the rack I ſhall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquiſitors ordered her to be racked a third time; and, during this laſt trial, ſhe exceeded even her own expectations; bore the torments inflicted with the utmoſt fortitude, and could not be perſuaded to anſwer any of the queſtions put to her. As her courage and conſtancy increaſed, the inquiſitors imagined that ſhe would deem death a glorious martyrdom, and therefore, to diſappoint her expectations, they condemned her to a ſevere whipping through the public ſtreets, and baniſhment for ten years.

XVIII. A lady of a noble family in Seville, named Jane Bohorquia, was apprehended on the information of her ſiſter, who had been tortured, and burnt for profeſſing the Proteſtant religion. While on the rack, through the extremity of pain, that young lady confeſſed that ſhe had frequently diſcourſed with her ſiſter concerning Proteſtantiſm, and upon this extorted confeſſion was Jane Bohorquia ſeized and impriſoned. Being pregnant at the beginning, they let her remain tolerably quiet till ſhe was delivered, when they immediately took away the child, and put it to nurſe, that it might be brought up a Roman-Catholic.

This unfortunate lady was not perfectly recovered from the weakneſs cauſed by her labour, when ſhe was ordered to be racked, which was done with ſuch ſeverity, that ſhe expired a week after of the wounds and bruiſes ſhe received. Upon this occaſion the inquiſitors affected ſome remorſe, and, in one of the printed acts of the inquiſition, which they always publiſh at an Auto de Fe, this young lady is thus mentioned: "Jane Bohorquia was found dead in priſon; after which, upon reviving her proſecution, the inquiſitors diſcovered that ſhe was innocent.—Be it therefore known, that no further proſecutions ſhall be carried on againſt her, and that her effects, which were confiſcated, ſhall be given to the heirs at law."

Thus have the lords of the holy office of inquiſition generouſly reſtored to her innocence, reputation, and eſtate. Strange inconſiſtency! to take the property, and torture the perſon before conviction of guilt, and then to compliment themſelves for moderation, in returning what they had no right to ſeize, and forgiving one, who, by their own acknowledgment, had never offended them. One ſentence, however, in the above ridiculous paſſage, wants explanation, viz. That no further proſecutions ſhall be carried on againſt her. This alludes to the abſurd cuſtom of proſecuting, and burning the bones of the dead: for when a priſoner dies in the inquiſition, the proceſs continues the ſame as if he was living; the bones are depoſited in a cheſt, and if ſentence of guilt is paſſed, they are brought out at the next Auto de Fe; the ſentence is read againſt them with as much ſolemnity as againſt a living priſoner, and they are at length committed to the flames. In a ſimilar manner are proſecutions carried on againſt priſoners who eſcape; and when their perſons are far beyond the reach of the inquiſitors, they are burnt in effigy.

XIX. Iſaac Orobio, a learned phyſician, having beaten a Mooriſh ſervant for ſtealing, was accordingly accuſed by him of profeſſing Judaiſm. Without conſidering the apparent malice of the ſervant, the inquiſitors ſeized the maſter upon the charge. He was kept three years in priſon before he had the leaſt intimation of what he was to undergo, and then ſuffered the ſix modes of torture as follow:

1. A coarſe linen coat was put on him, and then drawn ſo tight, that the circulation of his blood was nearly ſtopped, and the breath almoſt preſſed out of his body. After this the ſtrings were ſuddenly looſened, when the air forcing it's way haſtily into his ſtomach, and the blood ruſhing into it's channels, he ſuffered the moſt incredible pains.

2. His thumbs were tied with ſmall cords, ſo hard that the blood guſhed from under the nails.

3. He was ſeated on a bench with his back againſt a wall, wherein ſmall iron pullies were fixed. Ropes being faſtened to ſeveral parts of his body and limbs, were paſſed through the pullies, and being ſuddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a diſtorted heap.

4. After having ſuffered for a conſiderable time the pains of the laſt mentioned poſition, the ſeat was ſnatched away, and he was left ſuſpended againſt the wall in the moſt excruciating miſery.

5. A little inſtrument with five knobs, and which went with ſprings, being placed near his face, he ſuddenly received five blows on the cheek, that put him to ſuch pain as cauſed him to faint away.

6. The executioners faſtened ropes round his wriſts, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet againſt the wall, they pulled with the utmoſt violence, till the cords had penetrated to the bone.

He ſuffered the laſt torture three different times, and then lay ſeventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards baniſhed, and in his exile wrote the account of his ſufferings, from which the foregoing particulars are chiefly extracted.

XX. A famous penman of Toledo, in Spain, and a Proteſtant, was fond of producing fine ſpecimens of writings, and having them framed, to adorn the different apartments of his houſe. Among other curious examples of penmanſhip was a large piece, containing the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments, thrown into verſe, and finely written. This piece, which hung in a conſpicuous part of the houſe, was one day ſeen by a perſon belonging to the inquiſition, who obſerved that the verſification of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the Proteſtant church: for the Proteſtants retain the whole of the commandments as they are found in the Bible, but the Papiſts omit that part of the ſecond commandment which forbids the worſhip of images. The inquiſition ſoon had information of the whole, and this ingenious gentleman was ſeized, proſecuted, and burnt, only for onamenting his houſe with a ſpecimen of his ſkill and religion.

A full Account of the Trial and Sufferings of Mr. ISAAC MARTIN.

MR. MARTIN's caſe being not only ſingular in itſelf, but amply explained, and publiſhed under the immediate ſanction of government, Mr. Martin being patronized by the higheſt characters both in church and ſtate, we ſhall minutely enter into the particulars thereof.

In the year 1714, about Lent, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife, and four children. On the examination of his baggage, his Bible, and ſome other books were ſeized, and effectually loſt to him.

He was accuſed in about three months time of being a Jew, for theſe curious reaſons, that his own name was Iſaac, and one of his ſons was named Abraham.

As ſoon as he heard of the accuſation, which was laid in the Biſhop's Court, he informed the Engliſh conſul of it, who ſaid it was nothing but the malice of ſome of the Iriſh Papiſts, whom he adviſed him always carefully to ſhun. The clergy ſent to Mr. Martin's neighbours to know their opinion concerning him: the reſult of which inquiry was this; We believe him not to be a Jew, but an heretic.

From this Mr. Martin was convinced that he had enemies at Malaga; but their malice did not appear formidable for ſome years. Being continually peſtered by prieſts, particularly thoſe of the Iriſh nation, in order to change his religion, he determined to diſpoſe of what he had, and retire from a place which was become ſo diſagreeable to him.

But when his reſolution to leave Malaga had taken wind, at about nine o'clock at night (a late hour in that country) he heard a knocking at his door.

Mr. Martin demanded who was there? The perſons without ſaid they wanted to enter. He deſired they would come again the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open; and they were as good as their word, for it flew off the hinges while they were ſpeaking to him.

When the barrier was removed, about fifteen perſons entered, conſiſting of a commiſſioner, with ſeveral prieſts and familiars belonging to the inquiſition. Mr. Martin would fain have gone to the Engliſh conſul; but they told him the conſul had nothing to do in the matter, and then ſaid, where are your beads and fire-arms?

To which he replied, I am an Engliſh Proteſtant, and as ſuch carry no private arms, nor make uſe of beads.

When they had taken away his watch, money, and other things, they carried him to the biſhop's priſon, and put on him a pair of heavy fetters. His diſtreſſed family was, at the ſame time, turned out of doors till the houſe was ſtripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife, that ſhe and her children might ſolace themſelves between the bare walls.

About four days after his commitment, Mr. Martin was told he muſt be ſent to Grenada to be tried: he earneſtly begged to ſee his wife and children before he went, but this humble requeſt was cruelly denied.

Now being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and ſet out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almoſt broke his back. He was three days on the journey, as it is ſeventy-two miles of very rugged road from Malaga to Grenada.

Mr. Martin, on his arrival at Grenada, was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquiſition during day-light. At night, Mr. Martin was taken to the inquiſition, ſhewn up one pair of ſtairs, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon, which the gaoler unlocked, and ſtaid with him till the under-gaoler fetched a lamp, and the things brought from Malaga by the carrier, which conſiſted of an old bed, a few clothes, and a box of books.

The gaoler nailed up the latter, and ſaid, they muſt remain in that ſtate till the lords of the inquiſition choſe to inſpect them, for priſoners were not allowed to read books.

Then the gaoler took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having aſked him a great number of frivolous queſtions, he, at length, gave him theſe orders: "You muſt obſerve as great ſilence here, as if you were dead; you muſt not ſpeak, nor whiſtle, nor ſing, nor make any noiſe that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry, or make a noiſe, you muſt be ſtill, and ſay nothing, upon pain of 200 laſhes."

Mr. Martin ſaid he could not always be upon the bed, and aſked if he might not have the liberty to walk about the room; the gaoler replied he might, but it muſt be very ſoftly. After having given him ſome wine, bread, and half a dozen of walnuts, the gaoler left him till the morning.

At the time of Mr. Martin's impriſonment it was froſty weather, ſo that he lay extremely cold; for the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which ſerved as a window.

On the next morning the gaoler came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dreſs his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or ſuch a wheel as is uſually found at the doors of convents, where a perſon on the other ſide, whom you cannot ſee, turns your proviſions round to you. He had then given him, half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, ſome kidney beans, a bunch of raiſins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three days. He had likewiſe delivered to him for uſe, two pounds of charcoal, an earthen ſtove, a pipkin, ſome plates, a pitcher, an urinal, a broom, three baſkets; one for bread, meat, and greens; a ſecond for charcoal, and the other for dirt; and a wooden ſpoon.

Mr. Martin in a week's time was ordered to an audience: he followed the gaoler, and coming to a large room found a man ſitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was, as he afterwards learned, the ſecretary.

The chief lord inquiſitor was the perſon between the two crucifixes; he ſeemed about ſixty years of age and was very lean. As ſoon as he ſaw Mr. Martin, he ordered him to ſit down upon a little ſtool that fronted him, when the following examination took place, which we ſhall mark by the ſignatures Q. and A. the firſt letter implying the queſtion which was aſked by the inquiſitor, and the laſt the anſwer thereto made by Mr. Martin.

Q. What was you brought here for?

A. My lord, I don't know.

Q. Can you ſpeak Spaniſh?

A. I can ſpeak Spaniſh, but not ſo well as Engliſh or French. If you pleaſe to ſend for an Iriſh or a French prieſt, I ſhould be glad; for I am afraid I have not Spaniſh enough to anſwer your lordſhip in ſome things that you may demand of me.

Q. I find you ſpeak Spaniſh enough; but what have you done? What is your name? What countryman are you? What religion are you of?

A. My lord, I don't know what I have done. My name is Iſaac Martin; I am an Engliſhman, and a Proteſtant.

Q. Will you take an oath that you will anſwer the truth to what ſhall be demanded of you?

A. Yes, my lord, I will.

Q. Well, put your hand on that crucifix, and ſwear by the croſs.

A. My lord, we ſwear upon ſcripture.

Q. It is no matter for ſcripture, put your hand upon the croſs.

Mr. Martin then put his hand to the croſs, and the other gravely began thus:

You muſt tell me what your father and mother's names were:—What their father and mother's names were:—What brothers and ſiſters they had:—What brothers and ſiſters you have; where they were born; and what buſineſs they followed, or do follow.

Mr. Martin anſwered all theſe queſtions to the beſt of his knowledge.

Q. You ſay you are an Engliſhman; we have great belief in them; they are generally people that ſpeak the truth; I hope you will.

A. My lord, I don't know that I have done any thing that I ſhould be afraid of: your lordſhip has given me my oath, and if you had not, I ſhould have told the truth.

Q. Where was you born, Iſaac? And in what pariſh?

A. My lord, I and my family were all born in London, but in different pariſhes.

Q. Are you a ſcholar? Have you ſtudied Latin?

A. No my lord, I have had but a common education.

Q. What do you call a common education in your country? You have been at ſchool, what did you learn there?

A. My lord, I learned to read, to write, and to caſt accounts; that is what we call a common education.

Q. What ſect are you of? For in England you have ſeveral religions, as you call them.

A. My lord, there are different opinions in England in matters of religion: I am of that which is called the church of England, and ſo was my father and mother.

Q. Was you baptized?

A. Yes, my lord, I hope I am a Chriſtian.

Q. How are you baptized in England?

A. We are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

Q. Do you take the ſacrament in your religion?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. How do you take it?

A. My lord, we take bread and wine, as our Saviour gave to his apoſtles.

Q. Do you confeſs your ſins to your clergy, as we do in the church of Rome?

A. No, my lord, we confeſs them only to God Almighty.

Q. Do you know the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Commandments?

A. Yes, my lord, and will give you an account of my religion if you pleaſe, and prove to you that I am a Chriſtian, though I have been called a Jew and an heretic.

Q. What do you believe in your religion?

A. My lord, we believe the ſame creed that you have.

Q. Have you any biſhops in your religion? Have you been confirmed?

A. My lord, we have archbiſhops and biſhops, but I don't remember whether I have been confirmed.

Q. Iſaac, you have been brought up in the dark; it is a pity, but you may enlighten yourſelf if you will.

A. My lord, I hope I have light enough to ſave myſelf if I live according to it.

Here Mr. Martin, through anxiety of mind, began to ſhed tears; which the inquiſitor perceiving, proceeded to ſpeak with great ſeeming tenderneſs.

Q. Don't cry, nor don't be afraid; here is nobody put to death here, nor harm done to any body. I hope your caſe is not ſo bad but it may be remedied; you are among Chriſtians, and not among Turks.

A. My lord, I know very well that I am among Chriſtians, and that the laws of Chriſtians are merciful; but I have been uſed as if I had committed murder.

Q. Well! have patience, you ſhall have juſtice done you. You muſt think of what you have done or ſaid during the time you lived at Malaga, and confeſs it; for that is the only way to get out of your troubles. But let us continue our examination: to be ſure you was not brought here for nothing, was you?

A. My lord, I don't know what I was brought here for.

Q. You muſt think of that, and you muſt tell me how old you are; and likewiſe, as far as you can remember, what company you have kept, what buſineſs you have followed, what countries you have travelled in, and what languages you can ſpeak.

A. My lord, I have been a traveller many years, and have made many trading voyages; ſometimes in one country, and ſometimes in another, and cannot remember how long I lived in every place, but I will tell you as well as I can.

Q. It is very well, Iſaac, tell the truth.

Mr. Martin then gave a circumſtantial account to the beſt of his memory.

Q. It is very well, Iſaac, you have been a great traveller, you have been wild in your time.

A. Yes, my lord, too wild; for if I had ſtaid at home as I ought to have done, I ſhould not have been in this miſery.

Q. In your religion do you believe in the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and in the ſaints? Don't you worſhip them?

A. My lord, we believe that the Virgin Mary is the mother of Jeſus Chriſt carnally, and believe ſhe and the ſaints are happy, but do not worſhip them.

Q. What! don't you worſhip the mother of God, and the ſaints, that are always praying for us?

A. No, my lord, we worſhip only one God in three perſons, and nothing elſe.

Q. [*Speaking to his Secretary.*] It is a pity that he hath been brought up in hereſy, he talks pretty well. [*Addreſſing the priſoner.*] What a pity it is that England has left the true faith, and has embraced hereſy: formerly it produced many ſaints, but now it produces only ſchiſms and heretics; and your biſhops and clergy are a ſtrange ſort of people to marry as they do.

A. I believe, my lord, England produces as many good men as ever it did.

Q. Hold your tongue, you know nothing of thoſe affairs; think of what you have done during your reſidence at Malaga, and that you may conſider of theſe things, retire to your dungeon: I will ſend for you another time.

A. My lord, I hope your lordſhip will conſider that I have a family; I beg therefore that your lordſhip will diſpatch me as ſoon as poſſible.

Q. I will do all I can to diſpatch you; go and think upon what you have done or ſaid. I hope your caſe is not very bad, and can be remedied, if you think upon what I have ſaid to you.

And thus concluded Mr. Martin's firſt examination, or audience, as it is called in the inquiſition.

Now Mr. Martin tried to make a friend of the gaoler as much as poſſible, in order to pump what he could from him; but in this he could have but little ſucceſs, for they are all ſworn to ſecrecy. He, however, told him, that he was there for the good of his ſoul, and adviſed him, above all things, not to contradict the inquiſitors.

THE SECOND AUDIENCE.

In about a week after, Mr. Martin being called to a ſecond audience, the following queſtions and anſwers were the reſult.

Q. Well, Iſaac, how do you do? Do you remember what you have done, or ſaid, whilſt you lived at Malaga? Have you reflected on what I ſaid to you?

A. Yes, my lord, but I cannot remember every thing that has happened in four years time.

Q. Well! let us hear what you have remembered.

A. My lord, during my living at Malaga, I was attacked and inſulted ſeveral times about my religion: I hope your lordſhip allows that an honeſt man ought to defend his religion?

Q. Yes, Iſaac, he may defend it.

A. My lord, it is what I have done, and the ſame liberty have the Spaniards in my country; for if a biſhop ſhould attack them in matters of religion, they have liberty to defend themſeves.

Q. How long have you been married?

A. Seven Years.

Q. Was your wife maid, or widow, when you married her?

A. A widow, my lord.

Q. What quarrels have you had with different people, and who were they?

Mr. Martin named four or five people with whom he had little conteſts.

Q. Do you think thoſe people your enemies? If you do, tell me what reaſon you have for thinking ſo?

A. My lord, at my firſt arrival at Malaga, three Iriſhmen went to the biſhop's court, to acquaint them that I was a Jew, though they hardly knew my name, or what religion I was of. Your lordſhip has heard it, I ſuppoſe. All the time that I lived at Malaga, they, upon divers occaſions, ſhewed themſelves my enemies. My friends oftentimes told me that they ſpoke ill of me behind my back; ſometimes ſaying that I was a Jew, and ſometimes an heretic; and that they would play me a trick one day, that I ſhould not carry much money along with me if I left the place; and I find, my lord, that they have accompliſhed their deſign.

Q. Have you had no words about religion? Have you not blaſphemed againſt our holy faith?

A. No, my lord, I am a better bred man than that. My religion does not permit ſuch things: it is true, that I have had high words about religion when I have been attacked, but not to blaſpheme your religion.

Q. Well! but what is the reaſon that you have ſo many enemies, can you tell?

A. I know no other reaſon, my lord, but that I am an Engliſh Proteſtant, and had better buſineſs than they had, which cauſed them to envy me ever ſince I came to Malaga.

Q. Well! but Iſaac, have you no inclination to be a good Chriſtian, and to be in the right way of ſalvation? You are a man of age and reaſon, and have a family: it is time to think of your ſoul.

A. My lord, I hope God will ſave me in the religion I have been brought up in: I have no inclination to change my religion; Jeſus Chriſt allows of no perſecution; I hope my lord, there is none here.

Q. No, Iſaac, it is all voluntary; I would have you think upon it for the good of your ſoul, and your family. Do not you believe in the holy father the pope, that he is infallible, and that he can abſolve people from their ſins?

A. No, my lord, I believe that he is no more than another biſhop, and can abſolve no more than another clergyman.

Q. Don't you believe in purgatory?

A. No, my lord, I believe in no ſuch thing.

Q. What, don't you believe that there is a place called purgatory, where the ſouls of thoſe that die are retained to be purified before they can go to heaven?

A. No, my lord, I believe that the blood of Chriſt is ſufficient to cleanſe us from our iniquities.

Q. Poor man, you have been brought up in hereſy and ignorance from your youthful days. I am ſorry for you, you will find yourſelf miſtaken when it is too late. You have time to conſider of it, and I would adviſe you to do it for your own good. Can you think of any thing elſe that you have done that they have ſent you here for?

A. No, my lord; I have had ſome few words with people, but I believe that has not any connection with this affair.

Q. What words had you with the Spainiards at Malaga?

A. My lord, at firſt ſeveral deſired me to ſpeak the language for them, to help them to ſell their goods to ſhips that came to load there; and I did, but there came ſo many, that I could not do buſineſs for myſelf, ſo that I deſired them to excuſe me and take ſomebody elſe; but they ſtill importuned me ſo, that I was obliged to tell them that I would trouble myſelf no more about their buſineſs, and that I had buſineſs enough of my own to mind; at which they would ſometimes fall into a paſſion, and generally reflect upon my religion, which I could not always digeſt.

Q. Very well, Iſaac, have you any thing elſe to ſay relating to your affairs?

A. My lord, I don't know what to ſay.

Q. Well, go to your dungeon, and think of what you have done; for it wilt be a great help to your releaſement. I will do you what ſervice I can, but you muſt do what you can to ſerve yourſelf, and think upon what I have ſaid to you.

Mr. Martin had ſoon after three other audiences, in all of which he was only aſked the ſame queſtions as we have already inſerted, which was to detect him in a falſehood, if he had told one, and to diſcover if he prevaricated in any part of his ſtory.

The head gaoler told Mr. Martin one morning, that he muſt get his dungeon very clean, for he was to have a viſit from one of the lords of the inquiſition; at the ſame time he gave him ſome aniſeed to throw into the fire when he heard him coming, in order to take away the ſtench. On hearing a noiſe on the ſtair-caſe, he did ſo, and the inquiſitor, whoſe name was Don Petro Leonor, ſoon after made his appearance.

Now this inquiſitor aſked a great number of frivolous queſtions with much pompoſity; then making a tranſition to England, he very liberally abuſed king Henry the Eighth, queen Elizabeth, and king William, the latter of whom he affirmed to have been of no religion, becauſe he had read ſuch an aſſertion in a French book. Changing from theſe, he attacked the archbiſhops, biſhops, clergy, and people of England in general, and after abuſing them with great liberality, he walked away with the moſt aſſumed dignity and conſequence.

In a few days after, Mr. Martin was called to his ſixth audience, when, after a few immaterial interrogatories, the inquiſitor told him the charges againſt him ſhould be read, and that he muſt give an immediate and prompt anſwer to each reſpective charge.

The First Accusation.

That ſoon after your coming to Malaga, you went and abuſed the ſchool-maſter for teaching your children the Chriſtian doctrine; telling him that you would teach them your own religion, and that you ſent them to ſchool to learn to read and write, and not to learn religion.

The Answer.

My lord, I will confeſs the truth; I hope your lordſhip requires nothing elſe. I did go to the ſchool-maſter, and told him, that I ſent my children to learn to read and write, and not to learn prayers; that I would have them brought up in my religion, and would teach them how to pray, but I did not abuſe him. I believe, my lord, I have the liberty to bring up my children in my own faith without being called to an account for it.

The inquiſitor ſeemed diſpleaſed at this reply, and bid the ſecretary write him down guilty of the firſt accuſation.

The Second Accusation.

That at divers times it was remarked, that you did not pull off your hat, nor pay homage to images, but turned you back on them.

The Answer.

My lord, in my religion we pay no reſpect to graven images. I profeſs myſelf to be a Proteſtant, it is againſt my conſcience to bow to any, and I am not obliged by the articles of peace ſo to do. I believe your lordſhip knows what the word Proteſtant means.

The inquiſitor told him, that as he lived in a country where it was done, he ought to comply with the cuſtom of the place in which he reſided. The ſecretary was then ordered to record the anſwer.

The Third Accusation.

You once ſaid, walking in your own apartment with an Engliſh captain, an heretic, like yourſelf, that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money. There was one preſent who could ſpeak your language, and heard you ſay ſo.

The Answer.

My lord, I cannot remember every thing that I have ſaid during four years time. It may be, that I have ſaid ſuch a thing; but if I did, it was not to a Roman-Catholic. If there was one in the room that heard me ſay ſo, he muſt he an Iriſhman, who was not very welcome there, for he came more as a ſpy than any thing elſe.

The inquiſitor aſking if he thought he knew him, Mr. Martin named the perſon on whom his ſuſpicion fell. The inquiſitor then having blamed him for giving his tongue ſuch liberties in Roman-Catholic countries, demanded if he was ſorry for having ſaid ſo; he replied, "My lord, if I have ſaid amiſs, I beg your lordſhip's pardon." When the inquiſitor, turning to the ſecretary, ſaid, Write down that the heretic begs pardon for the third accuſation.

The Fourth Accusation.

That you was once walking with another perſon, who pulled his hat off to a crucifix. You aſked him why he pulled his hat off? He replied, to the crucifix; when you ſaid, we have no ſuch things in our country, and paſſed by without pulling off your hat.

The Answer.

My lord, I remember the time very well; it is very true, I never pulled off my hat to a crucifix, unleſs it was carried in proceſſion; and then I uſed to pull off my hat to it, not in reſpect to the image, but to cauſe no ſcandal.

Guilty of this accuſation by his own confeſſion.

The Fifth Accusation.

That you have ſpoken ſeveral times in religious diſputes againſt our faith; and though you have been frequently admoniſhed to embrace the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion, without which no man can be ſaved, you would never give ear to ſuch ſalutary advice.

The Answer.

My lord, at my firſt arrival in the inquiſition you allowed that a man might defend his religion: it is what I have done. As for being admoniſhed to change it, that has happened very often; but I have no inclination to change.

Then the inquiſitor aſked him if he could not defend his own religion without ſpeaking againſt the church of Rome? To which Mr. Martin made anſwer, that he really could not; "For, ſays he, in diſputing with others, when they ſpoke againſt my religion, I naturally ſpoke againſt their's; and I brought proof of ſcripture for what I ſaid."

He was recorded as guilty of this charge by his own confeſſion.

The Sixth Accusation.

That being on board an Engliſh ſhip, with your wife and others, a certain female admoniſhed your wife to change her religion, when you bade her be quiet and mind her own religion. This was on a Friday, and you ate meat without regarding the day. Do you remember that, Iſaac?

The Answer.

Yes, my lord, we were very merry drinking Florence wine and punch, and that woman was always talking of religion to my wife, though ſhe hardly knew what ſhe ſaid, and at beſt knew but little of the matter. I deſired her to be quiet, and told her we did not come on board to talk of religion, but to be merry. But ſhe continuing to talk on in the ſame manner, made us very uneaſy, ſo that I bade her hold her tongue, and had a trifling quarrel with her. As for eating meat on a Friday, I generally do, and ſo did ſhe, though ſhe is a Roman-Catholic.

Hereupon the inquiſitor turning to the ſecretary, expreſſed himſelf thus: Write down what the heretic ſays.

The Seventh Accusation.

That being in company with ſome Engliſh heretic captains at church, there were ſeveral people kneeling and praying to the image of the Virgin Mary. The captains aſked if they prayed to the image? You anſwered, Yes, they know no better, for they are brought up in ignorance.

The Answer.

My lord, I have been divers times walking with captains. I do not remember this particular time: it may be that ſome perſon heard me ſay ſo; but I am ſure I ſpoke Engliſh, and I ſuppoſe it muſt be an Iriſhman that heard me ſay ſo.

The inquiſitor was very ſevere upon this reply; but upon Mr. Martin's aſking pardon, he ſaid, "Secretary, write down that the heretic aſks pardon; but (continues he, ſhaking his head) I wiſh aſking pardon may do."

The Eighth Accusation.

That being walking with ſeveral merchants, the hoſt paſſed by, when they took off their hats, and ſome kneeled; but you did not ſo much as take off your hat, which occaſioned ſuch great ſcandal, that ſome of the people were going to ſtab you.

The Answer.

My lord, it is falſe: I have lived ſeveral years in Roman-Catholic countries, and know, that by the articles of peace, I am obliged to have my hat off on all occaſions. During my reſidence at Malaga, I always took care not to cauſe any ſcandal; with reſpect to bowing or kneeling, I did not do it, nor am I obliged to do it, as it is expreſsly againſt my religion. As for people ſtabbing me, I have run thoſe hazards many times on account of my religion.

The ſecretary was ordered to write down, that he denied the accuſation.

The Ninth Accusation.

You have been threatened divers times with the pope's authority in theſe countries, and you have ſaid that you did not value him, and that he had no authority over you.

The Answer.

My lord, it is true I have ſaid ſo.

This anſwer occaſioned the following curious altercation:

Q. How came you to ſay ſo? Don't you value the holy father who is God on earth?

A. My lord, talking with ſome people who were very troubleſome about religion, they threatened me with the authority of the pope, and being an Engliſh Proteſtant, I thought they had nothing to do with me.

Q. What! then you value nobody?

A. I beg your lordſhip's pardon; I value all mankind as being fellow-creatures; I value the pope as biſhop of Rome, but not for what authority he has over me, for I believe he has not any.

Q. You are miſtaken; I ſee who is the head of the church.

A. My lord, I ſee to my ſorrow, that I was miſtaken. Jeſus Chriſt is the head of the church.

Q. What, then you allow no head upon earth?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Hold your tongue; you are an unbeliever; he is God upon earth.

The ſecretary was ordered to record Mr. Martin's ſeveral replies.

The Tenth Accusation.

That being walking with ſome captains of ſhips, there was a proceſſion going by, when you bid them retire, and not mind it, though it was their deſign to ſee it: but you hindered them out of diſreſpect to the proceſſion.

The Answer.

My lord, proceſſions are very frequent in Malaga. I have oftentimes been in company with captains who were never in Roman-Catholic countries before; and they, not knowing that people went in proceſſion for devotion, would laugh, and not take their hats off: ſo that I deſired them to retire to avoid confuſion; I hope there is no harm in that, my lord.

The Eleventh Accusation.

That the proceſſion (mentioned in accuſation the tenth) went by, and the people kneeled down and worſhipped; but you ſtood with your hat on, and took no notice of it.

The Answer.

My lord, I remember nothing of the accuſation, but believe it is falſe; or if I did not take off my hat, it was becauſe the hoſt was not there. But with reſpect to kneeling or bowing, I told your lordſhip I never do; your lordſhip tries me as a Roman-Catholic; I am a Proteſtant; I gave a ſhort account of my religion to your lordſhip at my firſt coming. Was I a Roman-Catholic, I ſhould certainly be guilty.

The anſwers to both the laſt accuſations were ordered to be recorded.

The Twelfth Accusation.

That being in your own houſe, an Engliſh captain aſked you if you was a Jew; when you burſt into a fit of laughter, and anſwered, you did not value what ſcandalous people ſaid, for you was ready to give an account of your religion.

The Answer.

It is true, my lord, I little valued what ſuch ſcandalous people ſaid, and was always ready to give an account of my faith. Nor did I think of being ſent here, that it might be examined whether I was a Jew or not, when the clergy are ſo numerous at Malaga.

The Thirteenth Accusation.

That you refuſed to give any thing to ſuch as begged alms for the ſouls that are in purgatory, and violently huffed them from your door.

The Answer.

My lord, it is true; but do they mention the reaſon why I did ſo?

The inquiſitor did not ſatisfy him, but bade him relate the reaſon, which he did, by informing him, that one perſon in particular, who went about begging alms for the ſouls in purgatory, did all he could to torment him, and the more Mr. Martin declared he would not diſburſe money for any ſuch purpoſe, the more importunate the other became, calling him heretic, dog, and telling him that he would be damned, which at length overcame his temper, and made him, in ſome meaſure, return the fellow's abuſe.

The Fourteenth Accusation.

That you have been heard to ſay you feared no eccleſiaſtical court of juſtice, nor even the inquiſition itſelf, which you affirmed had nothing to do with you as an Engliſh Proteſtant.

The Answer.

My lord, I have oftentimes ſaid ſo.

The twelfth and thirteenth replies were recorded as delivered; but Mr. Martin being perſuaded to entreat forgiveneſs for the fourteenth, the ſecretary was ordered to inſert, "The heretic begs pardon."

The Fifteenth Accusation.

That you have had Jews in your houſe, without giving notice to the commiſſioners of the inquiſition, that they might be taken up and proſecuted according to the laws of the country. How durſt you do ſuch things? Do you remember theſe circumſtances?

The Answer.

Yes, my lord, I do very well.

On this confeſſion of the fact, the following dialogue took place.

Q. Then let us hear what you have to ſay for yourſelf.

A. My lord, there came a ſhip bound for Leghorn, with a paſſenger who came to my houſe: he ſpoke very good Spaniſh, and I believe, by his looks, was a Jew. He ſtayed with his captain about two hours at my houſe; I never ſaw him before or ſince. He might be a Chriſtian for what I know, but being bound for Leghorn, and ſpeaking Spaniſh, I thought him a Jew; that is all I know of the man. God knows what religion he was of.

Q. Do you know the perſon that has ſent this accuſation againſt you?

A. Yes, my lord, I believe I do; his name is A. H. a man of a very indifferent character.

The Sixteenth Accusation.

That it is confirmed by ſeveral people, that the ſaid heretic, Iſaac Martin, has, at divers times, ſhewn himſelf very diſaffected againſt the holy faith of the church of Rome, and has hindered ſome people from embracing it; ſo that had it not been for the ſake of his family, he would have been murdered long ago.

Then the remainder of this accuſation goes in the firſt perſon, by way of petition from the accuſers, thus: "We recommend him to your holy office, as a dangerous and pernicious man againſt the holy faith of the church of Rome; and a great many report he is a Jew. We deſire your tribunal will examine him with a great deal of ſtrictneſs, according to the cuſtom of your holy office, and give him ſuch chaſtiſement as your lordſhip ſhall think fit, as well in body as chattels."

The ſecretary having read this accuſation, the inquiſitor ſaid, "Well! what have you to ſay for yourſelf? See what a character people give you! Sure you are a very wicked man!" To which Mr. Martin made the following

Answer.

My lord, I ſuppoſe thoſe are very good Chriſtians that give me this character; God knows beſt what to do with them; there are none of them can ſay I ever wronged any body at Malaga. I have always profeſſed myſelf to be a Proteſtant; and for that reaſon, and no other, I have been brought here. I hope God will enable me to go through theſe afflictions. I am very well aſſured that your lordſhip knows I am no Jew. As for what character they give me, God knows beſt whether I deſerve it or no. I have anſwered the truth to your examination to the beſt of my remembrance; and I believe your lordſhip knows it to be ſo, and know the people that informed againſt me are but people of a very indifferent character, which have always envied me ever ſince I lived at Malaga.

Q. Moſt of your accuſers are your countrymen; ſure they would not ſpeak againſt you, if the things were not ſo?

A. My lord, thoſe whom you reckon my countrymen are the worſt enemies I have: I deny them for countrymen; they are Iriſhmen: it is true that Ireland belongs to the crown of England; but theſe people have deſerted from our army, and are enemies to my religion, king, and country, and the worſt that an Engliſh Proteſtant can have abroad. I wonder, my lord, that there is no merchant, or man of good repute, that has declared any thing againſt me.

Q. Hold your tongue, do you think that I will believe all you ſay? To be ſure you have been a very wicked man by what is mentioned here, and you deny a great many things, and are ſo malicious, that you give what turn you pleaſe to things. I have heard of you four years ago; you are a ſly man, but we have tortures to make people ſpeak truth.

A. My lord, you may do what you pleaſe with me; I cannot help myſelf, for your lordſhip knows that I have declared the truth.

Q. You ſhall have a lawyer to defend your cauſe, but I believe it is very bad.

Then a lawyer was called in, to whom the inquiſitor made an harangue, telling him, that Mr. Martin was a ſtrong heretic; that he had been examined, and denied many things of which he had been accuſed. He then ordered the lawyer to write to Malaga concerning him, and concluded by ſaying, his caſe is very bad, yet might be remedied; but he is obſtinate, and will not have it ſo.——The lawyer, to all his lordſhip ſaid, only bowed, and anſwered Yes or No; but he did not ſpeak to Mr. Martin, though it was pretended he was to plead for him.

When the lawyer was gone, the inquiſitor ſaid, "Go, you are guilty; you may repent what you have ſaid; if you do not, take care: ſign theſe papers, which are what you confeſs." Mr. Martin having ſigned the papers, was remanded to his dungeon.

When Mr. Martin's examination, upon the accuſations againſt him, was reſumed (which was by his own deſire) the proceedings followed thus:

Q. Well, Iſaac, what have you to ſay in your defence? You have demanded an audience.

A. My lord, I have nothing to ſay but what I have ſaid already; I come to beg the favour of your lordſhip to diſpatch me; I believe you have done examining me; I remember that it was deſired I might be chaſtiſed both in body and wealth; I believe that my body has been chaſtiſed enough in ſuffering what I have ſuffered, and in being locked up in a dark dungeon by myſelf, where I live worſe than a dog; as for what wealth God has given me, your lordſhip is welcome to it. If I am ſuch a bad man as people report, fetter me, and ſend me, with my family, aboard any ſhip; let her be bound where ſhe will, God will provide for us.

Q. Hold, Iſaac, things are not done ſo ſoon as you think for; you have broken the articles of peace by your own confeſſion.

A. My lord, I am very ſorry if I have; I deſire your lordſhip would ſhew them to me, that I may know in what I am guilty.

Q. I have them; you ſhall ſee them another time: there is a great deal to be ſaid in your affair. Have you any thing elſe to ſay?

A. No, my lord, I deſire to be tried by them *(the articles of peace)*: you was pleaſed to tell me that you would quickly diſpatch me.

Q. Go, go to your dungeon, and think of what you have done.

Mr. Martin, upon this occaſion, ſays thus: "When I came to my dungeon, I was reſolved to aſk no more audience, and wondered that ſuch a man, who ſat upon a throne between two crucifixes, attributing to himſelf holineſs and infallibility, ſhould tell ſo many lies; and found, that there was no way of redemption, but by praying to God to give me ſtrength to overcome the miſeries that I was in, and in mercy to deliver me from their hands."

A few days after the third inquiſitor, named Don Joſeph Egnaraz, came, with his ſecretary, to ſee Mr. Martin, when the following converſation took place:

Q. How do you do, Iſaac? Have you any thing to ſay in your defence? Can I ſerve you in any thing, tell me?

A. My lord, I have nothing to ſay but what I have ſaid already: I think it is very hard to be kept here ſo long.

Q. Hark ye! you Engliſhmen think that we aim at your wealth, but you are miſtaken, there is no ſuch thing. You have confeſſed that you did not take your hat off to our images: you ought to do it, living in theſe Chriſtian countries, whether you believe in them or no; for it ſhews ill-example if you do not.

A. My lord, we Proteſtants never do ſuch things, it is againſt our religion and againſt our conſciences ſo to do.

Q. You muſt do all in this country, and it is a thing that ought to be done. See if I can ſerve you in any thing?

A. If your lordſhip would be pleaſed to get me out of this miſery, I ſhould be very much obliged to you.

Q. There is time for all things. You have been brought up in hereſy, you are here for the good of your ſoul, you muſt enlighten yourſelf in the true faith; I will do you all the ſervice I can; have you any thing elſe to ſay?

A. My lord, I hope to be ſaved in the faith I am in.

Q. Well, think upon what I have ſaid to you. Good by to you.

Being again called up for the continuance of his trial, and the accuſation againſt him, the following were the particulars.

Q. Well, Iſaac, have you thought of any thing elſe in your affair, beſides what you have already declared.

A. No, my lord, I have nothing to ſay, unleſs I repeat what I have ſaid already, and I believe that will ſignify nothing.

Q. Here are ſeveral more accuſations come againſt you that you muſt anſwer to.

A. It is very well, my lord, I will anſwer to them as well as I can.

The inquiſitor read over the accuſations, which conſiſted of what had already been anſwered, only altered, mangled, and miſplaced, with ſome additional articles. After having done reading, he ſaid,

Q. Well, Iſaac, what have you to ſay now?

A. My lord, this is the ſame thing over again, only the accuſations are altered and miſplaced; I can quickly anſwer to them, and as for thoſe that are added to them, they are almoſt all falſe, and the Devil has invented them.

Q. Hold, Iſaac, you talk ſtrangely.

A. My lord, I ſpeak the truth; your lordſhip was pleaſed to tell me at my firſt coming that you would diſpatch me very ſoon. I have been here above three months, and am no more likely to get out than the firſt day.

Q. Hold, hold; do you think that juſtice is done here as in your country, at random, and I don't know how. Here things are well examined, and juſtice is done, as it ought to be done.

A. My lord, I believe we have good juſtice done in England, but I beg your lordſhip's pardon; I do not underſtand this way of juſtice.

Q. I believe you do not, but it is no matter, remember, you are upon your oath, and anſwer to articles.

A. Muſt I anſwer to thoſe that I have anſwered already?

Q. Yes, you muſt; and take care what you ſay.

A. Very well, my lord.

Mr. Martin then made a ſecond anſwer to the accuſations already exhibited againſt him; when the inquiſitor ordered the ſecretary to continue the trial, with the accuſations which had not yet been brought forth.

The Seventeenth Accusation.

That you hindered your family from being brought up in the Chriſtian faith, and if it was not for you they would be all Romans, and it is againſt the laws of the country to hinder them.

The Answer.

My lord, it is falſe that my family had any inclination to be Romans; neither can any law oblige them to be ſo, or hinder me from bringing them up in my religion. Your lordſhip, five weeks ago, told me, that you would ſhew me the articles of peace, and that I had broke them. Pray let me ſee them, my lord.

Q. You ſhall ſee them another time. Anſwer to theſe articles.

A. My lord, all my family are as I am; I could never perceive that they were inclined to change their religion.

Q. What! do you deny this accuſation?

A. Yes, my lord, I do; it is all falſe.

The Eighteenth Accusation.

You uſed to ſhut your window ſhutters when the proceſſions went by, to hinder your children from kneeling down, and would beat them if they ſhewed any inclinations to be Roman-Catholics.

The Answer.

My lord, it is true that I have ſhut my ſhutters ſeveral times; for ſometimes I had captains of ſhips in my houſe, that would not pull their hats off when they ſaw them. As for my children, they went to the window generally to laugh; and I oftentimes bade them not ſhew themſelves till the proceſſion went by, that no ſcandal might be given; and if I beat them, as it is ſaid, I believe I have the liberty to do it if I pleaſe.

Q. No, you have not in ſome caſes. How old are your children?

A. One is fifteen, another eight, and the other five years of age.

Q. They are of age to be brought up in the Chriſtian faith.

A. I hope they are, my lord; but as for the two youngeſt, they can be brought up to any religion.

Q. Your daughter, and your ſon Abraham are of age, and you are but their father-in-law: they may be brought up in the Chriſtian faith: you have nothing to do with them.

A. My lord, I hope that they are Chriſtians; and I look upon them as if they were my own children.

Q. So then you would have them brought up in your religion?

A. Yes, my lord.

The Nineteenth Accusation.

That your daughter being of age, hath often ſaid in the neighbourhood, that ſhe would be a Roman-Catholic, but was afraid you would beat her; and that you had ſometimes beat her upon that account.

A. My lord, I have nothing to anſwer to ſuch lies; it is as falſe as the Devil is falſe.

Q. What! have you nothing to ſay, Iſaac, to this article?

A. No, my lord, I never knew my daughter inclinable to be a Roman, and I never did beat her upon that account. It is all falſe, and you may order your ſecretary to write down what you pleaſe.

The Twentieth Accusation.

That in Lent, and other faſt days, you cauſed your family to eat meat, and forbad them to keep any faſt days that were appointed by the church of Rome, and beat them if they did.

The Answer.

My lord, thoſe are poor accuſations, and they are all falſe. I thank God my table afforded fleſh and fiſh all the year round; I never troubled my head to ſee what the ſervants uſed to eat; and as for myſelf, wife, and children, we eat meat all the year, without any ſcruple of conſcience. Your lordſhip knows that.

Q. You Engliſh mind nothing but eating and drinking, and living at your eaſe, without doing any penance.

A. My lord, I beg your pardon, we have ſouls to be ſaved as well as other nations. We are born in a plentiful country, and I believe we live as well as the people of any nation, and ſerve God as well.

Q. Your country was a good country formerly; it produced a great many ſaints, but now it produces no ſuch thing.

A. My lord, I believe there are no ſaints now, but I am perſuaded it produces as many good men as ever it did.

Q. Hold your tongue, you are all loſt men; you are all fallen from the holy church, and there is no ſalvation for you if you do not return.

The Twenty-First Accusation.

That your children had often been at maſs, and at prayers in the neighbourhood, and would have done it every day if you would have let them. But you beat them, and hindered them being Chriſtians, and thereby endangered their ſouls.

The Answer.

My lord, I never knew my children go to maſs or prayers in the neighbourhood, or beat them upon that account; I hope God will ſave their ſouls in the religion to which they are brought up; though the church of Rome condemns them. The accuſation is falſe.

Q. Why, you deny every thing almoſt.

A. I deny nothing but what is falſe, my lord.

Q. Well, but you may forget, Iſaac.

A. No, my lord, I have nothing elſe to think of; and I do think theſe are very inſignificant articles to alledge againſt me, if the things were as they ſay. But they are falſe, and I believe they are ſcandalous people that have invented them.

Q. Hold your tongue! How durſt you ſpeak ſo?

A. It is very well, my lord, let your ſecretary write down any thing what you pleaſe; it is all falſe.

The Twenty-Second Accusation.

That living at Liſbon you had ſeveral diſputes about religion, and that you hid yourſelf for fear of being taken up by the inquiſition as a Jew.

Come, anſwer; what have you to ſay to this article? It is of conſequence.

The Answer.

My lord, let your ſecretary write down what you pleaſe; I have nothing to anſwer to ſuch ſcandalous reports. God knows that I am no Jew, and your lordſhip knows it very well. The Devil has invented this to frighten me; but God, that knows every thing, will revenge my cauſe.

Q. Well! but, Iſaac, you ſee what they write againſt you; and all your family's names are ancient, and of the Moſaical law.

A. My lord, you have oftentimes reflected upon my name being Iſaac, and my ſon's name being Abraham, but you don't talk of a child that I buried at Malaga, whoſe name was Peter; and one that I have whoſe name is Barnard, they are ſaints' names.

Q. Thoſe are all Chriſtian names.

A. And ſo are the others, my lord; we don't mind whether we give our children names out of the Old or New Teſtament. Beſides, my lord, neither Abraham, nor Iſaac, nor Jacob, were Jews.

Q. Yes, they were Jews; ſure you're miſtaken.

A. I beg your lordſhip's pardon, I am not miſtaken.

Q. What were they then? let us hear.

A. My lord, they were Hebrews; they lived under the law of nature, as God inſpired, and ſpoke to them; but were dead many years before God had given his laws to Moſes.

Q. Hold your tongue, methinks you underſtand ſomething of the Moſaical law.

A. My lord, thank God, I underſtand ſome of the old and ſome of the new laws; but not ſo much as I ſhould. We have always the Old and the New Teſtament in our families, and we read in them to inſtruct us in our religion.

Q. Hold your tongue, you give a wrong ſenſe to ſcripture; your knowing ſo much has brought you here; you had better known leſs, and believed the true faith.

A. My lord, I hope to be ſaved in what I believe; and if at Liſbon I was diſputing of religion, it was not in defending the laws of Moſes; for ſeveral Jews were burnt whilſt I was there; therefore it proves, my lord, that the accuſation is falſe, and that I would not run ſuch hazards.

The Twenty-Third Accusation.

That you bred ſchiſms among the people, perſuading them to turn heretics, and to leave the church of Rome, out of which no man can be ſaved.

The Answer.

I wiſh your lordſhip, or any body elſe, would tell me whom I perſuaded to change their religion. You may accuſe me of any thing; hell can't invent greater lies. I can't think, my lord, who could have ſent ſuch accuſations againſt me. When I talked of religion, it was generally with clergymen, and not with common people; for I know that they are not capable of it, as they know but little of the matter.

Q. They know enough, it is believing that ſaves us; and you won't believe, but deny almoſt every article.—Hold your tongue.

The Twenty-Fourth Accusation.

That your name being Iſaac, and your ſon's name Abraham, you muſt be a Jew, or related to Jews.

The Answer.

My lord, I have ſufficiently anſwered upon this matter; this is nothing but repetitions: the Roman-Catholics, that are in Holland and Flanders, don't much mind whether their children have names out of the Old or out of the New Teſtament, and I knew a man at Malaga, who is a Flanderkin, and a Roman-Catholic, whoſe name is Jacob. As for my parents, I never knew any of them were Jews; let your ſecretary write what you pleaſe.

The Twenty-Fifth Accusation.

That you offered to diſpoſe of your houſe, and to retire for fear of being taken up by the inquiſition.

The Answer.

My lord, it is true that I offered to diſpoſe of my houſe, but not for fear of the inquiſition, for I never thought it had any thing to do with Engliſh Proteſtants. If I had been afraid of it, I would never have come to live in the country: I had opportunities enough to go on board of Engliſh ſhips, and to retire if I had been afraid.

Q. What! then you thought the inquiſition had nothing to do with the Engliſh Proteſtants? You are miſtaken.

A. My lord, I ſee I am, to my ſorrow.

Q. What did you deſign to do after you had diſpoſed of your houſe?

A. My lord, to go to my own country; for I was tired of living abroad, eſpecially at Malaga, where I could have no reſt, but was daily affronted upon the account of my religion.

Q. You have a tongue, that you made uſe of to defend yourſelf.

A. My lord, I could not always bear their inſolencies; but I find they have accompliſhed their deſign.

Q. Well, hold your tongue, you may help yourſelf ſtill if you will.

The Twenty-Sixth Accusation.

That you took all opportunities of making game of the religion of the church of Rome. Well! what have you to ſay to that?

The Answer.

My lord, I don't deny that; being in company with ſome Roman-Catholics, as they have made game of my religion, I have made game of their's; but it was in joke, and not in a profane way.

Q. Religion ought not to be mocked.

A. It is very true, my lord; but I never ſcandalized them as they did me, upon the account of my religion.

Q. What did they uſually ſay to you? Let's hear.

A. My lord, you know that the church of Rome don't allow the heretics (as you call us) to be ſaved: in our faith we have charity for all men; we condemn nobody. I have oftentimes been told, that I and my family were damned, and that it was impoſſible for us to be ſaved. My lord, it is very hard to hear ſuch words ſo often as I have. I ſometimes gave them an anſwer that they did not like; for I could not always bear what they ſaid. I hope to be ſaved through God's mercy, as well as they do.

Q. So, you ſay that when they made game of your religion, you made game of their's. Is not that what you ſay?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. Well, hold your tongue, you are a ſly man; you give what turn you pleaſe to things, and deny almoſt every thing: you will repent of this, if you don't take care. We have ways to make people confeſs who are obſtinate. Sign theſe papers: theſe are the articles you confeſs, and theſe are what you deny.——But I won't believe you; I have heard of you a long while ago, and know now that you are a cunning pernicious man againſt the Roman-Catholic faith.

The lawyer then came in, when the inquiſitor aſked him a variety of frivolous queſtions; to which, as before, he anſwered, Yes and No, without ſo much as looking at his ſuppoſed client.

Mr. Martin being remanded to his dungeon, was ſhaved on Whitſun-eve (ſhaving is only allowed three times a year in the inquiſition); and the next day one of the gaolers gave him ſome frankincenſe to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a viſit from the lords of the inquiſition. Two of them accordingly came, aſked many trivial queſtions, concluding them, as uſual, with, We will do you all the ſervice we can. Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promiſed him a lawyer to plead his cauſe; when, inſtead of a proper perſon, ſays he, "there was a man that you called a lawyer, but he never ſpoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers are ſo quiet in this country, they are the quieteſt in the world, for he hardly ſaid any thing but yes and no, to what your lordſhip ſaid." To which one of the inquiſitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to ſpeak here." At this the gaoler and ſecretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could ſcarce refrain from ſmiling in their faces, to think that his cauſe was to be defended by a man, who ſcarce dared to open his lips. Mr. Martin, ſome time after, was ordered to dreſs himſelf very clean; as ſoon as he was ready, one of the gaolers came and told him, that he muſt go with him; but that firſt he muſt have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. This terribly frightened Mr. Martin, who now thought of nothing but the torture. The gaoler then led him for ſome time, till he heard a voice ſay, Stop, and pull off your clothes. He was then examined to know if he had been circumciſed, and conſequently was a Jew. Finding that he had not been circumciſed, he was remanded to his dungeon.

In about a month after he was brought to a room filled with a great number of perſons, had a rope put round his neck, and was led by it to the altar of the great church. Here his ſentence was pronounced, which was, That for the crimes of which he ſtood convicted, the lords of the holy office had ordered him to be baniſhed out of the dominions of Spain, upon the penalty of 200 laſhes, and being ſent five years to the gallies; and that he ſhould at preſent receive 200 laſhes through the common ſtreets of the city of Grenada.

Now Mr. Martin was ſent again to his dungeon that night, and the next morning the executioner came, ſtripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope about his neck, and led him out of the inquiſition. He was then mounted on an aſs, and received his 200 laſhes, amidſt not only the ſhouts, but peltings of the people; which latter greatly incommoded him. He remained a fortnight after this in gaol, his back being very ſore all the time; at length he was ſent to Malaga, to his great joy. Here he was put in gaol for ſome days, till he could be ſent on board an Engliſh ſhip: which had no ſooner happened, than news was brought of a rupture between England and Spain, and that ſhip, with many others, was ſtopped. Mr. Martin not being conſidered as a priſoner of war, was put on board of a Hamburgh trader, and his wife and children ſoon came to him; but he was obliged to put up with the loſs of his effects, which had been embezzled by the inquiſition: for this, however, he thought himſelf amply recompenſed, by ſetting foot, once more, in his native country.

The caſe of Mr. Martin was publiſhed by the deſire of, and authenticated by, the right honourable Mr. Secretary Craggs, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chicheſter, St. Aſaph, Lincoln, Briſtol, Peterborough, Bangor, &c. &c. &c.

A ſingular Diſcovery of ſome private Enormities of the INQUISITION.

WHEN the crown of Spain was conteſted for in the beginning of the preſent century, by two princes, who equally pretended to the ſovereignty, France eſpouſed the cauſe of one competitor, and England of the other.

Then the duke of Berwick, a natural ſon of James II. who abdicated England, commanded the Spaniſh and French forces, and defeated the Engliſh at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was then divided into two parts; the one conſiſting of Spaniards and French, headed by the duke of Berwick, advanced towards Catalonia; the other body, conſiſting of French troops only, commanded by the duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conqueſt of Arragon.

When the troops approached the city of Arragon, the magiſtrates came to offer the keys to the duke of Orleans; but he told them, haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach.

Accordingly he made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city through it, together with his whole army. When he had made every neceſſary regulation here, he departed to ſubdue other places, leaving a ſtrong garriſon, at once to over-awe and defend, under the command of his lieutenant-general M. De Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman-Catholic, was totally free from ſuperſtition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the accompliſhed gentleman and ſkilful officer.

Before his departure, the duke had ordered that heavy contributions, in the following manner, ſhould be levied upon the city.

1. That the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants ſhould pay a thouſand crowns per month for the duke's table.

2. That every houſe ſhould pay one piſtole, which would monthly amount to 18,000 piſtoles.

3. That every convent and monaſtery ſhould pay a donative, proportionable to it's riches and rents.

The two laſt contributions to be appropriated to the maintenance of the army.

The money levied upon the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every houſe, was paid as ſoon as demanded; but when the proper perſons applied to the heads of the convents and monaſteries, they found that the eccleſiaſtics were not ſo willing, as other people, to part from their caſh.

Of the Donatives to be raiſed by the Clergy:

The college of Jeſuits was to pay 2000 piſtoles.
——————— Carmelites — 1000
——————— Auguſtins — 1000
——————— Dominicans — 1000

M. De Legal ſent to the Jeſuits a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The ſuperior of the Jeſuits returned for anſwer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was againſt all eccleſiaſtical immunities; and that he knew of no argument which could authorize ſuch a procedure. M. De Legal then ſent four companies of dragoons to quarter themſelves in the college, with this ſarcaſtic meſſage:

"To convince you of the neceſſity of paying the money, I have ſent four ſubſtantial arguments to your college, drawn from the ſyſtem of military logic; and, therefore, hope you will not need any further admonition to direct your conduct."

The Jeſuits, greatly perplexed at theſe proceedings, diſpatched an expreſs to court to the king's confeſſor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing miſchief, than the courier in his journey: ſo that the Jeſuits, ſeeing every thing going to rack and ruin, thought proper to adjuſt the matter amicably, and paid the money before the return of the meſſenger. The Auguſtins and Carmelites taking warning by what had happened to the Jeſuits, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means eſcaped the ſtudy of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, who are all familiars of, or agents dependent on the inquiſition, imagined, that that very circumſtance would be their protection; but they were miſtaken, for M. De Legal neither feared nor reſpected the inquiſition. The chief of the Dominicans ſent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had not any money whatever to pay the donative; for, ſays he, the whole wealth of the Dominicans conſiſts only in the ſilver images of the apoſtles and ſaints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which to remove would be accounted ſacrilege.

This inſinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, whom the inquiſitors imagined would not dare to be ſo prophane as to wiſh for the poſſeſſion of the precious idols.

However, he ſent word that the ſilver images would make admirable ſubſtitutes for money, and would be more in character in his poſſeſſion, than in that of the Dominicans themſelves, "For, ſays he, while you poſſeſs them, in the manner you do at preſent, they ſtand up in niches, uſeleſs and motionleſs, without being of the leaſt benefit to mankind in general, or even to yourſelves; but, when they come into my poſſeſſion, they ſhall be uſeful, I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apoſtles, be beneficial in various places, and circulate for the univerſal ſervice of mankind."

Now the inquiſitors were aſtoniſhed at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in a ſolemn proceſſion, that they might excite the people to an inſurrection. The dominican friars were accordingly ordered to march to De Legal's houſe, with the ſilver apoſtles and ſaints, in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, Hereſy, hereſy.

When M. De Legal heard of theſe proceedings, he ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the ſtreet which led to his houſe; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other; ſo that the troops might either repel force with force, or do honour to the farcical ceremony.

The friars did all they could to raiſe a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops under arms to obey them; the ſilver images were, therefore, of neceſſity, delivered up to M. De Legal, who ſent them to the mint, and ordered them to be immediately coined.

As the project of raiſing an inſurrection failed, the inquiſitors determined to excommunicate M. De Legal, unleſs he would releaſe their precious ſilver ſaints from impriſonment in the mint, before they were melted down, or otherwiſe mutilated. The French commander abſolutely refuſed to releaſe the images, but ſaid they ſhould certainly travel and do good; upon which the inquiſitors drew up the form of excommunication, and ordered their ſecretary to go and read it to M. De Legal.

This commiſſion the ſecretary punctually performed, and read the excommunication deliberately and diſtinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the ſecretary he would anſwer it next day.

As ſoon as the ſecretary of the inquiſition was gone, M. De Legal ordered his own ſecretary to prepare a form of excommunication, exactly like that ſent by the inquiſition; but to make this alteration, inſtead of his name, to put in thoſe of the inquiſitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his ſecretary and act according to his direction.

The ſecretary went to the inquiſition, and inſiſted upon admittance; which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As ſoon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication ſent by M. De Legal, againſt the inquiſitors. The inquiſitors were all preſent, and heard it with aſtoniſhment, never having before met with any individual who dared behave ſo bold. They loudly cried out againſt De Legal, as an heretic; and ſaid this was a moſt daring inſult againſt the catholic faith. But, to ſurpriſe them ſtill more, the French ſecretary told them, they muſt remove from their preſent lodgings; for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the inquiſition, as it was the moſt commodious place in the whole city.

Hereupon the inquiſitors exclaimed loudly, when the ſecretary put them under a ſtrong guard, and ſent them to a place appointed by M. De Legal to receive them. The inquiſitors, finding how things went, begged that they might be permitted to take their private property, which was granted, and they immediately ſet out for Madrid, where they made the moſt bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, he could not grant them any redreſs, as the injuries they had received were from his grandfather, the king of France's troops, by whoſe aſſiſtance alone he could be firmly eſtabliſhed in his kingdom. "Had it been my own troops, ſaid he, I would have puniſhed them; but as it is, I cannot pretend to exert any authority."

M. De Legal's ſecretary, in the mean time, ſet open all the doors of the inquiſition, and releaſed the priſoners, who amounted in the whole to 400; and among theſe were 60 beautiful young women, who appeared to form a ſeraglio for the three principal inquiſitors.

Now this diſcovery, which laid the enormity of the inquiſitors ſo open, greatly alarmed the archbiſhop, who deſired M. De Legal to ſend the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the ſame time he publiſhed an eccleſiaſtical cenſure againſt all ſuch as ſhould ridicule, or blame, the holy office of the inquiſition.

Word was ſent by the French commander to the archbiſhop, that the priſoners had either ran away, or were ſo ſecurely concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, that it was impoſſible for him to ſend them back again; and, therefore, the inquiſition having committed ſuch atrocious actions, muſt now put up with their expoſure and ſhame.

One of the ladies thus happily delivered from captivity, was afterwards married to the very French officer, who opened the door of her dungeon, and releaſed her from confinement. This lady related the following circumſtances to her huſband, and to M. Gavin (author of the Maſter Key to Popery); from the latter of whom we have ſelected the moſt material particulars, which are as follow.

"I went one day, ſays the lady, with my mother, to viſit the counteſs Attaraſs, and I met there Don Franciſco Tirregon, her confeſſor, and ſecond inquiſitor of the holy office.

"After we had drank chocolate, he aſked me my age, my confeſſor's name, and many intricate queſtions about religion. The ſeverity of his countenance frightened me, which he perceiving, told the counteſs to inform me, that he was not ſo ſevere as he looked for. He then careſſed me in a moſt obliging manner, preſented his hand, which I kiſſed with great reverence and modeſty; and, as he went away, he made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion: My dear child, I ſhall remember you till the next time. I did not, at the time, mark the ſenſe of the words; for I was inexperienced in matters of gallantry, being, at that time, but fifteen years old. Indeed, he unfortunately did remember me, for the very ſame night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door.

"The maid, who laid in the ſame room with me, went to the window, and inquired who was there.—The anſwer was, THE HOLY INQUISITION. On hearing this I ſcreamed out, Father! father! dear father, I am ruined for ever! My father got up, and came to me to know the occaſion of my crying out; I told him the inquiſition were at the door. On hearing this, inſtead of protecting me, he hurried me down ſtairs as faſt as poſſible; and, leſt the maid ſhould be too ſlow, opened the ſtreet door himſelf; under ſuch abject and ſlaviſh fears are bigoted minds! as ſoon as he knew they came for me, he fetched me with great ſolemnity, and delivered me to the officers with much ſubmiſſion.

"I was hurried into a coach, with no other clothing than a petticoat and a mantle, for they would not let me ſtay to take any thing elſe. My fright was ſo great, I expected to die that very night; but judge my ſurpriſe, when I was uſhered into an apartment, decorated with all the elegance that taſte, united with opulence, could beſtow.

"Soon after the officers left me, a maid ſervant appeared with a ſilver ſalver, on which were ſweet-meats and cinnamon water. She deſired me to take ſome refreſhments before I went to bed; I told her I could not, but ſhould be glad if ſhe could inform me whether I was to be put to death that night or not. To be put to death! exclaimed ſhe, you do not come here to be put to death, but to live like a princeſs, and you ſhall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out; ſo pray don't be afraid, but go to bed and ſleep eaſy; for to-morrow you ſhall ſee wonders within this houſe; and as I am choſen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you'll be very kind to me."

"I was going to aſk ſome queſtions, but ſhe told me ſhe muſt not anſwer any thing more till the next day, but aſſured me that nobody would come to diſturb me: I am going, ſaid ſhe, about a little buſineſs, but I will come back preſently, for my bed is in the cloſet next your's; ſo ſhe left me for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned. She then ſaid, madam, pray let me know when you will be pleaſed to have your chocolate ready in the morning?

"This greatly ſurpriſed me, ſo that without replying to her queſtion, I aſked her name;—ſhe ſaid, my name is Mary. Mary, then, ſaid I, for heaven's ſake, tell me whether I am brought here to die or not?—I have told you already, replied ſhe, that you come here to be one of the happieſt ladies in the world.

"Now we went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from ſleeping the whole night; Mary waked, ſhe was ſurpriſed to find me up, but ſoon roſe, and after leaving me for about half an hour, ſhe brought in two cups of chocolate, and ſome biſcuits on a ſilver plate.

"I drank one cup of chocolate, and deſired her to drink the other, which ſhe did; when we had done, I ſaid, Well, Mary, can you give me any account of the reaſons for my being brought here? To which ſhe anſwered, Not yet, madam, you muſt have patience, and immediately ſlipped out of the room.

"In about half an hour after, ſhe brought a great quantity of elegant clothes, ſuitable to a lady of the higheſt rank, and told me, I muſt dreſs myſelf. Among ſeveral trinkets which accompanied the clothes, I obſerved, with ſurpriſe, a ſnuff-box, in the lid of which was a picture of Don Franciſco Tirregon. This unravelled to me the myſtery of my confinement, and at the ſame time rouzed my imagination to contrive how to evade receiving the preſent. If I abſolutely refuſed it, I thought immediate death muſt enſue; and to accept it, was giving him too much encouragement againſt my honour. At length I hit upon a medium, and ſaid to Mary, Pray preſent my reſpects to Don Franciſco Tirregon, and tell him, that, as I could not bring my clothes along with me laſt night, modeſty permits me to accept of theſe garments, which are requiſite to keep me decent; but ſince I do not take ſnuff, I hope his lordſhip will excuſe me in not accepting his box.

"Mary went with my anſwer, and ſoon returned with Don Franciſco's picture elegantly ſet in gold, and richly embelliſhed with diamonds. This meſſage accompanied it: "That his lordſhip had made a miſtake; his intent not being to ſend me a ſnuff-box, but his picture." I was at a great loſs what to do; when Mary ſaid, Pray, madam, take my poor advice; accept of the picture, and every thing elſe which his lordſhip ſends you; for if you do not, he can compel you to what he pleaſes, and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging to him, continued ſhe, he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen; you will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in, and agreeable ladies to viſit you: therefore, I adviſe you to ſend a civil anſwer, or even not to deny a viſit from his lordſhip, or perhaps you may repent of your diſreſpect.

"O, my God! exclaimed I, muſt I ſacrifice my honour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his deſpotic power? Alas! what can I do? To reſiſt, is vain. If I oppoſe his deſires, force will obtain what chaſtity refuſes. I now fell into the greateſt agonies, and told Mary to return what anſwer ſhe thought proper.

"She ſaid, ſhe was glad of my humble ſubmiſſion, and ran to acquaint Don Franciſco with it. In a few minutes ſhe returned, with joy in her countenance, telling me his lordſhip would honour me with his company to ſupper. "And now give me leave, madam, ſays ſhe, to call you miſtreſs, for I am to wait upon you. I have been in the holy office 14 years, and know all the cuſtoms perfectly well; but as ſilence is impoſed upon me, under pain of death, I can only anſwer ſuch queſtions as immediately relate to your own perſon. But I would adviſe you never to oppoſe the holy father's will; or if you ſee any young ladies about, never aſk them any queſtions. You may divert yourſelf ſometimes among them, but muſt never tell them any thing: three days hence you will dine with them; and at all times you may have muſic, and other recreations. In fine, you will be ſo happy, that you will not wiſh to go abroad; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will ſend you out of this country, and marry you to ſome nobleman." After ſaying theſe words ſhe left me, overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment, and ſcarce knowing what to think. As ſoon as I recovered myſelf I began to look about, and finding a cloſet, I opened it, and perceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly upon hiſtorical and profane ſubjects, but not any on religious matters. I choſe out a book of hiſtory, and ſo paſſed the interval with ſome degree of ſatisfaction, till dinner time.

"Dinner was ſerved up with the greateſt elegance, and conſiſted of all that could gratify the moſt luxurious appetite. When dinner was over, Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring a bell, which ſhe pointed out to me.

"I read a book to amuſe myſelf during the afternoon, and at ſeven in the evening Don Franciſco came to viſit me in his night gown and cap, not with the gravity of an inquiſitor, but with the gaiety of a gallant.

"He ſaluted me with great reſpect, and told me, That he came to ſee me in order to ſhew the great reſpect he had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my lovers who had procured my confinement, having accuſed me in matters of religion; and that the informations were taken, and the ſentence pronounced againſt me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had ſtopped the execution of it.

"Theſe words were like daggers to my heart; I dropped at his feet, and ſaid, "Ah, my lord! have you ſtopped the execution for ever?" He replied, "That belongs to yourſelf only," and abruptly wiſhed me good night.

"When he was gone I burſt into tears, when Mary came and aſked what could make me cry ſo bitterly. To which I anſwered, Oh, Mary! what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire? for I am to die by them.

"Alas, madam, ſaid ſhe, never fear, you ſhall ſee, ere long, the dry pan and gradual fire; but they are made for thoſe who oppoſe the holy father's will, not for you who are ſo good as to obey it. But pray, ſaid ſhe, was Don Franciſco very obliging? I don't know, ſaid I, for he frightened me out of my wits by his diſcourſe: he ſaluted me with civility, but left me in an abrupt manner.

"Well, ſaid Mary, you do not yet know his temper: he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him; but if they are diſobedient, he is as unmerciful as Nero, ſo, for your own ſake, take care to oblige him in all reſpects: and now, dear madam, pray go to ſupper and be eaſy. I went to ſupper, indeed, and afterwards to bed; but I could neither eat or ſleep, for the thoughts of the dry pan and gradual fire deprived me of appetite, and baniſhed drowſineſs.

"The next morning early, Mary ſaid, that as nobody was ſtirring, if I would promiſe her ſecrecy, ſhe would ſhew me the dry pan and gradual fire; ſo taking me down ſtairs, ſhe brought me to a large room, with a thick iron door, which ſhe opened. Within it was an oven, with fire in it at the time, and a large braſs pan upon it, with a cover of the ſame, and a lock to it. In the next room there was a great wheel, covered on both ſides with thick boards; opening a little window in the centre, Mary deſired me to look in with a candle; there I ſaw all the circumference of the wheel ſet with ſharp razors, which made me ſhudder.

"Mary then took me to a pit, which was full of venemous animals. On my expreſſing great horror at the ſight, ſhe ſaid, "Now, my good miſtreſs, I'll tell you the uſe of theſe things. The dry pan is for heretics, and thoſe who oppoſe the holy father's will and pleaſure; they are put alive into the pan, being firſt ſtripped naked; and the cover being locked down, the executioner begins to put a ſmall fire into the oven, and by degrees he augments it, till the body is reduced to aſhes. The wheel is deſigned for thoſe who ſpeak againſt the pope, or the holy fathers of the inquiſition; for they are put into that machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned ſwiftly, till they are all cut to pieces. The pit is for thoſe who contemn the images, and refuſe to give proper reſpect to eccleſiaſtical perſons; for they are thrown into the pit, and ſo become the food of poiſonous animals."

"We went back again to my chamber, and Mary ſaid, that another day ſhe would ſhew me the torments deſigned for other tranſgreſſors; but I was in ſuch agonies at what I had ſeen, that I begged to be terrified with no more ſuch ſights. She ſoon after left me, but not without enjoining my ſtrict obedience to Don Franciſco; for if you do not comply with his will, ſays ſhe, the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate.

"The horrors which the ſight of theſe things, and Mary's expreſſions, impreſſed on my mind, almoſt bereaved me of my ſenſes, and left me in ſuch a ſtate of ſtupefaction, that I ſeemed to have no manner of will of my own.

"The next morning Mary ſaid, now let me dreſs you as nice as poſſible, for you muſt go and wiſh Don Franciſco good-morrow, and breakfaſt with him. When I was dreſſed, ſhe conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered Mary to withdraw, and to ſerve up breakfaſt in about two hours time. When Mary was gone, he commanded me to undreſs myſelf, and come to bed to him. The manner in which he ſpoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, ſo terribly frightened me, that I pulled off my clothes, without knowing what I did, and ſtepped into bed, inſenſible of the indecency I was tranſacting: ſo totally had the care of ſelf-preſervation abſorbed all my other thoughts, and ſo entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terror!

"Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myſelf perpetual infamy; and to eſcape the ſo much dreaded gradual fire, give myſelf up to the flames of luſt. Wretched alternative, where the only choice is an excruciating death, or everlaſting pollution!

Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and ſerved us with chocolate in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner; for ſhe kneeled down by the bed-ſide to preſent it. When I was dreſſed, Mary took me into a very delightful apartment, which I had never yet ſeen. It was furniſhed with the moſt coſtly elegance; but what gave me the greateſt aſtoniſhment was, the proſpect from it's windows, of a beautiful garden, and a fine meandering river. Mary told me, that the young ladies ſhe had mentioned would come to pay their compliments to me before dinner, and begged me to remember her advice, in keeping a prudent guard over my tongue.

"In a few minutes a great number of very beautiful young ladies, richly dreſſed, entered the room, and ſucceſſively embracing me, wiſhed me joy. I was ſo ſurpriſed, that I was unable to anſwer their compliments; which one of the ladies perceiving, ſaid, "Madam, the ſolitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleaſures and amuſements you may enjoy, you will quit thoſe penſive thoughts. We, at preſent, beg the honour of you to dine with us to-day, and henceforward three days in a week." I returned them ſuitable thanks in general terms, and ſo went to dinner, in which the moſt exquiſite and ſavory diſhes, of various kinds, were ſerved up with the moſt delicate and pleaſant fruits and ſweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each ſide, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldeſt not exceeding twenty-four years of age. There were five maid ſervants, beſides Mary to wait upon us; but Mary confined her attention to me alone. After dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where ſome played on muſical inſtruments, a few diverted themſelves with cards, and the reſt amuſed themſelves with walking about. Mary, at length, entered the gallery, and ſaid, Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and ſo you may go into whatever rooms you pleaſe, till eight o'clock in the evening.

"They unanimouſly agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found a moſt elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and paſſed the time in innocent converſation, and harmleſs mirth: but none mentioned a word concerning the inquiſition, or the holy fathers, or gave the leaſt diſtant hint concerning the cauſe of their confinement.

"At eight o'clock Mary rang a bell, which was a ſignal for all to retire to their reſpective apartments, and I was conducted to the chamber of Don Franciſco, where I ſlept.

"The next morning Mary brought me a richer dreſs than any I had yet had; and as ſoon as I retired to my apartment, all the ladies came to wiſh me good-morning, dreſſed much richer than the preceding day. We paſſed the time till eight o'clock in the evening, in much the ſame manner as we had done the day before. At that time the bell rung, the ſeparation took place, and I was conducted to Don Franciſco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the laſt, and they accoſted me in apparel ſtill more ſumptuous than before. The tranſactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in a ſimilar manner.

"On the fourth morning Mary came into Don Franciſco's chamber, and told me I muſt immediately riſe, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She ſpoke with a kind of authority which ſurpriſed me; but as Don Franciſco did not ſpeak a ſyllable, I got up and obeyed. Mary then conveyed me into a diſmal dungeon, not eight feet in length; and ſaid, ſternly, to me, This is your room, and this lady your bed-fellow and companion. At which word ſhe bounced out of the room, and left me in the utmoſt conſternation.

"After remaining a conſiderable time in the moſt dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, "What is this place, dear lady! Is it a ſcene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth? Alas! I have loſt my honour, and my ſoul for ever!"

"The lady took me by the hand, and ſaid, in a ſympathizing tone of voice, "Dear ſiſter (for this is the name I ſhall henceforth give you) forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by ſuch an extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourſelf a cruel death. Your misfortunes, and thoſe of all the ladies you have ſeen, are exactly of a piece: you ſuffer nothing but what we have ſuffered before you; but we dare not ſhew our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will ſurely deliver us from this helliſh place; but be ſure you diſcover no uneaſineſs before Mary, who is the only inſtrument either of our torments, or comfort. Have patience until we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.

"My perplexity and vexation were inexpreſſible; but my new companion, whoſe name was Leonora, prevailed on me to diſguiſe my uneaſineſs from Mary. I diſſembled tolerably well when ſhe came to bring our dinners; but could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repaſt, and thoſe I had before partook of. This conſiſted only of plain, common food, and of that a ſcanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which ſhe took away as ſoon as we had dined.

"When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word; and upon my ſolemn promiſe of ſecrecy, thus began to open her mind to me: "My dear ſiſter, you think your caſe very hard, but, I aſſure you, all the ladies in the houſe have gone through the ſame. In time you will know all their ſtories, as they hope to know your's. I ſuppoſe Mary has been the chief inſtrument of your fright, as ſhe has been of our's; and I warrant ſhe has ſhewn you ſome horrible places, though not all: and that, at the very thought of them, you were ſo terrified, that you choſe the ſame way we have done, to redeem yourſelf from death. By what hath happened to us, we know that Don Franciſco hath been your Nero, your tyrant; for the three colours of clothes are the diſtinguiſhing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red ſilk belongs to Don Franciſco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Aliaga;

and they always give thoſe colours (after the farce of changing garments, and the ſhort-lived recreations are over) to thoſe ladies whom they bring here for their reſpective uſes. We are ſtrictly commanded to expreſs all the demonſtrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady firſt comes amongſt us, as we did with you, and as you muſt now do with others. But afterwards we live like the moſt wretched priſoners, without ſeeing any body but Mary, and the other maid-ſervants, over whom Mary hath a kind of ſuperiority, for ſhe acts as houſe-keeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; and when any one of the inquiſitors hath a mind for one of his ſlaves, Mary comes about nine o'clock, and leads her to his apartment. Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquiſitors hath a mind to come that night; but he comes ſo ſilent, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, ſhe is removed into a better chamber till ſhe is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, ſhe never ſees any body but the perſon appointed to attend her. As ſoon as the child is born it is taken away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a ſyllable mentioned about it afterwards. I have been in this houſe ſix years, was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's houſe, and have had one child. There are, at this preſent time, fifty-two young ladies in the houſe; but we annually loſe ſix or eight, though we know not what becomes of them, or whither they are ſent. This, however, does not diminiſh our number, for new ones are always brought in to ſupply the place of thoſe who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have ſeen ſeventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death thoſe they pretend to ſend away; for it is natural to think, that they have too much policy to ſuffer their atrocious and infernal villanies to be diſcovered, by enlarging them. Hence our ſituation is miſerable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon thoſe crimes, which we are compelled to commit. Therefore, my dear ſiſter, arm yourſelf with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God."

"This diſcourſe of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as ſhe told me in the courſe of time, and I took care to appear as cheerful as poſſible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months, during which time eleven ladies were taken from the houſe; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number juſt ſixty, at the time we were ſo happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially reſtored to the joys of ſociety, and to the arms of our parents and friends.

"On that happy day, the door of my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my huſband, who, with the utmoſt expedition, ſent both Leonora and me to his father's; and (ſoon after the campaign was over) when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which ſituation I enjoy a recompence for all the miſeries I before ſuffered."

How evident it is, from the foregoing narrative that the inquiſitors are a ſet of libidinous villains, loſt to every juſt idea of religion, and totally deſtitute of humanity. Thoſe who poſſeſs wealth, beauty, or liberal ſentiments, are ſure to find enemies in them. Avarice, luſt, and prejudice, are their ruling paſſions; and they ſacrifice every law, human and divine, to gratify their predominant deſire. Their ſuppoſed piety is affectation; their pretended compaſſion hypocriſy; their juſtice depends on their will; and their equitable puniſhments are founded on their prejudices. None are ſecure from them; all ranks fall equally victims to their pride, their avarice, their averſion, or their power.

It may appear ſtrange to many, that crowned heads, and eminent nobles, have not attempted to cruſh the power of the inquiſition, and reduce the authority of thoſe eccleſiaſtical tyrants, from whoſe merciless fangs neither their families nor themſelves are ſafe.

However, aſtoniſhing as it is, ſuperſtition hath, in this caſe, always overcome common ſenſe, and cuſtom operated againſt reaſon. One prince, indeed, which was Don Carlos, the amiable ſon of Philip the Second, king of Spain, and grandſon of the celebrated emperor Charles V. intended to aboliſh the inquiſition, but he loſt his life before he became king, and conſequently before he had the power ſo to do; for the very intimation of his deſign procured his deſtruction.

This Don Carlos poſſeſſed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father; and was a prince of great vivacity, admirable learning, and the moſt amiable diſpoſition. He had ſenſe enough to ſee into the errors of Popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquiſition. He inveighed publicly againſt the inſtitution, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquiſitors, did all he could to expoſe their atrocious deeds, and even declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would aboliſh the inquiſition, and exterminate all the agents thereof.

Such threats were ſufficient to irritate the inquiſitors againſt the prince: they, accordingly, bent their minds to vengeance, and determined on his deſtruction.

Now the inquiſitors employed all their agents and emiſſaries to ſpread abroad the moſt artful inſinuations againſt the prince; and, at length, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent among the people, that the king was under the neceſſity of removing Don Carlos from court. Not content with this, they purſued even his friends, and obliged the king likewiſe to baniſh Don John, duke of Auſtria, his own brother, and conſequently uncle to the prince; together with the prince of Parma, nephew to the king, and couſin to the prince, becauſe they well knew that both the duke of Auſtria, and the prince of Parma, had a moſt ſincere and inviolable attachment to Don Carlos.

A ſhort time after, the prince having ſhewn great lenity and favour to the Proteſtants in the Netherlands, the inquiſition loudly exclaimed againſt him, declaring, that as the perſons in queſtion were heretics, the prince himſelf muſt neceſſarily be one, ſince he gave them countenance. In ſhort, they gained ſo great an aſcendancy over the mind of the king, who was abſolutely a ſlave to ſuperſtition, that, ſhocking to relate, he ſacrificed the feelings of nature to the force of bigotry, and for fear of incurring the anger of the inquiſition, gave up his only ſon, paſſing the ſentence of death on him with his own lips.

Indeed, the prince had what was termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to chuſe the manner of his death. Roman like, the unfortunate young hero choſe bleeding, and the hot bath; when the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquiſitors, and his father's ſtupid bigotry.

The cruel PERSECUTION *of* DR. ÆGIDIO.

DR. ÆGIDIO was educated at the univerſity of Alcala, where he took his ſeveral degrees, and particularly applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures and ſchool divinity. The profeſſor of theology dying, he was elected into his place, and acted ſo much to the ſatisfaction of every one, that his reputation for learning and piety was throughout Europe declared.

The doctor however had his enemies, and theſe laid a complaint againſt him to the inquiſitors, who ſent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, caſt him into a dungeon.

Now as the greateſt part of thoſe who belonged to the cathedral church at Seville, and many perſons belonging to the biſhopric of Dortois, highly approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly conſonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his behalf. Though the monarch had been educated a Roman-Catholic, he had too much ſenſe to be a bigot; and therefore ſent an immediate order for his liberation.

Soon after, he viſited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cauſe of religion, and returning home he ſoon after fell ſick, and died in an extreme old age.

Now the inquiſitors having been diſappointed of gratifying their malice againſt him, while living, determined (as the emperor's whole thoughts were engroſſed by a military expedition) to wreak their vengeance on him when dead. Therefore, ſoon after he was buried, they ordered his remains to be dug out of the grave; and a legal proceſs being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.

An Account of the Persecution *of* Dr. Constantine.

DR. CONSTANTINE, an intimate acquaintance of the already mentioned Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning; excluſive of ſeveral modern tongues, he was acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and perfectly well knew not only the ſciences called abſtruſe, but thoſe arts which come under the denomination of polite literature.

The doctor's eloquence rendered him a pleaſing, and the foundneſs of his doctrines a profitable preacher; and he was ſo popular, that he never preached but to a crowded audience. He had many opportunities of riſing in the church, but never would take advantage of them; for if a living of greater value than his own was offered him, he would refuſe it, ſaying, I am content with what I have; and he frequently preached ſo forcibly againſt ſimony, that many of his ſuperiors, who were not ſo delicate upon the ſubject, took umbrage at his doctrines upon that ſcore.

When fully confirmed in Proteſtantiſm by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly ſuch doctrines only as were agreeable to goſpel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors which had at various times crept into the Romiſh church. For theſe reaſons he had many enemies among the Roman-Catholics, and ſome of them were determined on his utter ruin.

One Scobaria, a worthy gentleman, having erected a ſchool for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Conſtantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook the taſk, and read lectures, by portions, on the Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and Canticles; but while beginning to expound the book of Job, the inquiſitors ſeized him.

When brought to examination, he anſwered with ſuch precaution that they could not find any explicit charge againſt him, but remained doubtful in what manner to proceed, when the following circumſtances occurred, which ſerved for a ſalvo:

The doctor had depoſited with a woman, named Iſabella Martin, ſeveral books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew were exceptionable in the eyes of the inquiſition.

Being informed againſt as a Proteſtant, this woman was apprehended, and, after a ſmall proceſs, her goods were ordered to be confiſcated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her houſe, the woman's ſon had removed away ſeveral cheſts full of the moſt valuable articles; and among theſe were the books of Dr. Conſtantine.

But a treacherous ſervant having given intelligence of this to the inquiſitors, an officer was diſpatched to the ſon to demand the cheſts. The ſon, ſuppoſing the officer only came for Conſtantine's books, ſaid, I know what you come for, and I will fetch them to you immediately. He then fetched Dr. Conſtantine's books and papers, when the officer was greatly ſurpriſed to find what he did not look for. He, however, told the young man, that he was glad theſe books and papers were produced, but nevertheleſs he muſt fulfil the end of his commiſſion, which was, to carry him and the goods he had embezzled before the inquiſitors, which he did accordingly; for the young man knew it would be in vain to expoſtulate or reſiſt, and therefore ſubmitted to his fate with quietneſs.

When the inquiſitors were thus poſſeſſed of Conſtantine's books and writings, they ſoon found matter ſufficient to form charges againſt him. When he was brought to a re-examination, they preſented one of his papers, and aſked him if he knew the hand-writing? Perceiving it was his own, he gueſſed the whole matter, confeſſed the writing, and juſtified the doctrine it contained; ſaying, "In that and all my other writings, I have never departed from the truth of the goſpel, but have always kept in view the pure precepts of Chriſt, as he delivered them to mankind."

Having been detained upwards of two years in priſon, Dr. Conſtantine was at laſt ſeized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miſeries in this world. The proceſs, however, was carried on againſt his body, which was publicly burnt at the enſuing Auto de Fe.

An Account of Mr. Nicholas Burton's *Martyrdom.*

MR. BURTON was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquiſition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he wanted to ſend a quantity of merchandize to London. Having aſked as many queſtions as he thought proper, he departed, and the next day one of the inquiſitorial officers took Mr. Burton into cuſtody.

The preſident, on his examination, demanded if he had, by words or writing, ſaid or inſinuated any thing diſreſpectful to the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion.

Mr. Burton replied in the negative; ſaying, That he was ſenſible, in whatever country we were, reſpect ought to be paid to the religion of that country: that ſuch knowledge to him was eſſential, who, as a merchant, was obliged to viſit various countries, and conform to all their religious and civil ceremonies.

However, this defence availed him nothing: they proceeded to torture him, in order to gain information. Failing in this, they condemned him for invincible obſtinacy, and at the next Auto de Fe he was burnt. When the flames firſt touched him, he bore the torments with ſuch exemplary patience, and appeared with ſo ſmiling a countenance, that one of the prieſts, enraged at his ſerenity, ſaid with great malice and abſurdity, "The reaſon why he does not ſeem to feel, is to me very evident; the Devil has already got his ſoul, and his body is of courſe deprived of the uſual ſenſations."

Several others of the Engliſh in Spain were, about the time of Mr. Burton's martyrdom, put to death by the inquiſitors; particulary John Baker, William Burgate, and William Burgeſs were burnt, and William Hooker was ſtoned to death; freely giving up their lives for him, who ſhed his blood for their redemption.

Particulars of William Gardener.

WILLIAM GARDENER was born at Briſtol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of one Paget, an eminent merchant.

When he was twenty-ſix years of age, he was, by his maſter, ſent to Liſbon, to act as factor. Here he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Portugueſe language, executed his buſineſs with aſſiduity and fidelity, and behaved with the moſt engaging affability to all perſons with whom he had the leaſt concern. He converſed privately with a few, whom he knew to be zealous Proteſtants; and, at the ſame time, cautiouſly avoided giving the leaſt offence to any who were Roman-Catholics: but he had not gone into any of the Popiſh churches as yet.

There being a marriage concluded between the king of Portugal's ſon and the Infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day, the bridegroom, bride, and the whole court went to the cathedral church, attended by multitudes of all ranks of people, and among the reſt William Gardener, who ſtayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly ſhocked at the ſuperſtitions he beheld.

His mind was ſtrongly impreſſed with the erroneous worſhip which he had ſeen; he was miſerable, to behold a whole country ſunk into ſuch idolatry, when the truth of the goſpel might be ſo eaſily obtained. He, therefore, took the inconſiderate, though laudable deſign, into his head, of making a reform in Portugal, or periſhing in the attempt; and determined to ſacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though upon the occaſion he became a martyr.

For this purpoſe he ſettled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, cloſed his books, and conſigned over his merchandize. On the enſuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral church, and placed himſelf near the altar, with a New Teſtament in his hand.

In a ſhort time the king and the court appeared, and a cardinal began maſs: at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardener could hold out no longer, but ſpringing towards the cardinal, he ſnatched the hoſt from him, and trampled it under his feet.

The whole congregation were now thunderſtruck, and one perſon drawing a dagger, wounded Gardener in the ſhoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have finiſhed him, had not the king called to him to forbear.

When Gardener was carried before the king, the monarch aſked him what countryman he was: to which he replied, I am an Engliſhman by birth, a Proteſtant by religion, and a merchant by occupation. What I have done is not out of contempt to your royal perſon, God forbid it ſhould, but out of an honeſt indignation, to ſee the ridiculous ſuperſtitions and groſs idolatries which are here practiſed.

Thinking that he had been ſtimulated by ſome other perſon to act as he had done, the king demanded who was his abettor, to which he replied, "My own conſcience alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living, but I owe that and all other ſervices to my Creator."

Hereupon Gardener was ſent to priſon, and a general order iſſued to apprehend all Engliſhmen in Liſbon. This order was in a great meaſure put into execution (ſome few eſcaping) and many innocent perſons were tortured to make them confeſs if they knew any thing of the matter; in particular, a perſon who reſided in the ſame houſe with Gardener, was treated with unparalleled barbarity, to make him confeſs ſomething which might throw a light upon the buſineſs.

Then Gardener himſelf was tormented in the moſt excruciating manner: but in the midſt of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being ordered for death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet, Gardener was drawn up to the gibbet by pullies, and then let down near the fire, but not ſo cloſe as to touch it; for they burnt or rather roaſted him by ſlow degrees. Yet he bore his ſufferings patiently, and cheerfully reſigned his ſoul to the Lord.

We muſt obſerve, that ſome of the ſparks were blown from the fire, which conſumed Gardener, towards the haven, burnt one of the king's ſhips of war, and did other conſiderable damage. The Engliſhmen who were taken up on this occaſion were, ſoon after Gardener's death, all diſcharged, except the perſon that reſided in the ſame houſe with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his freedom.

A particular Account of the LIFE *and* SUFFERINGS *of* MR. WILLIAM LITHGOW, *a Native of Scotland.*

WILLIAM LITHGOW was deſcended from a good family, and having a natural propenſity to travelling, he rambled, when very young, over the northern and weſtern iſlands; after which he viſited France, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. He ſet out on his travels in the month of March 1609, and the firſt place he went to was Paris, where he ſtayed for ſome time. He then proſecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga in Spain, the ſeat of all his embarraſſments.

While he reſided here, he contracted with the maſter of a French ſhip for his paſſage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going by the following circumſtances. In the evening of the 17th of October 1620, the Engliſh fleet, at that time on a cruiſe againſt the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greateſt conſternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, diſcovered the miſtake, and the governor of Malaga perceiving the croſs of England in their colours, went on board Sir Robert Manſell's ſhip, who commanded on that expedition, and after ſtaying ſome time returned, and ſilenced all the people's fears.

Many perſons from on board the fleet came aſhore the next day. Among theſe were ſeveral well known by Mr. Lithgow, who, after reciprocal compliments, ſpent ſome days together in feſtivity and the amuſements of the town. They then invited Mr. Lithgow to go on board, and pay his reſpects to the admiral. He accordingly accepted the invitation, was kindly received by him, and detained till the next day, when the fleet ſailed. The admiral would willingly have taken Mr. Lithgow with him to Algiers; but having contracted for his paſſage to Alexandria, and his baggage, &c. being in the town, he could not accept the propoſal.

When Mr. Lithgow got on ſhore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the ſame night for Alexandria) when, in paſſing through a narrow uninhabited ſtreet, he found himſelf ſuddenly ſurrounded by nine ſerjeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the governor's houſe. After ſome little time the governor appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earneſtly begged he might be informed of the cauſe of ſuch violent treatment. The governor only anſwered by ſhaking his head, and gave orders that the priſoner ſhould be ſtrictly watched till he (the governor) returned from his devotions; directing, at the ſame time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid major, and town notary, ſhould be ſummoned to appear at his examination, and that all this ſhould be done with the greateſt ſecrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the Engliſh merchants who reſided in the town at that time.

All theſe orders were ſtrictly diſcharged, and on the governor's return, he with the officers having ſeated themſelves, Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governor began by aſking ſeveral queſtions, namely, of what country he was, whither bound, and how long he had been in Spain. The priſoner, after anſwering theſe, and other queſtions, was conducted to a cloſet, where, in a ſhort ſpace of time, he was viſited by the town-captain, who inquired whether he had ever been at Seville, or was lately come from thence; and patting his cheek with an air of friendſhip, conjured him to tell the truth: "For, ſaid he, your very countenance ſhews there is ſome hidden matter in your mind, which prudence ſhould direct you to diſcloſe." Finding himſelf, however, unable to extort any thing from the priſoner, he left him, and reported the ſame to the governor and the other officers; on which Mr. Lithgow was again brought before them, a general accuſation was laid againſt him, and he was compelled to ſwear that he would give true anſwers to ſuch queſtions as ſhould be propoſed.

Then the governor proceeded to inquire the quality of the Engliſh commander, and the priſoner's opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on ſhore. He demanded, likewiſe, the names of the Engliſh captains in the ſquadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before it's departure from England. The anſwers given to the ſeveral queſtions aſked, were ſet down in writing by the notary; but the junto ſeemed ſurpriſed at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, particularly the governor, who ſaid he lied, that he was a traitor and ſpy, and came directly from England to favour and aſſiſt in the deſigns that were projected againſt Spain; and that he had been for that purpoſe nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spaniſh navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed againſt his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other Engliſh gentlemen, between whom, they ſaid, unuſual civilities had paſſed, but all theſe tranſactions had been noticed with peculiar attention.

In ſhort, to ſum up the whole, and put the truth paſt all doubt, they ſaid, he came from a council of war, held that morning on board the admiral's ſhip, in order to put in execution the orders aſſigned him. They upbraided him with being acceſſary to the burning of the iſland of St. Thomas, in the Weſt-Indies; "Wherefore, ſaid they, theſe Lutherans, and ſons of the Devil, ought to have no credit given to what they ſay or ſwear."

Mr. Lithgow in vain endeavoured to obviate every accuſation laid againſt him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. He begged permiſſion to ſend for his cloak-bag, which contained his papers, and might ſerve to ſhew his innocence. This requeſt they complied with, thinking it would diſcover ſome things of which they were ignorant. The cloak-bag was accordingly brought, and being opened, among other things, was found a licence from king James the Firſt, under the ſign manual, ſetting forth the bearer's intention to travel into Egypt; which was treated by the haughty Spaniards with great contempt. The other papers conſiſted of paſſports, teſtimonials, &c. of perſons of quality. All theſe credentials, however, ſeemed rather to confirm than abate the ſuſpicions of theſe prejudiced judges, who, after ſeizing all the priſoner's papers, ordered him again to retire.

During the interim, a conſultation was held to fix the place where the priſoner ſhould be confined. The alcade, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town priſon; but this was objected to, particularly by the corrigidore, who ſaid, in Spaniſh, "In order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I will take the matter on myſelf, and be anſwerable for the conſequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he ſhould be confined in the governor's houſe, and the greateſt ſecrecy obſerved.

Upon this determination, one of the ſerjeants went to Mr. Lithgow, and begged his money, with liberty to ſearch him. As it was needleſs to make any reſiſtance, the priſoner quietly complied, when the ſerjeant (after rifling his pockets of eleven ducatoons) ſtripped him to his ſhirt; and ſearching his breeches, he found, encloſed in the waiſtband, two canvaſs bags, containing one hundred and thirty-ſeven pieces of gold. The ſerjeant immediately took the money to the corrigidore, who, after having told it over, ordered him to clothe the priſoner, and ſhut him up cloſe till after ſupper.

When it was midnight the ſerjeant and two Turkiſh ſlaves releaſed Mr. Lithgow from his then confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him through ſeveral paſſages, to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was ſo great that he could neither ſtand or ſit, but was obliged to lie continually on his back. They left him in this condition for ſome time, when they returned with a refreſhment of food, conſiſting of a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf, together with a ſmall quantity of wine; which was not only the firſt, but the beſt and laſt of the kind, during his confinement in this place. After delivering theſe articles, the ſerjeant locked the door, and left Mr. Lithgow to contemplate his fate in private.

He received a viſit from the governor the next day, who promiſed him his liberty, with many other advantages, if he would confeſs being a ſpy; but on his proteſting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, ſaying, He ſhould ſee him no more till further torments conſtrained him to confeſs; commanding the keeper, to whoſe care he was committed, that he ſhould permit no perſon whatever to have acceſs to, or commune with him; that his ſuſtenance ſhould not exceed three ounces of muſty bread, and a pint of water every ſecond day; that he ſhould be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlid. "Cloſe up, ſaid he, this window in his room with lime and ſtone; ſtop up the holes of the door with double mats: let him have nothing that bears any likeneſs to comfort." Theſe, and ſeveral other orders of the like ſeverity were given, to render it impoſſible for his condition to be known to any of his countrymen.

The unfortunate Lithgow continued in this wretched and melancholy ſtate without ſeeing any perſon for ſeveral days, in which time the governor received an anſwer to a letter he had written, relative to the priſoner, from Madrid; and, purſuant to the inſtructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties deviſed, which they haſtened, becauſe Chriſtmas holidays approached, it being then the forty-ſeventh day ſince his confinement.

Between two and three o'clock in the morning, he heard the noiſe of a coach in the ſtreet, and ſome time after heard the opening of the priſon doors, not having had any ſleep for two nights; hunger, pain, and melancholy reflections having prevented him from reſting.

Immediately after the priſon doors were opened, the nine ſerjeants, who had firſt ſeized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and without uttering a word conducted him in his irons, through the houſe into the ſtreet, where a coach waited, and into which they laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to ſit. Two of the ſerjeants rode with him, and the reſt walked by the coach ſide, but all obſerved the moſt profound ſilence. They drove him to a vine-preſs houſe, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they ſhut him up for that night.

About day-break the next morning, arrived the governor and the alcade, into whoſe preſence Mr. Lithgow was immediately brought, to undergo another examination. The priſoner deſired he might have an interpreter, which was allowed to ſtrangers by the laws of that country, but this was refuſed, nor would they permit him to appeal to Madrid, the ſuperior court of judicature. After a long examination, which laſted from morning till night, there appeared in all his anſwers ſo exact a conformity with what he had before ſaid, that they declared he had learned them by heart, there not being the leaſt prevarication. They, however, preſſed him again to make a full diſcovery; that is, to accuſe himſelf of crimes never committed, the governor adding, "You are ſtill in my power; I can ſet you free if you comply: if not, I muſt deliver you to the alcade." Mr. Lithgow ſtill perſiſting in his innocence, the governor ordered the notary to draw up a warrant for delivering him to the alcade to be tortured immediately.

Purſuant to this order, he was conducted by the ſerjeants to the end of a ſtone gallery, where the rack was placed. The encarouador, or executioner, immediately ſtruck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being ſo cloſe rivetted, that the ſledge hammer tore away above half an inch of his heel, in forcing off the bolt; the anguiſh of which, together with his weak condition (not having the leaſt ſuſtenance for three days) occaſioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the mercileſs alcade ſaid, "Villain, traitor, this is but the earneſt of what you ſhall endure."

As ſoon as his irons were off he fell on his knees, uttering a ſhort prayer, that God would be pleaſed to enable him to be ſtedfaſt, and undergo courageouſly the grievous trial he had to encounter. The alcade and notary having placed themſelves in chairs, he was ſtripped naked, and fixed upon the rack, the office of theſe gentlemen being to be witneſs of, and ſet down the confeſſions and tortures endured by the unhappy ſufferer.

It is morally impoſſible to deſcribe all the various tortures inflicted upon him. Suffice it to ſay, that he lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above ſixty different tortures of the moſt helliſh nature; and had they continued them a few minutes longer, he muſt have inevitably expired.

When theſe cruel perſecutors were ſatisfied for the preſent, the priſoner was taken from the rack, and his irons being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nouriſhment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to prevent his dying, and reſerve him for future puniſhments, than from any principle of charity or pity.

As a confirmation of this, orders were given for a coach to paſs every morning before day by the priſon; that the noiſe made by it might give freſh terrors and alarms to the unhappy priſoner, and deprive him of all poſſibility of obtaining the leaſt ſleep.

In this horrid ſituation he continued, almoſt ſtarved for want of the common neceſſaries to preſerve his wretched exiſtence, till Chriſtmas-Day, when he received ſome relief from Mariane, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman having obtained leave to viſit him, carried with her ſome refreſhments, conſiſting of honey, ſugar, raiſins, and other articles: and ſo affected was ſhe at beholding his ſituation, that ſhe wept bitterly, and at her departure expreſſed the greateſt concern at not being able to give him further conſolation.

Mr. Lithgow was kept in this loathſome dungeon till he was almoſt devoured with vermin. They crawled about his beard, lips, eye-brows, &c. ſo that he could ſcarce open his eyes; and his mortification was increaſed by not having the uſe of his hands or legs to defend himſelf, from his being ſo miſerably maimed by the tortures. So cruel was the governor, that he even ordered the vermin to be ſwept on him twice in every eight days. He, however, obtained ſome little mitigation of this part of his puniſhment, from the humanity of a Turkiſh ſlave that attended him, who, at times, when he could do it with ſafety, deſtroyed the vermin, and contributed every refreſhment to him that he was capable of.

Mr. Lithgow at length received from this ſlave that information which gave him little hopes of ever being releaſed, but, on the contrary, that he ſhould finiſh his life under new tortures. The ſubſtance of this information was, that an Engliſh ſeminary prieſt, and a Scotch cooper, had been for ſome time employed by the governor to tranſlate from the Engliſh into the Spaniſh language, all his books and obſervations; and that it was commonly ſaid in the governor's houſe, that he was an arch and dangerous heretic.

He was greatly alarmed at this information, and began, not without reaſon, to apprehend that they would ſoon finiſh him, more eſpecially as they could neither, by torture, or any other means, bring him to vary from what he had all along ſaid at his different examinations.

About two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquiſitor, and a canonical prieſt, accompanied by two Jeſuits, entered his dungeon, and being ſeated, after ſeveral idle queſtions, the inquiſitor aſked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman-Catholic, and acknowledged the pope's ſupremacy? He anſwered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other; adding, that he was ſurpriſed at being aſked ſuch queſtions, ſince it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the articles of peace between England and Spain, that none of the Engliſh ſubjects ſhould be liable to the inquiſition, or any way moleſted by them on account of diverſity in religion, &c. In the bitterneſs of his ſoul he made uſe of ſome warm expreſſions not ſuited to his circumſtances: "As you have almoſt murdered me, ſaid he, for pretended treaſon, ſo now you intend to make a martyr of me for my religion." He alſo expoſtulated with the governor on the ill-return he made the king of England, whoſe ſubject he was, for the princely humanity exerciſed towards the Spaniards in 1588, when their armada was ſhipwrecked on the Scotch coaſt, and thouſands of the Spaniards found relief, who muſt have otherwiſe periſhed in a miſerable manner.

Now the governor admitted the truth of what Mr. Lithgow ſaid, but replied with an haughty air, that the king, who then only ruled Scotland, was actuated more by fear than love, and therefore did not deſerve any thanks. One of the Jeſuits ſaid, there was no faith to be kept with heretics. The inquiſitor then riſing, addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a ſpy, accuſed of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently; (which appears by the account lately received from Madrid of the intentions of the Engliſh) yet it was the divine power that brought thoſe judgments upon you, for preſumptuouſly treating the bleſſed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expreſſing yourſelf in your writings irreverently of his holineſs, the great agent and Chriſt's vicar upon earth; therefore you are juſtly fallen into our hands by their ſpecial appointment: thy books and papers are miraculouſly tranſlated by the aſſiſtance of Providence influencing thy own countrymen."

When this trumpery was ended, they gave the priſoner eight days to conſider and reſolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquiſitor told him, he, with other religious orders, would attend, to give him ſuch aſſiſtance thereto as he might want. One of the Jeſuits ſaid, firſt making the ſign of the croſs upon his breaſt, "My ſon, behold, you deſerve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our lady of Loretto, whom you have blaſphemed, we will both ſave your ſoul and body."

The inquiſitor, with the three eccleſiaſtics, returned in the morning, when the former aſked the priſoner what difficulties he had on his conſcience that retarded his converſion; to which he anſwered, "He had not any doubts in his mind, being confident in the promiſes of Chriſt, and aſſuredly believing his revealed will ſignified in the goſpels, as profeſſed in the reformed Catholic Church, being confirmed by grace, and having infallible aſſurance thereby of the true Chriſtian faith." To theſe words the inquiſitor replied, "Thou art no Chriſtian, but an abſurd heretic, and without converſion a member of perdition." The priſoner then told him, it was not conſiſtent with the nature and eſſence of religion and charity, to convince by opprobrious ſpeeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the ſcriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally fruitleſs.

So enraged was the inquiſitor at the replies made by the priſoner, that he ſtruck him on the face, uſed many abuſive ſpeeches, and attempted to ſtab him, which he had certainly done had he not been prevented by the Jeſuits: and from this time he never viſited the priſoner again.

The two Jeſuits returned the next day, and putting on a very grave ſupercilious air, the ſuperior aſked him, what reſolution he had taken? To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was already reſolved, unleſs he could ſhew ſubſtantial reaſons to make him alter his opinion. The ſuperior, after a pedantic diſplay of their ſeven ſacraments, the interceſſion of ſaints, tranſubſtantiation, &c. boaſted greatly of their church, her antiquity, univerſality, and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow denied: "For, ſaid he, the profeſſion of the faith I hold hath been ever ſince the firſt days of the apoſtles, and Chriſt had ever his own church, however obſcure, in the greateſt time of your darkneſs."

Now the Jeſuits, finding their arguments had not the deſired effect, that torments could not ſhake his conſtancy, nor even the fear of the cruel ſentence he had reaſon to expect would be pronounced and executed on him, after ſevere menaces, left him. On the eighth day after, being the laſt of their inquiſition, when ſentence is pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, both in their words and behaviour. After repeating much the ſame kind of arguments as before, they, with ſeeming tears in their eyes, pretended they were ſorry from their hearts he muſt be obliged to undergo a terrible death; but above all, for the loſs of his moſt precious ſoul; and falling on their knees, cried out, "Convert, convert, O dear brother, for our bleſſed lady's ſake convert!" To which he anſwered, "I fear neither death nor fire, being prepared for both."

The firſt effects Mr. Lithgow felt of the determination of this bloody tribunal was, a ſentence to receive that night eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them, which might be reaſonably expected from the maimed and disjointed condition he was in, he was, after Eaſter holidays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to aſhes. The firſt part of the ſentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleaſed God to give him ſtrength both of body and mind, to ſtand faſt to the truth, and to ſurvive the horrid puniſhments which were thus inflicted.

When theſe barbarians had glutted themſelves for the preſent, with exerciſing on the unhappy priſoner the moſt diſtinguiſhed cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his former dungeon. The next morning he received ſome little comfort from the Turkiſh ſlave before mentioned, who ſecretly brought him in his ſhirt ſleeve, ſome raiſins and figs, which he licked up in the beſt manner his ſtrength would permit with his tongue. It was to this ſlave Mr. Lithgow attributed his ſurviving ſo long in ſuch a wretched ſituation; for he found means to convey ſome of theſe fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor ſlave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet and parents, in the greateſt deteſtation of Chriſtians, ſhould be ſo affected at the miſerable ſituation of Mr. Lithgow, that he fell ill, and continued ſo for upwards of 40 days. During this period, Mr. Lithgow was attended by a negro woman, a ſlave, who found means to furniſh him with refreſhments ſtill more amply than the Turk, being converſant in the houſe and family. She brought him ſome victuals, and with it ſome wine in a bottle, every day.

Now ſo far elapſed was the time, and the horrid ſituation ſo truly loathſome, that Mr. Lithgow waited, with anxious expectation for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would alſo end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interpoſition of Providence, happily rendered abortive, and his deliverance from the following circumſtances obtained.

A Spaniſh gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga; who, being invited to an entertainment by the governor, he informed him of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow, from the time of his being apprehended as a ſpy, and deſcribed the various ſufferings he had endured. He likewiſe told him, that after it was known the priſoner was innocent, it gave him great concern. That on this account he would gladly have releaſed him, reſtored his money and papers, and made ſome atonement for the injuries he had received; but that, upon an inſpection into his writings, ſeveral were found of a very blaſphemous nature, highly reflecting on their religion. That on his refuſing to abjure theſe heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquiſition, who finally condemned him.

Now, while the governor was relating this tragical tale, a Flemiſh youth, ſervant to the Spaniſh gentleman, who waited at table, was ſtruck with amazement and pity at the ſufferings of the ſtranger deſcribed. On his return to his maſter's lodgings, he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made ſuch an impreſſion on him that he could not reſt in his bed. In the ſhort ſlumbers he had, his imagination painted to him the perſon deſcribed, on the rack, and burning in the fire. In this anxiety he paſſed the night; and when the morning came, without diſcloſing his intentions to any perſon whatever, he went into the town, and inquired for an Engliſh factor. He was directed to the houſe of one Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard paſs, the preceding evening, between his maſter and the governor; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was him, by the ſervant's remembering the circumſtance of his being a traveller, and his having had ſome acquaintance with him.

Mr. Wild, on the departure of the Flemiſh ſervant, immediately ſent for the other Engliſh factors, to whom he related all the particulars relative to their unfortunate countryman. After a ſhort conſultation it was agreed, that an information of the whole affair ſhould be ſent, by expreſs, to ſir Walter Aſton, the Engliſh ambaſſador to the king of Spain, then at Madrid. This was accordingly done, and the ambaſſador having preſented a memorial to the king and council of Spain, he obtained an order for Mr. Lithgow's enlargement, and his delivery to the Engliſh factory. This order was directed to the governor of Malaga; and was received by the whole aſſembly of the bloody inquiſition with the greateſt ſurpriſe and averſion.

Mr. Lithgow was releaſed from his confinement on the eve of Eaſter-Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the ſlave that had attended him to the houſe of one Mr. Buſbich, where all proper comforts were given him. It fortunately happened, that there was at this time a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips in the road, commanded by ſir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the paſt ſufferings, and preſent ſituation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day a-ſhore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was inſtantly carried in blankets on board the Vanguard, and three days after was removed to another ſhip, by direction of the general ſir Robert Manſel, who ordered that he ſhould have proper care taken of him. The factory preſented him with clothes, and all neceſſary proviſions, beſides which they gave him 200 reals in ſilver; and ſir Richard Hawkins ſent him two double piſtoles.

Sir Richard Hawkins demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. before his departure from the Spaniſh coaſt, but could not obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer on that head.

It is here worth the reader's while to reflect, how manifeſtly Providence interfered in behalf of this poor man, when he was juſt on the brink of deſtruction; for by his ſentence, from which there was no appeal, he would have been taken, in a few days, to Grenada, and burnt to aſhes: and that a poor ordinary ſervant, who had not the leaſt knowledge of him, nor was any ways intereſted in his preſervation, ſhould riſque the diſpleaſure of his maſter, and hazard his own life, to diſcloſe a thing of ſo momentous and perilous a nature, to a ſtrange gentleman, on whoſe ſecrecy depended his own exiſtence. By ſuch ſecondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppreſſed; of which this is a moſt diſtinguiſhed proof.

Having lain twelve days in the road, the ſhip weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived ſafe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordſhire, where, at that time, were the king and royal family. His majeſty happened to be that day engaged in hunting, but on his return in the evening, Mr. Lithgow was preſented to him, and related the particulars of his ſufferings, and his happy delivery. The king was ſo affected at the narrative, that he expreſſed the deepeſt concern, and gave orders that he ſhould be ſent to Bath, and his wants properly ſupplied from his royal munificence. By theſe means, under God, after ſome time, Mr. Lithgow was reſtored, from the moſt wretched ſpectacle, to a great ſhare of health and ſtrength; but he loſt the uſe of his left arm, and ſeveral of the ſmaller bones were ſo cruſhed and broken, as to be rendered ever after unſerviceable.

Though every effort was uſed, Mr. Lithgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majeſty, and the miniſters of ſtate, intereſted themſelves in his behalf. Gondamore, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, indeed, promiſed that all his effects ſhould be reſtored, with the addition of 1000l. Engliſh money, as ſome atonement for the tortures he had undergone, which laſt was to be paid him by the governor of Malaga. Theſe engagements, however, were but mere promiſes; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the well performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the ſame. He had, indeed, too great a ſhare of influence in the Engliſh council during the time of that pacific reign, when England ſuffered herſelf, by moſt of the ſtates and kings in Europe, to be bullied into ſlaviſh compliance.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *in* ITALY.

NOW we ſhall commence our account of the perſecutions in Italy, a country which has been, and ſtill is,

1. The centre of Popery,
2. The ſeat of the pontiff, and
3. The ſource of the various errors which have ſpread themſelves over other countries, deluded the minds of thouſands, and diffuſed the clouds of ſuperſtition and bigotry over the human underſtanding.

We ſhall, in purſuing our narrative, include the moſt remarkable perſecutions that have happened, and the cruelties which have been wantonly made uſe of.

1. By the immediate order of the pope,
2. Through the power of the inquiſition,
3. At the inſtigation of particular orders of the clergy, and
4. By the bigotry of the Italian princes.

The firſt PERSECUTIONS *under the* PAPACY *in* ITALY.

THE firſt perſecutions under the papacy began in Italy in the 12th century, at the time that Adrian, an Engliſhman, was pope, being occaſioned by the following circumſtances:

One Arnold, a learned man, and an excellent orator of Brixia, came to Rome, and boldly preached againſt the corruptions and innovations which had crept into the church. His doctrine was ſo clear, conſiſtent, and breathed forth ſuch a pure ſpirit of piety, that the ſenators, and many of the people, highly approved of, and admired his diſcourſes.

Adrian was ſo greatly enraged at this, that he commanded Arnold inſtantly to leave the city, as an heretic. Arnold, however, did not comply, for the ſenators, and ſome of the principal people took his part, and reſiſted the pope's authority.

Now Adrian laid the city of Rome under an interdict, which cauſed the whole body of clergy to interpoſe; and, at length, perſuaded the ſenators and people to give up the point, and ſuffer Arnold to be baniſhed. This being agreed to, he received his ſentence of exile, and retired to Germany, where he continued to preach againſt the pope, and to expoſe the groſs errors of the Romiſh church.

On this account, Adrian thirſted for his blood, and made ſeveral attempts to get him into his hands; but Arnold, for a long time, avoided every ſnare laid for him. At length, Frederic Barbaroſſa arriving at the imperial dignity, requeſted that the pope would crown him with his own hand. This Adrian complied with, and at the ſame time aſked a favour of the emperor, which was, to put Arnold into his hands. The emperor very readily delivered up the unfortunate preacher, who ſoon fell a martyr to Adrian's vengeance, being hanged, and his body burnt to aſhes, at Apulia. The ſame fate attended ſeveral of his old companions and friends.

A Spaniard, named Encenas, was ſent to Rome, to be brought up in the Roman-Catholic faith; but having converſed with ſome of the reformed, and read ſeveral treatiſes which they had put into his hands, he became a Proteſtant. This, at length, being known, one of his own relations informed againſt him, when he was burnt by order of the pope and a conclave of cardinals. The brother of Encenas had been taken up much about the ſame time, for having a New Teſtament, in the Spaniſh language, in his poſſeſſion; but before the time appointed for his execution, he found means to eſcape out of priſon, and retired to Germany.

One Faninus, a learned layman, by reading controverſial books, became of the reformed religion. An information being exhibited againſt him to the pope, he was apprehended, and caſt into priſon. His wife, children, relations, and friends, viſited him in his confinement, and ſo far wrought upon his mind, that he renounced his faith, and obtained his releaſe. But he was no ſooner free from confinement, than his mind felt the heavieſt of chains, the weight of a guilty conſcience. His horrors were ſo great, that he found them inſupportable, till he had returned from his apoſtacy, and declared himſelf fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome. To make amends for his falling off, he now openly and ſtrenuouſly did all he could to make converts to Proteſtantiſm, and was pretty ſucceſsful in his endeavours. Theſe proceedings occaſioned his ſecond impriſonment; but he had his life offered him if he would recant again. This propoſal he rejected with diſdain, ſaying, that he ſcorned life upon ſuch terms. Being aſked why he would obſtinately perſiſt in his opinions, and leave his wife and children in diſtreſs; he replied, I ſhall not leave them in diſtreſs, I have recommended them to the care of an excellent truſtee. What truſtee? ſaid the perſon who had aſked the queſtion, with ſome ſurpriſe: to which Faninus anſwered, Jeſus Chriſt is the truſtee I mean, and I think I could not commit them to the care of a better. On the day of execution he appeared remarkably cheerful, which one obſerving, ſaid, It is ſtrange you ſhould appear ſo merry upon ſuch an occaſion, when Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, juſt before his death, was in ſuch agonies, that he ſweated blood and water. To which Faninus replied: Chriſt ſuſtained all manner of pangs and conflicts, with hell and death, on our accounts; and thus, by his ſufferings, freed thoſe who really believe in him from the fear of them. He was then ſtrangled, and his body being burnt to aſhes, the wind ſcattered them about.

Alſo Dominicus, a learned ſoldier, having read ſeveral controverſial writings, became a zealous Proteſtant, and retiring to Placentia, preached the goſpel in it's utmoſt purity, to a very conſiderable congregation. At the concluſion of his ſermon one day, he ſaid, "If the congregation will attend to-morrow, I will give them a deſcription of Anti-chriſt, and paint him out in his proper colours."

An immenſe number of people attended the next day; but juſt as Dominicus was beginning his ſermon, a civil magiſtrate went up to his pulpit, and took him into cuſtody. He readily ſubmitted; but as he went along with the magiſtrate, made uſe of this expreſſion: I wonder the Devil hath let me alone ſo long. When he was brought to examination, this queſtion was put to him: Will you renounce your doctrines? To which he replied: My doctrines! I maintain no doctrines of my own; what I preach are the doctrines of Chriſt, and for thoſe I will forfeit my blood, and even think myſelf happy to ſuffer for the ſake of my Redeemer. Every method was taken to make him recant from his faith, and embrace the errors of the church of Rome; but when perſuaſions and menaces were found ineffectual, he was ſentenced to death, and hanged in the market-place accordingly.

A Proteſtant gentleman, named Galeacius, who reſided near the caſtle of St. Angelo, was apprehended on account of his faith. Great endeavours being uſed by his friends, he recanted, and ſubſcribed to ſeveral of the ſuperſtitious doctrines propagated by the church of Rome. Becoming, however, ſenſible of his error, he publicly renounced his recantation. Being apprehended for this, he was condemned to be burnt; and agreeable to the order, was chained to a ſtake, where he was left ſeveral hours before the fire was put to the faggots, in order that his wife, relations, and friends, who ſurrounded him, might induce him to give up his opinions. Galeacius, however, now retained his conſtancy of mind, and entreated the executioner to put fire to the wood that was to burn him. This, at length, he did, and Galeacius was ſoon conſumed in the flames, which burnt with amazing rapidity, and deprived him of ſenſation in a very ſhort time.

Not long after this gentleman's death, a great number of Proteſtants were put to death in various parts of Italy, on account of their faith, giving a ſure proof of their ſincerity in their martyrdoms.

An

An Account of the ſeveral PERSECUTIONS *in* CALABRIA.

ABOUT the 14th century, many of the Waldenſes of Pragela and Dauphiny emigrated to Calabria, and ſettling in ſome waſte lands, by the permiſſion of the nobles of that country, they ſoon, by the moſt induſtrious cultivation, made ſeveral wild and barren ſpots appear with all the beauties of fertility and verdure.

The lords of Calabria were highly pleaſed with their new ſubjects and tenants, as they were honeſt, quiet, and induſtrious; but the prieſts of the country exhibited ſeveral negative complaints againſt them; for not being able to accuſe them of any thing bad which they did do, they founded accuſations on what they did not do, and charged them,

1. With not being Roman-Catholics.
2. With not making any of their boys prieſts.
3. With not making any of their girls nuns.
4. With not going to maſs.
5. With not giving wax tapers to their prieſts as offerings.
6. With not going on pilgrimages.
7. With not bowing to images.

However, the Calabrian lords quieted the prieſts, by telling them, that theſe people were extremely harmleſs; that they gave no offence to the Roman-Catholics, and cheerfully paid the tithes to the prieſts, whoſe revenues were conſiderably increaſed by their coming into the country, and who, of conſequence, ought to be the very laſt perſons to make a complaint.

Matters went on tolerably well after this for a few years, during which the Waldenſes formed themſelves into two corporate towns, annexing ſeveral villages to the juriſdiction of them. At length, they ſent to Geneva for two clergymen; one to preach in each town, as they determined to make a public profeſſion of their faith. Intelligence of this affair being carried to pope Pius the Fourth, he determined to exterminate them from Calabria, without further delay.

For this purpoſe he ſent cardinal Alexandrino, a man of a very violent temper, and a furious bigot, together with two monks, to Calabria, where they were to act as inquiſitors. Theſe authorized perſons came to St. Xiſt, one of the towns built by the Waldenſes, and having aſſembled the people, told them, that they ſhould receive no injury, or violence, if they would accept of preachers appointed by the pope; but if they would not, they ſhould be deprived both of their properties and lives; and that their intentions might be known, maſs ſhould be publicly ſaid that afternoon, at which they were ordered to be preſent.

But the people of St. Xiſt, inſtead of attending maſs, fled into the woods with their families, and thus diſappointed the cardinal and his coadjutors. The cardinal then proceeded to La Garde, the other town belonging to the Waldenſes, where, not to be ſerved as he had been at St. Xiſt, he ordered the gates to be locked, and all avenues guarded. The ſame propoſals were then made to the people of La Garde, as had been made to the inhabitants of St. Xiſt, but with this additional piece of artifice: the cardinal aſſured them that the inhabitants of St. Xiſt had immediately come into his propoſals, and agreed, that the pope ſhould appoint them preachers. This falſehood ſucceeded; for the people of La Garde, thinking what the cardinal had told them to be truth, ſaid, they would exactly follow the example of their brethren at St. Xiſt.

Thus the cardinal having gained his point by deluding the people of one town, ſent for two troops of ſoldiers, with a view to murder thoſe of the other. He, accordingly, diſpatched the ſoldiers into the woods, to hunt down the inhabitants of St. Xiſt like wild beaſts, and gave them ſtrict orders to ſpare neither age or ſex, but to kill all they came near. The troops entered the woods, and many fell a prey to their ferocity, before the Waldenſes were properly apprized of their deſign. At length, however, they determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, when ſeveral conflicts happened, in which the half-armed Waldenſes performed prodigies of valour, and many were ſlain on both ſides. The greateſt part of the troops being killed in the different rencounters, the reſt were compelled to retreat, which ſo enraged the cardinal, that he wrote to the viceroy of Naples for reinforcements.

Hereupon the viceroy ordered a proclamation to be made throughout all the Neapolitan territories, that all out-laws, deſerters, and other proſcribed perſons, ſhould be freely pardoned for their reſpective offences, on condition of making a campaign againſt the inhabitants of St. Xiſt, and continuing under arms till thoſe people were utterly deſtroyed.

Several perſons, of deſperate fortunes, came in upon this proclamation, and being formed into light companies, were ſent to ſcour the woods, and put to death all they could meet with of the reformed religion. The viceroy himſelf likewiſe joined the cardinal, at the head of a body of regular forces; and, in conjunction, they did all they could to haraſs the poor people in the woods. Some they caught, and hanged up upon trees, cut down boughs, and burnt them, or ripped them open, and left their bodies to be devoured by wild beaſts, or birds of prey. Many they ſhot at a diſtance, but the greateſt number they hunted down by way of ſport. A few hid themſelves in caves; but famine deſtroyed them in their retreat; and thus all theſe poor people periſhed, by various means, to glut the bigoted malice of their barbarous enemies.

No ſooner were the inhabitants of St. Xiſt exterminated, than thoſe of La Garde engaged the attention of the cardinal and viceroy. It was offered, that if they would embrace the Roman-Catholic perſuaſion, themſelves and families ſhould not be injured, but their houſes and properties ſhould be reſtored, and none would be permitted to moleſt them; but, on the contrary, if they refuſed this mercy, as it was termed, the utmoſt extremities would be uſed, and the moſt cruel deaths the certain conſequence of their non-acquieſcence.

In ſpite of the promiſes on one ſide, and menaces on the other, theſe worthy people unanimouſly refuſed to renounce their religion, or embrace the errors of Popery. This exaſperated the cardinal and viceroy ſo much, that thirty of them were ordered to be put immediately to the rack, as a terror to the remainder.

The thirty who were put to the rack were treated with ſuch ſeverity, that ſeveral died under the tortures: one Charlin, in particular, was ſo cruelly uſed, that his belly burſt, his bowels came out, and he expired in the greateſt agonies. Theſe barbarities, however, did not anſwer the purpoſes for which they were intended; for thoſe who remained alive after the rack, and thoſe who had not felt the rack, remained equally conſtant in their faith, and boldly declared, that no tortures of body, or terrors of mind, ſhould ever induce them to renounce their God, or worſhip idols.

There were ſeveral then, by the cardinal's order, ſtripped ſtark naked, and whipped to death with iron rods; ſome were hacked to pieces with large knives; others were thrown down from the top of a large tower; and many were covered over with pitch, and burnt alive.

Among the monks who attended the cardinal, there was one naturally of a ſavage and cruel diſpoſition, who requeſted of him, that he might ſhed ſome of the blood of theſe poor people with his own hands; his requeſt being granted, the barbarous man took a large ſharp knife, and cut the throats of fourſcore men, women, and children, with as little remorſe as a butcher would have killed ſo many ſheep. Every one of theſe bodies were then ordered to be quartered, the quarters placed upon ſtakes, and then fixed in different parts of the country, within a circuit of about thirty miles.

The four principal men of La Garde were hanged, and the clergyman was thrown from the top of his church ſteeple. He was terribly mangled, but not quite killed by the fall; at which time the viceroy paſſing by, ſaid, Is the dog yet living? Take him up, and give him to the hogs: when, brutal as this ſentence may appear, it was accordingly executed.

There were ſixty women racked ſo violently, that the cords pierced their arms and legs quite to the bone: when, being remanded to priſon, their wounds mortified, and they died in the moſt miſerable manner. Many others were put to death by various cruel means; and if any Roman-Catholic, more compaſſionate than the reſt, interceded for any of the reformed, he was immediately apprehended, and ſhared the ſame fate, as a favourer of heretics.

Now, the viceroy being obliged to march back to Naples, on ſome affairs of moment which required his preſence, and the cardinal having been recalled to Rome, the marquis of Butiane was ordered to put the finiſhing ſtroke to what they had begun; which he, at length, effected, by acting with ſuch barbarous rigour, that there was not a ſingle perſon of the reformed religion left living in all Calabria.

A great number of inoffenſive and harmleſs people were thus deprived of their poſſeſſions, robbed of their property, driven from their homes, and, at length, murdered, by various means, only becauſe they would not ſacrifice their conſciences to the ſuperſtitions of others, embrace idolatrous doctrines which they abhorred, and accept of teachers whom they could not believe. Tyranny is of three kinds, viz. That which enſlaves the perſon, that which ſeizes the property, and that which preſcribes and dictates to the mind. The two firſt ſorts may be termed civil tyranny, and have been practiſed by arbitrary ſovereigns in all ages, who have delighted in tormenting the perſons, and ſtealing the properties of their unhappy ſubjects. But the third ſort, viz. preſcribing and dictating to the mind, may be called eccleſiaſtical tyranny: and this is the worſt kind of tyranny, as it includes the other two ſorts; for the Romiſh clergy not only torture the bodies, and ſeize the effects of thoſe they perſecute, but take the lives, torment the minds, and, if poſſible, would tyrannize over the very ſouls of the unhappy victims in their power.

A particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *in the Vallies of* PIEDMONT.

SEVERAL of the Waldenſes, to avoid the perſecutions to which they were continually ſubjected in France, went and ſettled in the vallies of Piedmont, where they increaſed ſurpriſingly, and flouriſhed exceedingly for a conſiderable time.

Notwithſtanding they were harmleſs in their behaviour, inoffenſive in their converſation, and paid tithes to the Romiſh clergy, yet the latter could not be contented, but wiſhed to give them ſome diſturbance: they, accordingly, complained to the archbiſhop of Turin, that the Waldenſes of the vallies of Piedmont were heretics, for the reaſons as follow:

1. That they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of Rome.
2. That they made no offerings for prayers for the dead.
3. That they did not go to maſs.
4. That they did not confeſs, and receive abſolution.
5. That they did not believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the ſouls of their friends out of it.

The archbiſhop ordered a perſecution to be commenced upon theſe charges, and many fell martyrs to the ſuperſtitious rage of the monks and prieſts.

One of the reformed at Turin had his bowels torn out, and put into a baſon before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard being at the ſtake, deſired the executioner to give him up a ſtone; which he refuſed, thinking that he meant to throw it at ſomebody; but Girard aſſuring him that he had no ſuch deſign, the executioner complied; when Girard looking earneſtly at the ſtone, ſaid, When it is in the power of a man to eat and digeſt this ſolid ſtone, the religion for which I am about to ſuffer ſhall have an end, and not before. He then threw the ſtone on the ground, and ſubmitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more of the reformed were oppreſſed, or put to death, by various means, till the patience of the Waldenſes being tired out, they flew to arms in their own defence, and formed themſelves into regular bodies.

Provoked at this, the archbiſhop of Turin procured a number of troops, and ſent againſt them; but in moſt of the ſkirmiſhes and engagements the Waldenſes were ſucceſsful, which partly aroſe from their being better acquainted with the paſſes of the vallies of Piedmont than their adverſaries, and partly from the deſperation with which they fought; for they well knew, if they were taken, they ſhould not be conſidered as priſoners of war, but, as heretics, ſhould be tortured to death.

Philip, the ſeventh duke of Savoy, and ſupreme lord of Piedmont, determined at length to interpoſe his authority, and ſtop theſe bloody wars, which ſo greatly diſturbed his dominions. He was not willing to diſoblige the pope, or affront the archbiſhop of Turin; nevertheleſs, he ſent them both meſſages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely ſee his dominions over-run with troops, who were directed by prieſts inſtead of officers, and commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he ſuffer his country to be depopulated, while he himſelf had not been even conſulted upon the occaſion.

Perceiving the reſolution of the duke, the prieſts did all they could to prejudice his mind againſt the Waldenſes; but the duke told them, that though he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of theſe people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they ſhould be perſecuted no longer.

Accordingly the prieſts had recourſe to the moſt palpable and abſurd falſehoods: they aſſured the duke that he was miſtaken in the Waldenſes, for they were a wicked ſet of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanneſs, blaſphemy, adultery, inceſt, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monſters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered all over with hair.

But the duke was not ſo devoid of common ſenſe as to give credit to what the prieſts ſaid, though they affirmed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the truth of their aſſertions. He, however, ſent twelve very learned and ſenſible gentlemen into the Piedmonteſe vallies, to examine into the real characters of the people.

Theſe gentlemen, after travelling through all their towns and villages, and converſing with people of every rank among the Waldenſes, returned to the duke, and gave him the moſt favourable account of thoſe people; affirming, before the faces of the prieſts who vilified them, that they were harmleſs, inoffenſive, loyal, friendly, induſtrious, and pious: that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accuſed; and that, ſhould an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of thoſe crimes, he would, by their laws, be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner. With reſpect to the children, the gentlemen ſaid, the prieſts had told the moſt groſs and ridiculous falſities, for they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, or hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be ſeen. "And to convince your highneſs of what we have ſaid (continued one of the gentlemen) we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to aſk pardon in the name of the reſt, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preſerve their lives from their merciles enemies. And we have likewiſe brought ſeveral women, with children of various ages, that your highneſs may have an opportunity of perſonally examining them as much as you pleaſe."

Having accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, converſed with the women, and examined the children, the duke graciouſly diſmiſſed them. He then commanded the prieſts, who had attempted to miſlead him, immediately to leave the court; and gave ſtrict orders, that the perſecution ſhould ceaſe throughout his dominions.

For many years the Waldenſes had enjoyed peace, till Philip, the ſeventh duke of Savoy, died, when his ſucceſſor happened to be a very bigoted Papiſt. About the ſame time, ſome of the principal Waldenſes propoſed, that their clergy ſhould preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to ſuch congregations as they well knew to conſiſt of none but perſons of the reformed religion.

When informed of theſe proceedings, the new duke was greatly exaſperated, and ſent a conſiderable body of troops into the vallies, ſwearing, that if the people would not change their religion, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops ſoon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men he had with him: he, therefore, ſent word to the duke, that the idea of ſubjugating the Waldenſes, with ſo ſmall a force, was ridiculous; that thoſe people were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had ſecured all the paſſes, were well armed, and reſolutely determined to defend themſelves; and, with reſpect to flaying them alive, he ſaid, that every ſkin belonging to thoſe people would coſt him the lives of a dozen of his ſubjects.

Alarmed at this information, the duke withdrew the troops, determining to act not by force, but by ſtratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for the taking of any of the Waldenſes, who might be found ſtraying from their places of ſecurity; and theſe, when taken, were either flayed alive, or burnt.

Hitherto the Waldenſes had only the New Teſtament, and a few books of the Old, in the Waldenſian tongue; but they determined now to have the ſacred writings complete in their own language. They, therefore, employed a Swiſs printer to furniſh them with a complete edition of the Old and New Teſtament in the Waldenſian tongue, which he did for the conſideration of fifteen hundred crowns of gold, paid him by thoſe truly pious people.

Pope Paul the Third, a bigoted Papiſt, aſcending the pontifical chair, immediately ſolicited the parliament of Turin to perſecute the Waldenſes, as the moſt pernicious of all heretics.

To this the parliament readily agreed, when ſeveral were ſuddenly apprehended and burnt, by their order. Among theſe was Bartholomew Hector, a bookſeller and ſtationer of Turin, who was brought up a Roman-Catholic, but having read ſome treatiſes written by the reformed clergy, he was fully convinced of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for ſome time, wavering, and he hardly knew what perſuaſion to embrace.

After ſome ſerious conſideration, he at laſt fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt by order of the parliament of Turin.

Now a conſultation was held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, to ſend deputies to the vallies of Piedmont, with propoſitions as follow:

1. That if the Waldenſes would come to the boſom of the church of Rome, and embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, they ſhould enjoy their houſes, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the leaſt moleſtation.

2. That to prove their obedience, they ſhould ſend twelve of their principal perſons, with all their miniſters and ſchool-maſters, to Turin, to be dealt with at diſcretion.

3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occaſion.

4. That if the Waldenſes of the vallies of Piedmont refuſed to comply with theſe propoſitions, perſecution ſhould enſue, and certain death be their portion.

The Waldenſes anſwering theſe propoſitions reſpectively, made the following very noble replies:

1. That no conſideration whatever ſhould make them renounce their religion.

2. That they would never conſent to commit their beſt and moſt reſpectable friends, to the cuſtody and diſcretion of their worſt and moſt inveterate enemies.

3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings, who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority.

4. That their ſouls were more precious than their bodies.

Theſe ſpirited and pointed replies greatly exaſperated the parliament of Turin: they continued, with more avidity than ever, to kidnap ſuch Waldenſes as did not act with proper precaution, who were ſure to ſuffer the moſt cruel deaths. Among theſe it unfortunately happened, that they got hold of Jeffery Varnagle, miniſter of Angrogne, whom they accuſed as an heretic, and committed to the flames.

Then they ſolicited a conſiderable body of troops of the king of France, in order to exterminate the reformed entirely from the vallies of Piedmont; but juſt as the troops were going to march, the Proteſtant princes of Germany interpoſed, and threatened to ſend troops to aſſiſt the Waldenſes, if they ſhould be attacked. The king of France, not caring to enter into a war, remanded the troops, and ſent word to the parliament of Turin, that he could not ſpare any troops at preſent to act in Piedmont. The members of the parliament were greatly vexed at this diſappointment, and the perſecution gradually ceaſed; for as they could only put to death ſuch of the reformed as they caught by chance, and as the Waldenſes daily grew more cautious, their cruelty was obliged to ſubſide, for want of objects on whom to exerciſe it.

When the Waldenſes had enjoyed a few years tranquillity, they were again diſturbed by the following means: the pope's nuncio coming to Turin to the duke of Savoy upon buſineſs, told that prince he was aſtoniſhed he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenſes from the vallies of Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to enter into the boſom of the church of Rome. That he could not help looking upon ſuch conduct with a ſuſpicious eye, and that he really thought him a favourer of thoſe heretics, and ſhould report the affair accordingly to his holineſs the pope.

Inflamed by this reflection, and unwilling to be miſrepreſented to the pope, the duke determined to act with the greateſt ſeverity, in order to ſhew his zeal, and to make amends for former neglect by future cruelty. He, accordingly, iſſued expreſs orders for all the Waldenſes to attend maſs regularly, on pain of death. This they abſolutely refuſed to do, on which he entered the Piedmonteſe vallies, with a formidable body of troops, and began a moſt furious perſecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, ſtabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, crucified with their heads downwards, &c. &c.

All who fled had their goods plundered, and their houſes burnt to the ground: they were particularly cruel when they caught a miniſter or a ſchool-maſter, whom they put to ſuch exquiſite tortures, as are almoſt incredible to conceive. If any whom they took ſeemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but ſent them to the gallies, to be made converts by dint of hardſhips.

On this occaſion, the moſt cruel perſecutors that attended the duke were three in number, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apoſtate; for he was brought up in the reformed religion, but renounced his faith, embraced the errors of Popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and ſordidly ſolicitous for the plunder of the Waldenſes. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whoſe buſineſs was to examine the priſoners. 3. The provoſt of juſtice, who was very anxious for the execution of the Waldenſes, as every execution put money into his pocket.

Now theſe three perſecutors were unmerciful to the laſt degree; and wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was ſure to flow. Excluſive of the cruelties exerciſed by the duke, by theſe three perſons, and the army, in their different marches, many local barbarities were committed. At Pignerol, a town in the vallies, was a monaſtery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder the houſes, and pull down the churches of the Waldenſes. Not meeting with any oppoſition, they next ſeized upon the perſons of thoſe unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman-Catholic nurſes.

In like manner the Roman-Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenſes: they deſtroyed their churches, burnt their houſes, ſeized their properties, ſtole their cattle, converted their lands to their own uſe, committed their miniſters to the flames, and drove the Waldenſes to the woods, where they had nothing to ſubſiſt on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c. &c.

A few Roman-Catholic ruffians having ſeized a miniſter as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient place, and burn him. His pariſhioners having intelligence of the affair, the men armed themſelves, purſued the ruffians, and ſeemed determined to reſcue their miniſter; which the ruffians no ſooner perceived, than they ſtabbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The aſtoniſhed pariſhioners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for the weapon had touched the vital parts, and he expired as they were carrying him to his dwelling.

The monks of Pignerol having a great inclination to get a miniſter of a town in the vallies, called St. Germain, into their power, hired a band of ruffians for the purpoſe of apprehending him. Theſe fellows were conducted by a treacherous perſon, who had formerly been a ſervant to the clergyman, and who perfectly well knew a ſecret way to the houſe, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being aſked who was there, anſwered in his own name. The clergyman, not expecting any injury from a perſon on whom he had heaped favours, immediately opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he ſtarted back, and fled to a back door; but they ruſhed in, followed and ſeized him. Having murdered all his family, they made him proceed towards Pignerol, goading him all the way with pikes, lances, ſwords, &c. He was kept a conſiderable time in priſon, and then faſtened to the ſtake to be burnt; when two women of the Waldenſes, who had renounced their religion to ſave their lives, were ordered to carry faggots to the ſtake to burn him; and as they laid them down, to ſay, Take theſe, thou wicked heretic, in recompence for the pernicious doctrines thou haſt taught us. Theſe words they both repeated to him: to which he calmly replied, I formerly taught you well, but you have ſince learned ill. The fire was then put to the faggots, and he was ſpeedily conſumed, calling upon the name of the Lord as long as he retained his voice.

Seeing the troops of ruffians, belonging to the monks, did great miſchief about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne ſent ſome bands of armed men to the aſſiſtance of their brethren of St. Germain. Theſe bodies of armed men frequently attacked the ruffians, and often put them to the rout, which ſo terrified the monks, that they left their monaſtery of Pignerol for ſome time, till they could procure a body of regular troops for their protection.

Now the duke, not thinking himſelf ſo ſucceſsful as he at firſt imagined he ſhould be, greatly augmented his forces, ordered the bands of ruffians, belonging to the monks, ſhould join him, and commanded, that a general gaol-delivery ſhould take place, provided the perſons releaſed would bear arms, and form themſelves into light companies, to aſſiſt in the extermination of the Waldenſes.

As ſoon as the Waldenſes were informed of the proceedings, they ſecured as much of their properties as they could, and quitting the vallies, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps; for it is to be underſtood, that the vallies of Piedmont are ſituated at the foot of thoſe prodigious mountains, called the Alps, or the Alpine Hills.

Now the army began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force the paſſes to the Alps, which were gallantly defended by the Waldenſes, who always repulſed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were ſure to be treated in the moſt barbarous and ſevere manner.

A ſoldier having caught one of the Waldenſes, bit his right ear off, ſaying, I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preſerve it as a rarity. He then ſtabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

A party of the troops found a venerable man upwards of an hundred years of age, together with his grand-daughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They butchered the poor old man in a moſt inhuman manner, and then attempted to raviſh the girl, when ſhe ſtarted away, and fled from them; but they purſuing her, ſhe threw herſelf from a precipice, and expired.

The Waldenſes, in order the more effectually to be able to repel force by force, entered into a league with the Proteſtant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. Theſe were, reſpectively to furniſh bodies of troops; and the Waldenſes determined, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they muſt ſoon have periſhed, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native vallies.

At length, the duke of Savoy was tired of the war; it had coſt him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vaſt number of men, and very conſiderable ſums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expenſive than he could at firſt have imagined, for he thought the plunder would have diſcharged the expences of the expedition; but in this he was miſtaken, for the pope's nuncio, the biſhops, monks, and other eccleſiaſtics, who attended the army and encouraged the war, ſunk the greateſt part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For theſe reaſons, and the death of his ducheſs, of which he had juſt received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenſes, by the treaties they had entered into, would become more powerful than ever, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with the Waldenſes.

Happily he executed this reſolution, though greatly againſt the will of the eccleſiaſtics, who were the chief gainers, and the beſt pleaſed with revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himſelf died ſoon after his return to Turin; but on his death-bed he ſtrictly enjoined his ſon to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as poſſible to the Waldenſes.

Charles-Emanuel, the duke's ſon, ſucceeded to the dominions of Savoy, and gave a full ratification of peace to the Waldenſes, according to the laſt injunctions of his father, though the eccleſiaſtics did all they could to diſſuade him from his noble purpoſe.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *in* VENICE.

WHEN the ſtate of Venice was free from inquiſitors, a great number of Proteſtants fixed their reſidence there, and many converts were made by the purity of the doctrines they profeſſed, and the inoffenſiveneſs of the converſation they made uſe of.

As ſoon as the pope was informed of the great increaſe of Proteſtantiſm, he, in the year 1542, ſent inquiſitors to Venice, to make an inquiry into the matter, and apprehend ſuch as they might deem obnoxious perſons. Hence a ſevere perſecution began, and many worthy perſons were martyred for ſerving God with purity, and ſcorning the trappings of idle ſuperſtition.

The modes by which the Proteſtants were deprived of life were ſeveral; but one particular method, which was firſt invented upon this occaſion, we ſhall deſcribe: As ſoon as ſentence was paſſed, the priſoner had an iron chain, which ran through a great ſtone, faſtened to his body; he was then laid flat upon a plank, with his face upwards, and rowed between two boats to a certain diſtance at ſea, when the boats ſeparated, and, by the weight of the ſtone, he was ſunk to the bottom.

When any denied the juriſdiction of the inquiſitors at Venice, they were ſent to Rome, where, being committed purpoſely to damp priſons, and never called to an hearing, their fleſh mortified, and they there died in a moſt miſerable manner.

Anthony Ricetti, a citizen of Venice, being apprehended as a Proteſtant, was ſentenced to be drowned in the manner we have already deſcribed. A few days previous to the time appointed for his execution, his ſon went to him, and begged him to recant, that his life might be ſaved, and himſelf not left fatherleſs. To which the father replied, A good Chriſtian is bound to relinquiſh not only goods and children, but life itſelf for the glory of his Redeemer: therefore I am reſolved to ſacrifice every thing in this tranſitory world, for the ſake of ſalvation in a world that will laſt to eternity. The lords of Venice likewiſe ſent him word, that if he would embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, they would not only give him his life, but redeem a conſiderable eſtate which he had mortgaged, and freely preſent him with it. This, however, he abſolutely refuſed to comply with, ſending word to the nobles, that he valued his ſoul beyond all other conſiderations; and being told that a fellow-priſoner, named Francis Sega, had recanted, he anſwered, If he has forſaken God, I pity him; but I ſhall continue ſtedfaſt in my duty. Finding all endeavours to perſuade him to renounce his faith ineffectual, he was executed according to his ſentence, dying cheerfully, and recommending his ſoul fervently to the Almighty Creator.

All that Ricetti had been told concerning the apoſtacy of Francis Sega was abſolutely falſe, for he had never offered to recant, but ſtedfaſtly perſiſted in his faith: and was executed, a few days after Ricetti, in the very ſame manner.

A Proteſtant gentleman of very great learning, named Francis Spinola, being apprehended by order of the inquiſitors, was carried before their tribunal. A treatiſe on the Lord's Supper was then put into his hands, and he was aſked if he knew the author of it. To which he replied, I confeſs myſelf to be the author of it, and at the ſame time ſolemnly affirm, that there is not a line in it but what is authorized by, and conſonant to, the Holy Scriptures. On this confeſſion he was committed cloſe priſoner to a dungeon for ſeveral days.

When brought to a ſecond examination, he charged the pope's legate, and the inquiſitors, with being mercileſs barbarians, and then repreſented the ſuperſtitions and idolatries practiſed by the church of Rome in ſo glaring a light, that not being able to refute his arguments, they ſent him back to his dungeon, to make him repent of what he had uttered.

They aſked him, on his third examination, if he would recant his errors? To which he anſwered, That the doctrines he maintained were not erroneous, being purely the ſame as thoſe which Chriſt and his apoſtles had taught, and which were handed down to us in the Sacred Writings. The inquiſitors then ſentenced him to be drowned, which was executed in the manner already deſcribed. He went to meet death with the utmoſt ſerenity, ſeeming to wiſh for diſſolution, and declaring, that the prolongation of this life did but tend to retard that real happineſs which could be only expected in the other world.

An intereſting Account of ſeveral remarkable Individuals, who were martyred in different Parts of Italy, *for their Religion.*

JOHN MOLLIUS was born at Rome, of reputable parents. At twelve years of age they placed him in the monaſtery of Grey Friars, where he made ſuch a rapid progreſs in arts, ſciences, and languages, that he was permitted to take prieſt's orders at the early age of eighteen years.

Mollius was then ſent to Ferrara, where, after purſuing his ſtudies ſix years longer, he was made theological reader in the univerſity of that city. He now, unhappily, exerted his great talents to diſguiſe the goſpel truths, and to varniſh over the errors of the church of Rome. After ſome years reſidence at Ferrara, he removed to the univerſity of Bononia, where he became a profeſſor. Having read ſome treatiſes written by miniſters of the reformed religion, he grew fully ſenſible of the errors of Popery, and ſoon became in his heart a zealous Proteſtant.

This man now determined to expound, according to the purity of the goſpel, St. Paul's epiſtle to the Romans, in a regular courſe of ſermons. The concourſe of people that continually attended his preaching was ſurpriſing; but when the prieſts found the tenor of his doctrines, they diſpatched an account of the affair to Rome; when the pope ſent a monk, named Cornelius, to Bononia, to expound the ſame epiſtle, according to the tenets of the church of Rome. The people, however, found ſuch a diſparity between the two preachers, that the audience of Mollius increaſed, and Cornelius was forced to preach to empty benches.

Hereupon Cornelius wrote an account of his bad ſucceſs to the pope, who immediately ſent an order to apprehend Mollius, who was ſeized upon accordingly, and kept in cloſe confinement. The biſhop of Bononia ſent him word, that he muſt recant, or be burnt; but he appealed to Rome, and was accordingly removed there.

Here he begged to have a public trial, but that the pope abſolutely denied him, and commanded him to give an account of his opinions in writing, which he did under the following heads:

1. Original ſin.
2. Free-will.
3. The infallibility of the church of Rome.
4. The infallibility of the pope.
5. Juſtification by faith.
6. Purgatory.
7. Tranſubſtantiation.
8. Maſs.
9. Auricular confeſſion.
10. Prayers for the dead.
11. The hoſt.
12. Prayers to ſaints.
13. Going on pilgrimages.
14. Extreme unction.
15. Performing ſervice in an unknown tongue.

And all theſe he confirmed from ſcripture authority. The pope, upon this occaſion, for political reaſons, ſpared him for the preſent, but ſoon after, in 1553, had him apprehended, and put to death; he being firſt hanged, and his body burnt to aſhes.

In 1554, Francis Gamba, a Lombard, of the Proteſtant perſuaſion, was apprehended, and condemned to death by the ſenate of Milan. At the place of execution, a monk preſented a croſs to him; to whom he ſaid, My mind is ſo full of the real merits and goodneſs of Chriſt, that I want not a piece of ſenſeleſs ſtick to put me in mind of him. For this expreſſion his tongue was bored through, and he was afterwards committed to the flames.

In 1555, Algerius, a ſtudent in the univerſity of Padua, and a man of great learning, having embraced the reformed religion, did all he could to convert others. For theſe proceedings he was accuſed of hereſy to the pope, and being apprehended, was committed to the priſon at Venice, where, being allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, he wrote to his converts at Padua a celebrated epiſtle as follows:

LETTER

From ALGERIUS *to his Converts at* Padua.

"DEAR FRIENDS,

"I Cannot omit this opportunity of letting you know the ſincere pleaſure I feel in my confinement; to ſuffer for Chriſt is delectable, indeed: to undergo a little tranſitory pain in this world, for his ſake, is cheaply purchaſing a reverſion of eternal glory, in a life that is everlaſting.

"Hence, I have found honey in the entrails of a lion; a paradiſe in a priſon; tranquillity in the houſe of ſorrow: where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble and faint, I find ſtrength and courage. The Almighty alone confers theſe favours on me; be his the glory and the praiſe.

"How different do I find myſelf from what I was before I embraced the truth in it's purity; I was then dark, doubtful, and in dread; I am now enlightened, certain, and full of joy. He that was far from me is preſent with me; he comforts my ſpirit, heals my griefs, ſtrengthens my mind, refreſhes my heart, and fortifies my ſoul. Learn, therefore, how merciful and amiable the Lord is, who ſupports his ſervants under temptations, expels their ſorrows, lightens their afflictions, and even viſits them with his glorious preſence, in the gloom of a diſmal dungeon.

"Your ſincere friend,

"Algerius."

When the pope was informed of Algerius's great learning, and ſurpriſing natural abilities, he thought it would be of infinite ſervice to the church of Rome, if he could induce him to forſake the Proteſtant cauſe. He, therefore, ſent for him to Rome, and tried, by the moſt profane promiſes, to win him to his purpoſe. But finding his endeavours ineffectual, he ordered him to be burnt, which ſentence was accordingly executed.

In 1559, John Alloyſius, being ſent from Geneva to preach in Calabria, was there apprehended as a Proteſtant, carried to Rome, and burnt by order of the pope; and James Bovellus was burnt at Meſſina for the ſame reaſon.

In 1560, pope Pius the Fourth ordered all the Proteſtants to be ſeverely perſecuted throughout the Italian ſtates, when great numbers of every age, ſex, and condition, ſuffered martyrdom. Concerning the cruelties practiſed upon this occaſion, a learned and humane Roman-Catholic thus ſpeaks of them, in a letter to a noble lord: "I cannot, my lord, forbear diſcloſing my ſentiments, with reſpect to the perſecution now carrying on: I think it cruel and unneceſſary; I tremble at the manner of putting to death, as it reſembles more the ſlaughter of calves and ſheep, than the execution of human beings. I will relate to your lordſhip a dreadful ſcene, of which I was myſelf an eye-witneſs: ſeventy Proteſtants were cooped up in one filthy dungeon together; the executioner went in among them, picked out one from among the reſt, blindfolded him, led him out to an open place before the priſon, and cut his throat with the greateſt compoſure. He then calmly walked into the priſon again, bloody as he was, and with the knife in his hand ſelected another, and diſpatched him in the ſame manner; and this, my lord, he repeated till the whole number were put to death. I leave it to your lordſhip's feelings to judge of my ſenſations upon the occaſion; my tears now waſh the paper upon which I give you the recital. Another thing I muſt mention, the patience with which they met death: they ſeemed all reſignation and piety, fervently praying to God, and cheerfully encountering their fate. I cannot reflect without ſhuddering, how the executioner held the bloody knife between his teeth; what a dreadful figure he appeared, all covered with blood, and with what unconcern he executed his barbarous office."

There was a young Engliſhman at Rome, who happened to be one day paſſing by a church, when the proceſſion of the hoſt was juſt coming out. A biſhop carried the hoſt, which the young man perceiving, he ſnatched it from him, threw it upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, crying out, Ye wretched idolaters, that neglect the true God to adore a morſel of bread. This action ſo provoked the people, that they would have torn him to pieces upon the ſpot; but the prieſts having perſuaded them to let him abide by the ſentence of the pope, they reſtrained their fury.

As ſoon as the affair was repreſented to the pope, he was ſo greatly exaſperated that he ordered the priſoner to be burnt immediately; but a cardinal diſſuaded him from this haſty ſentence, ſaying, it was better to puniſh him by ſlow degrees, and to torture him, that they might find out if he had been inſtigated by any particular perſon to commit an act ſo atrocious.

This being approved, he was tortured with the moſt exemplary ſeverity, notwithſtanding which they could only get theſe words from him, "It was the will of God that I ſhould do what I did."

Accordingly the pope paſt this ſentence upon him:

1. "That he ſhould be led, naked to the middle, through the ſtreets of Rome, by the executioner.

2. "That he ſhould wear the image of the devil upon his head.

3. "That his breeches ſhould be painted with the repreſentation of flames.

4. "That he ſhould have his right hand cut off.

5. "That after having been carried about thus in proceſſion, he ſhould be burnt."

Having heard his ſentence pronounced, he implored God to give him ſtrength and fortitude to go through it. As he paſſed through the ſtreets he was greatly derided by the people, to whom he ſaid ſome ſevere things reſpecting the Romiſh ſuperſtition. But a cardinal, who attended the proceſſion, over-hearing him, ordered him to be gagged.

As ſoon as he came to the church door, where he trampled on the hoſt, the hangman cut off his right hand, and fixed it on a pole. Then two tormentors, with flaming torches, ſcorched and burnt his fleſh all the reſt of the way. At the place of execution he kiſſed the chains that were to bind him to the ſtake. A monk preſenting the figure of a ſaint to him, he ſtruck it aſide, and then being chained to the ſtake, fire was put to the faggots, and he was burnt to aſhes in an inſtant.

Shortly after the laſt mentioned execution, a venerable old man, who had long been a priſoner in the inquiſition, was condemned to be burnt, and brought out for execution. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, a prieſt held a crucifix to him, on which he ſaid, "If you do not take that idol from my ſight, you will conſtrain me to ſpit upon it." The prieſt rebuked him for this with great ſeverity; but he bade him remember the firſt and ſecond commandments, and refrain from idolatry, as God himſelf had commanded. He was then gagged, that he ſhould not ſpeak any more, and fire being put to the faggots, he ſuffered martyrdom in the flames with great fortitude.

Summary of the PERSECUTIONS *in the Marquiſate of* SALUCES.

IN 1561 the marquiſate of Saluces, on the ſouth ſide of the vallies of Piedmont, was principally inhabited by Proteſtants; when the marquis, who was proprietor of it, began a proſecution againſt them at the inſtigation of the then pope. He began by baniſhing the miniſters, and if any of them refuſed to leave their flocks, they were ſure to be impriſoned, and ſeverely tortured; however, he did not proceed ſo far as to put any to death.

A little after the marquiſate fell into the poſſeſſion of the duke of Savoy, who ſent circular letters to all the towns and villages, that he expected the people ſhould all conform to go to maſs.

Upon receiving this letter, the inhabitants of Saluces returned the following general epiſtle for anſwer.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"WE humbly entreat your permiſſion to continue in the practice of the religion which we have always profeſſed, and which our fathers have profeſſed before us. In this we ſhall acquit our conſciences, without offending any; for we are ſenſible that our religion is founded on the Holy Scriptures, by whoſe precepts we are commanded not to injure our neighbours.

"We likewiſe implore your protection; for as Jews, infidels, and other enemies to Chriſt, are ſuffered to live in your dominions unmoleſted, we hope the ſame indulgence may be granted to Chriſtians, whoſe very faith obliges them to be harmleſs, honeſt, inoffenſive, and loyal.

"We remain your highneſs's reſpectful,
obedient, and faithful ſubjects,
"THE PROTESTANT INHABITANTS OF THE
MARQUISATE OF SALUCES."

This letter being read, the duke did not interrupt the Proteſtants for ſome time; but, at length, he ſent them word, that they muſt either conform to go to maſs, or leave his dominions in fifteen days. The Proteſtants, upon this unexpected edict, ſent a deputy to the duke to obtain it's revocation, or at leaſt to have it moderated. But their remonſtrances were in vain, and they were given to underſtand that the edict was peremptory.

There were ſome weak enough to go to maſs, in order to avoid baniſhment, and preſerve their property; others removed, with all their effects to different countries; and many neglected the time ſo long, that they were obliged to abandon all they were worth, and leave the marquiſate in haſte. Thoſe, who unhappily ſtaid behind, were ſeized, plundered, and put to death without mercy.

A particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *in the Vallies of* PIEDMONT, *in the Seventeenth Century.*

WHEN pope Clement the Eighth ſent miſſionaries into the vallies of Piedmont, to induce the Proteſtants to renounce their religion, theſe miſſionaries having erected monaſteries in ſeveral parts of the vallies, became exceedingly troubleſome to thoſe of the reformed, where the monaſteries appeared not only as fortreſſes to curb, but as ſanctuaries for all ſuch to fly to, as had injured them in any degree.

The Proteſtants petitioned the duke of Savoy againſt theſe miſſionaries, whoſe inſolence and ill-uſage were become intolerable; but inſtead of getting any redreſs, the intereſt of the miſſionaries ſo far prevailed, that the duke publiſhed a decree, in which he declared, that one witneſs ſhould be ſufficient in a court of law againſt a Proteſtant; and that any witneſs, who convicted a Proteſtant of any crime whatever ſhould be entitled to an hundred crowns as a reward.

Upon the publication of a decree of this nature, it may be eaſily imagined, that many Proteſtants fell martyrs to perjury and avarice; for ſeveral villanous Papiſts would ſwear any thing againſt the Proteſtants for the ſake of the reward, and then fly to their own prieſts for abſolution from their falſe oaths. If any Roman-Catholic, of more conſcience than the reſt, blamed theſe fellows for their atrocious crimes, they themſelves were in danger of being informed againſt, and puniſhed as favourers of hereſy, which they called Proteſtantiſm.

Now theſe miſſionaries did all they could to get the books of the Proteſtants into their power, in order to burn them; when the Proteſtants doing their utmoſt endeavours to conceal their books, the miſſionaries wrote to the duke of Savoy, who, for the heinous crime of not ſurrendering their bibles, prayer-books, and religious treatiſes, ſent a number of troops to be quartered on them. Theſe military gentry did great miſchief in the houſes of the Proteſtants, and deſtroyed ſuch quantities of proviſions, as occaſioned the ruin of many families.

Now, to encourage, as much as poſſible, the apoſtacy of the Proteſtants, the duke of Savoy publiſhed a proclamation, wherein he ſaid, "To encourage the heretics to turn Catholics, it is our will and pleaſure, and we do hereby expreſsly command, that all ſuch as ſhall embrace the holy Roman faith, ſhall enjoy an exemption from all and every tax for the ſpace of five years, commencing from the day of their converſion." The duke of Savoy likewiſe eſtabliſhed a court, called, The council for extirpating the heretics. This court was to enter into inquiries concerning the ancient privileges of the Proteſtant churches, and the decrees which had been, from time to time, made in favour of the Proteſtants. But the inveſtigation of theſe things was carried on with the moſt manifeſt partiality; old charters were wreſted to a wrong ſenſe, and ſophiſtry was uſed to pervert the meaning of every thing, which tended to favour the reformed.

Theſe ſeverities not ſeeming ſufficient, the duke, ſoon after, publiſhed another edict, in which he ſtrictly commanded, that no Proteſtant ſhould act as a ſchoolmaſter, or tutor, either in public or private, or dare to teach any art, ſcience, or language, directly or indirectly, to perſons of any perſuaſion whatever.

Another, equally ſevere, immediately followed this edict, which decreed, that no Proteſtant ſhould hold any place of profit, truſt, or honour; and to wind up the whole, the certain token of an approaching perſecution came forth in a final edict, by which it was poſitively ordered, that all Proteſtants ſhould diligently attend maſs.

The publication of an edict, containing ſuch an injunction, may be compared to unfurling the bloody flag; for murder and rapine were certain to follow. One of the firſt objects that attracted the notice of the Papiſts, was Mr. Sebaſtian Baſan, a zealous Proteſtant, who was ſeized by the miſſionaries, confined, tormented for fifteen months, and then committed to the flames.

Before the perſecution, the miſſionaries employed kidnappers to ſteal away the Proteſtants' children, that they might privately be brought up Roman-Catholics; but now they took away the children by open force, and if they met with any reſiſtance, the wretched parents were immediately murdered.

The duke of Savoy, to give greater vigour to the perſecution, called a general aſſembly of the Roman-Catholic nobility and gentry, when a ſolemn edict was publiſhed againſt the reformed, containing many heads, and including ſeveral reaſons for extirpating the Proteſtants; among which the following were the principal.

For the preſervation of the papal authority.

That the church livings may be all under one mode of government.

To make an union among all parties.

In honour of all the ſaints, and of the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

This ſevere edict was followed by a moſt cruel order, publiſhed on January 25, A. D. 1655, under the duke's ſanction, by Andrew Gaſtaldo, doctor of civil laws. This order ſet forth, "That every head of a family, with the individuals of that family, of the reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition ſoever, none excepted, inhabiting and poſſeſſing eſtates in Lucerne, St. Giovanni, Bibiana, Campiglione, St. Secondo, Lucernetta, La Torre, Fenile, and Bricheraſſio, ſhould, within three days after the publication thereof, withdraw and depart, and be withdrawn out of the ſaid places, and tranſlated into the places and limits tolerated by his highneſs during his pleaſure; particularly Bobbio, Angrogna, Villaro, Rorata, and the county of Bonetti.

"And all this to be done on pain of death, and confiſcation of houſe and goods, unleſs within the limited time they turned Roman-Catholics."

Such a ſpeedy flight, in the midſt of winter, may be conceived as no agreeable taſk, eſpecially in a country almoſt ſurrounded by mountains. The ſudden order affected all, and things, which would have been ſcarcely noticed at another time, now appeared in the moſt conſpicuous light. Women with child, or women juſt lain-in, were not objects of pity on this order for ſudden removal, for all were included in the command; and it unfortunately happened, that the winter was remarkably rigorous and ſevere.

However, the Papiſts drove the people from their habitations at the time appointed, without even ſuffering them to have ſufficient clothes to cover them; and many periſhed in the mountains through the ſeverity of the weather, or for want of food. Some, however, who remained behind after the decree was publiſhed, met with the ſevereſt treatment, being murdered by the Popiſh inhabitants, or ſhot by the troops who were quartered in the vallies. A particular deſcription of theſe cruelties is given in a letter, written by a Proteſtant, who was upon the ſpot, and who happily eſcaped the carnage. "The army, ſays he, having got footing, became very numerous, by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring Popiſh inhabitants, who finding we were the deſtined prey of the plunderers, fell upon us with an impetuous fury. Excluſive of the duke of Savoy's troops, and the Popiſh inhabitants, there were ſeveral regiments of French auxiliaries, ſome companies belonging to the Iriſh brigades, and ſeveral bands formed of outlaws, ſmugglers, and priſoners, who had been promiſed pardon and liberty in this world, and abſolution in the next, for aſſiſting to exterminate the Proteſtants from Piedmont.

"This armed multitude being encouraged by the Roman-Catholic biſhops and monks, fell upon the Proteſtants in a moſt furious manner. Nothing now was to be ſeen but the face of horror and deſpair; blood ſtained the floors of the houſes, dead bodies beſtrewed the ſtreets, groans and cries were heard from all parts. Some armed themſelves, and ſkirmiſhed with the troops; and many, with their families, fled to the mountains. In one village they cruelly tormented 150 women and children after the men were fled, beheading the women, and daſhing out the brains of the children. In the towns of Villaro and Bobbio, moſt of thoſe that refuſed to go to maſs, who were upwards of fifteen years of age, they crucified with their heads downwards; and the greater number of thoſe who were under that age were ſtrangled."

A woman of ſixty years of age, named Sarah Raſtignole des Vignes, being ſeized by ſome ſoldiers, they ordered her to ſay a prayer to ſome ſaints; which ſhe refuſing, they thruſt a ſickle into her belly, ripped her up, and then cut her head off.

A handſome young woman, of the name of Martha Conſtantine, was treated with great indecency and cruelty by ſeveral of the troops, who firſt raviſhed, and then killed her, by cutting off her breaſts. Theſe they fried, and ſet before ſome of their comrades, who eat them without knowing what they were. When they had done eating, the others told them what they had made a meal of, in conſequence of which a quarrel enſued, ſwords were drawn, and a battle took place. Several were killed in the fray, the greater part of whom were thoſe concerned in the horrid maſſacre of the woman, and who had practiſed ſuch an inhuman deception on their deluded comrades.

A man at Thraſſiniere was ſeized by ſome of the ſoldiers, who ran the points of their ſwords through his ears, and through his feet. They then tore off the nails of his fingers and toes with red-hot pincers, tied him to the tail of an aſs, and dragged him about the ſtreets; and, finally, faſtened a cord round his head, which they twiſted with a ſtick in ſo violent a manner as to wring it from his body.

A Proteſtant, of about eighty years of age, named Peter Simonds, was tied neck and heels, and then thrown down a precipice. In the fall the branch of a tree caught hold of the ropes that faſtened him, and ſuſpended him in the mid-way, ſo that he languiſhed for ſeveral days, and at length miſerably periſhed of hunger.

One Eſay Garcino, refuſing to renounce his religion, was cut into ſmall pieces; the ſoldiers, in ridicule, ſaying, they had minced him. A woman, named Armand, had every limb ſeparated from each other, and then the reſpective parts were hung upon a hedge. Two old women were ripped open, and left in the fields upon the ſnow, where they periſhed; and a very old woman, who was deformed, had her noſe and hands cut off, and was left in that manner to bleed to death.

There were ſeveral men, women, and children, flung from the rocks, and daſhed to pieces. Magdalen Bertino, a Proteſtant woman of La Torre, was ſtripped ſtark naked, her head tied between her legs, and thrown down one of the precipices; and Mary Raymondet, of the ſame town, had her fleſh ſliced from her bones till ſhe expired in the greateſt agony.

Likewiſe Magdalen Pilot, of Villaro, was cut to pieces in the cave of Caſtolus; Ann Charboniere had one end of a ſtake thruſt up her body; and the other end being fixed in the ground, ſhe was left in that manner to periſh; and Jacob Perrin the elder, of the church of Villaro, and David, his brother, were flayed alive.

Giovanni Andrea Michialin, an inhabitant of La Torre, was apprehended, with four of his children; three of them were hacked to pieces before him, the ſoldiers aſking him, at the death of every child, if he would renounce his religion? which he conſtantly refuſed. One of the ſoldiers then took up the laſt and youngeſt by the legs, and putting the ſame queſtion to the father, he replied as before, when the inhuman brute daſhed out the child's brains. The father, however, at the ſame moment ſtarted from them, and fled: the ſoldiers fired after him, but miſſed him; and he, by the ſwiftneſs of his heels, eſcaped to the Alps, where he took refuge.

Account of the PERSECUTIONS *in the Vallies of* PIEDMONT, *in the Seventeenth Century.*

GIOVANNI PELANCHION, for refuſing to turn Papiſt, was tied by one leg to the tail of a mule, and dragged through the ſtreets of Lucerne, amidſt the acclamations of an inhuman mob, who kept ſtoning him, and crying out, He is poſſeſſed with the Devil, ſo that neither ſtoning, nor dragging him through the ſtreets, will kill him, for the Devil keeps him alive. They then took him to the river ſide, chopped off his head, and left that and his body unburied, upon the bank of the river.

The daughter of Peter Fontaine, a beautiful child of ten years of age, named Magdalene, was raviſhed and murdered by the ſoldiers. Another girl, of about the ſame age, they roaſted alive at Villa Nova; and a poor woman, hearing the ſoldiers were coming towards her houſe, ſnatched up the cradle in which her infant ſon was aſleep, and fled towards the woods. The ſoldiers, however, ſaw and purſued her, when ſhe lightened herſelf by putting down the cradle and child, which the ſoldiers no ſooner came to, than they murdered the infant, and continuing the purſuit, found the mother in a cave, where they firſt raviſhed, and then cut her to atoms.

Jacopo Michelino, chief elder of the church of Bobbio, and ſeveral other Proteſtants, were hung up by means of hooks fixed in their bellies, and left to expire in the moſt excruciating agony.

Likewiſe, Giovanni Roſtagnal, a venerable Proteſtant, upwards of fourſcore years of age, had his noſe and ears cut off, and ſlices cut from the fleſhy parts of his body, till he bled to death.

The following ſeven perſons, Daniel Saleagio and his wife, Giovanni Durant, Lodwich Durant, Bartholomew Durant, Daniel Revel, and Paul Reynaud, had their mouths ſtuffed with gunpowder, which being ſet fire to, their heads were blown to pieces.

Alſo, Jacob Birone, a ſchool-maſter of Rorata, for refuſing to change his religion, was ſtripped quite naked; and after having been very indecently expoſed, had the nails of his toes and fingers torn off with red hot pincers, and holes bored through his hands with the point of a dagger. He then had a cord tied round his middle, and was led through the ſtreets with a ſoldier on each ſide of him. At every turning the ſoldier on his right-hand ſide cut a gaſh in his fleſh, and the ſoldier on his left-hand ſide ſtruck him with a bludgeon, both ſaying, at the ſame inſtant, Will you go to maſs? Will you go to maſs? He ſtill replied in the negative to theſe interrogatories, and being at length taken to the bridge, they cut off his head on the baluſtrades, and threw both that and his body into the river.

A very pious Proteſtant, named Paul Garnier, had his eyes put out, was then flayed alive, and being divided into four parts, his quarters were placed on four of the principal houſes of Lucerne. He bore all his ſufferings with the moſt exemplary patience, praiſed God as long as he could ſpeak, and plainly evinced, what confidence and reſignation a good conſcience can beſtow.

Daniel Cardon, of Rocappiata, being apprehended by ſome ſoldiers, they cut his head off, and having fried his brains, eat them. Two poor old blind women, of St. Giovanni, were burnt alive; and a widow of La Torre, with her daughter, were driven into the river, and ſtoned to death there.

There was one Paul Giles, who, on attempting to run away from ſome ſoldiers, was ſhot in the neck: they then ſlit his noſe, ſliced his chin, ſtabbed him, and gave his carcaſe to the dogs.

When ſome of the Iriſh troops had taken eleven men of Garcigliana priſoners, they made a furnace red-hot, and forced them to puſh each other in till they came to the laſt man, whom they themſelves puſhed in.

A man about ninety years of age, named Michael Gonet, was burnt to death; Baptiſta Oudri, another old man, was ſtabbed; and Bartholomew Fraſche had holes made in his heels, through which ropes being put, he was dragged by them to the gaol, where his wounds mortified, and accelerated his diſſolution.

Magdalene de la Peire being purſued by ſome of the ſoldiers, and taken, was thrown down a precipice, and daſhed to pieces. Margaret Revella, and Mary Pravillerin, two very old women, were burnt alive; and Michael Bellino, with Ann Bochardno, were decapitated.

Both the ſon and daughter of a counſellor of Giovanni, were rolled down a ſteep hill together, and ſuffered to periſh in a deep pit at the bottom. A tradeſman's family, conſiſting of himſelf, his wife, and an infant in arms, were caſt from a rock, and daſhed to pieces; and Joſeph Chairet, and Paul Carniero, were flayed alive.

When Cypriania Buſtia was aſked if he would renounce his religion, and turn Roman-Catholic, he replied, I would rather renounce life, or turn dog: to which a prieſt anſwered, for that expreſſion you ſhall both renounce life, and be given to the dogs. They, accordingly, dragged him to priſon, where he continued a conſiderable time without food, till he was famiſhed; after which they threw his corpſe into the ſtreet before the priſon, and it was devoured in a moſt ſhocking manner by dogs.

Joſeph Pont was cut through the middle of his body; Margaret Soretta was ſtoned to death, and then thrown into the river; and Antonio Bertina had his head cleft aſunder.

While Daniel Maria, and his whole family, were ill of a fever, ſeveral Papiſt ruffians broke into his houſe, telling him they were practical phyſicians, and would give them all preſent eaſe, which they did, by knocking the whole family on the head and murdering them.

There were three infant children of a Proteſtant, named Peter Fine, covered with ſnow, and ſtifled; an elderly widow, named Judith, was beheaded; and a beautiful young woman was ſtripped naked, and had a ſtake driven through her body, of which ſhe died.

The wife of Peter Beſſon, named Lucy, a woman far gone in her pregnancy, who lived in one of the villages of the Piedmonteſe vallies, determined, if poſſible, to eſcape from ſuch dreadful ſcenes as every where ſurrounded her: ſhe, accordingly, took two young children, one in each hand, and ſet off towards the Alps. But on the third day of the journey ſhe was taken in labour among the mountains, and delivered of an infant, who periſhed through the extreme inclemency of the weather, as did the other two children; for all three were found dead by her, and herſelf juſt expiring, by the perſon to whom ſhe related the above circumſtances.

One Francis Gros, the ſon of a clergyman, had his fleſh ſlowly cut from his body into ſmall pieces, and put into a diſh before him: two of his children were minced before his ſight; and his wife was faſtened to a poſt, that ſhe might behold all theſe cruelties practiſed on her huſband and offſpring. The tormentors, at length, being tired of exerciſing their cruelties, cut off the heads of both huſband and wife, and then gave the fleſh to the dogs of the whole family.

The ſieur Thomas Margher fled to a cave, when the ſoldiers ſhut up the mouth, and he periſhed with famine. Judith Revelin, with ſeven children, were barbarouſly murdered in their beds; and a widow, of near fourſcore years of age, was by ſoldiers hewn to pieces.

Jacob Roſeno was ordered to pray to the ſaints, which he abſolutely refuſed to do: ſome of the ſoldiers beat him violently with bludgeons to make him comply, but he ſtill refuſing, ſeveral of them fired at him, and lodged a great many balls in his body. As he was almoſt expiring they cried to him, Will you call upon the ſaints? Will you pray to the ſaints? To which he anſwered, No! No! No! when one of the ſoldiers, with a broad ſword, clove his head aſunder, and put an end to his ſufferings in this world; but no doubt his integrity and fortitude has inſured him everlaſting happineſs.

A ſoldier, attempting to raviſh a young woman, named Suſanna Giacquin, ſhe made a ſtout reſiſtance, and in the ſtruggle, puſhed him over a precipice, when he was daſhed to pieces by the fall. His comrades, inſtead of admiring the virtue of the young woman, and applauding her for ſo nobly defending her chaſtity, fell upon her with their ſwords, and cut her to atoms.

A poor peaſant of La Torre, named Giovanni Pullius, being apprehended as a Proteſtant by the ſoldiers, was ordered by the marquis of Pianeſſa, to be executed in a place near the convent. When he came to the gallows, ſeveral monks attended, and did all they could to perſuade him to renounce his religion. But he told them, he never would embrace idolatry, and that he was happy in being thought worthy to ſuffer for the name of Chriſt. They then put him in mind of what his wife and children, who depended upon his labour, would ſuffer after his deceaſe: to which he replied, I would have my wife and children, as well as myſelf, to conſider their ſouls more than their bodies, and the next world before this; and with reſpect to the diſtreſs I may leave them in, God is merciful, and will provide for them while they are worthy of his protection. Finding the inflexibility of this poor man, the monks cried, Turn him off, turn him off: which the executioner did almoſt immediately, and the body being afterwards cut down, was flung into the river with indignity.

An elder of the church of Roſſana, named Paul Clement, being apprehended by the monks of a neighbouring monaſtery, was carried to the market-place of that town, where ſome Proteſtants having juſt been executed by the ſoldiers, he was ſhewn the dead bodies, in order that the ſight might intimidate him. On beholding the ſhocking objects, he ſaid calmly, You may kill the body, but you cannot prejudice the ſoul of a true believer; but, with reſpect to the dreadful ſpectacles which you have here ſhewn me, you may reſt aſſured, that God's vengeance will overtake the murderers of thoſe poor people, and puniſh them for the innocent blood they have ſpilt. The monks were ſo exaſperated at this reply, that they ordered him to be hung up directly; and while he was hanging, the ſoldiers amuſed themſelves in ſtanding at a diſtance, and ſhooting at the body as if it were a mark ſet up for ſport.

Daniel Rambaut, of Villaro, the father of a numerous family, was apprehended, and, with ſeveral others, committed to priſon, in the gaol of Payſana. Here he was viſited by ſeveral prieſts, who, with continual importunities, did all they could to perſuade him to renounce the Proteſtant religion, and turn Papiſt; but this he peremptorily refuſed, and the prieſts finding his reſolution, pretended to pity his numerous family, and told him, that he might yet have his life, if he would ſubſcribe to the belief of the Romiſh articles as follow:

1. "The real preſence in the hoſt.
2. "Tranſubſtantiation.
3. "Purgatory.
4. "The pope's infallibility.
5. "That maſſes ſaid for the dead will releaſe ſouls from purgatory.
6. "That praying to ſaints will procure the remiſſion of ſins."

Hereupon Daniel Rambaut told the prieſts, that neither his religion, his underſtanding, or his conſcience, would ſuffer him to ſubſcribe to any of theſe propoſed articles, for very ſufficient reaſons, viz.

1. "That to believe the real preſence in the hoſt, is a ſhocking union of both blaſphemy and idolatry.

2. "That to fancy the words of conſecration performs what the Papiſts call tranſubſtantiation, by converting

the wafer and wine into the real and identical body and blood of Chriſt, which was crucified, and which afterwards aſcended into heaven, is too groſs an abſurdity for even a child to believe, who was come to the leaſt glimmering of reaſon; and that nothing but the moſt blind ſuperſtition could make the Roman-Catholics put a confidence in any thing ſo completely ridiculous.

3. "That the doctrine of purgatory was more inconſiſtent and abſurd than a fairy tale.

4. "That the pope's being infallible was an impoſſibility, and the pope arrogantly laid claim to what could belong to God only, as a perfect being.

5. "That ſaying maſſes for the dead was ridiculous, and only meant to keep up a belief in the fable of purgatory, as the fate of all is finally decided, on the departure of the ſoul from the body.

6. "That praying to ſaints for the remiſſion of ſins, is miſplacing adoration; as the ſaints themſelves have occaſion for an interceſſor in Chriſt. Therefore as God only can pardon our errors, we ought to ſue to him alone for pardon."

So highly offended were the prieſts at M. Rambaut's anſwers to the articles to which they would have had him ſubſcribe, that they determined to ſhake his reſolution by the moſt cruel method imaginable: they ordered one joint of his fingers to be cut off every day, till all his fingers were gone: they then proceeded in the ſame manner with his toes; afterwards they alternately cut off, daily, a hand and a foot; but finding that he bore his ſufferings with the moſt admirable patience, increaſed both in fortitude and reſignation, and maintained his faith with ſtedfaſt reſolution, and unſhaken conſtancy, they ſtabbed him to the heart, and then gave his body to the dogs to be devoured.

A Proteſtant gentleman of conſiderable eminence, whoſe name was Peter Gabriola, being ſeized by a troop of ſoldiers, and refuſing to renounce his religion, they hung a great number of little bags of gunpowder about his body, and then ſetting fire to them blew him up.

Anthony, the ſon of Samuel Catieris, a poor dumb lad, who was extremely inoffenſive, was cut to pieces by a party of the troops; and ſoon after the ſame ruffians entered the houſe of Peter Moniriat, and cut off the legs of the whole family, leaving them to bleed to death, as they were unable to aſſiſt themſelves, or help each other in that melancholy plight.

Daniel Benech being apprehended, had his noſe ſlit, his ears cut off, and was then divided into quarters, each quarter being hung upon a tree; and Mary Monino had her jaw bones broke, and was then left to languiſh till ſhe was ſtarved to death.

A handſome widow, named Mary Pelanchion, belonging to the town of Villaro, was ſeized by a party of the Iriſh brigades, who having beat her cruelly, and raviſhed her, dragged her to a high bridge which croſſed the river, and ſtripped her naked in a moſt indecent manner, hung her by the legs to the bridge, with her head downwards towards the water, and then going into boats, they fired at her till ſhe died.

Alſo, Mary Nigrino, and her daughter, who was an idiot, were cut to pieces in the woods, and their bodies left to be devoured by wild beaſts: Suſanna Bales, a widow of Villaro, was immured till ſhe periſhed through hunger; and Suſanna Calvio, running away from ſome ſoldiers, and hiding herſelf in a barn, they ſet fire to the ſtraw, by which ſhe was burnt to death.

A child named Daniel Bertino was burnt; Paul Armand was hacked to pieces; Daniel Michialino had his tongue plucked out, and was left to periſh in that condition; and Andreo Bertino, a very old man, who was lame, was mangled in a moſt ſhocking manner, and at length had his belly ripped open and his bowels carried about on the point of a halbert.

A Proteſtant lady, whoſe name was Conſtantia Bellione, being apprehended on account of her faith, was aſked by a prieſt if ſhe would renounce the Devil and go to maſs; to which ſhe replied, "I was brought up in a religion, by which I was always taught to renounce the Devil; but ſhould I comply with your deſire, and go to maſs, I ſhould be ſure to meet him there in a variety of ſhapes." The prieſt was highly incenſed at what ſhe ſaid, and told her to recant, or ſhe ſhould ſuffer cruelly. The lady, however, boldly anſwered, that ſhe valued not any ſufferings he could inflict, and in ſpite of all the torments he could invent, ſhe would keep her conſcience pure and her faith inviolate. The prieſt then ordered ſlices of her fleſh to be cut off from ſeveral parts of her body, which cruelty ſhe bore with the moſt ſingular patience, only ſaying to the prieſt, what horrid and laſting torments will you ſuffer in hell, for the trifling and temporary pains which I now endure. Exaſperated at this expreſſion, and willing to ſtop her tongue, the prieſt ordered a file of muſqueteers to draw up and fire upon her, by which ſhe was ſoon diſpatched, and ſealed her martyrdom with her blood.

Judith Mandon, a young woman, for refuſing to change her religion and embrace Popery, was faſtened to a ſtake, and ſticks thrown at her from a diſtance, in the very ſame manner as that barbarous cuſtom which was formerly practiſed on Shrove-Tueſday of ſhying at cocks as it was termed. By this inhuman proceeding, her limbs were beat and mangled in a moſt terrible manner, and at laſt one of the bludgeons daſhed the poor creature's brains out.

Paul Genre and David Paglia, attempting to eſcape to the Alps, with each his ſon, were purſued and overtaken by the ſoldiers in a large plain. Here they hunted them for their diverſion, goading them with their ſwords, and making them run about till they dropped down with fatigue. When they found that their ſpirits were quite exhauſted, and that they could not afford them any more barbarous ſport, by running, the ſoldiers hacked them to pieces, and left their mangled bodies on the ſpot.

Michael Greve, a young man of Bobbio, was apprehended in the town of La Torre, and being led to the bridge, was thrown over into the river. As he could ſwim very well, he ſwam down the ſtream, thinking to eſcape, but the ſoldiers and mob followed on both ſides the river, and kept ſtoning him, till receiving a blow on one of his temples, he was ſtunned, and conſequently ſunk and was drowned.

One David Armand was ordered to lay his head down on a block, when a ſoldier, with a large hammer, beat out his brains. David Baridona being apprehended at Villaro, was carried to La Torre, where refuſing to renounce his religion, he was tormented by means of brimſtone matches being tied between his fingers and toes, and ſet fire to, and afterwards, by having his fleſh plucked off with red hot pincers, till he expired; and Giovanni Barolina, with his wife, were thrown into a pool of ſtagnant water, and compelled, by means of pitch-forks and ſtones, to duck down their heads till they were ſuffocated with the ſtench.

Several ſoldiers went to the houſe of Joſeph Garniero, and before they entered, fired in at the window, to give notice of their approach. A muſquet ball entered one of Mrs. Garniero's breaſts, as ſhe was ſuckling an infant with the other. On finding their intentions, ſhe begged hard that they would ſpare the life of the infant, which they promiſed to do, and ſent it immediately to a Roman-Catholic nurſe. They then took the huſband and hanged him at his own door, and having ſhot the wife through the head, they left her body weltering in it's blood, and her huſband hanging on the gallows they erected.

An elderly man, named Iſaiah Mondon, and a pious Proteſtant, fled from the mercileſs perſecutors to a cleft in a rock, where he ſuffered the moſt dreadful hardſhips; for, in the midſt of the winter, he was forced to lay on the bare ſtone, without any covering; his food was the roots he could ſcratch up near his miſerable habitation; and the only way by which he could procure drink, was to put ſnow in his mouth till it melted. Here, however, ſome of the inhuman ſoldiers found him, and after having beaten him unmercifully, they drove him towards Lucerne, goading him with the points of their ſwords. Being exceedingly weakened by his manner of living, and his ſpirits exhauſted by the blows he had received, he fell down in the road. They again beat him to make him proceed; when, on his knees, he implored them to put him out of his miſery, by diſpatching him. This they at laſt agreed to do; and one of them ſtepping up to him, ſhot him through the head with a piſtol, ſaying, "There, heretic, take thy requeſt."

A worthy Proteſtant, of the name of Mary Revel, received a ſhot in her back, as ſhe was walking along the ſtreet. She dropped down with the wound, but recovering ſufficient ſtrength, ſhe raiſed herſelf upon her knees, and lifting her hands towards heaven, prayed in a moſt fervent manner to the Almighty; when a number of ſoldiers, who were near at hand, fired a whole volley of ſhot at her, many of which took place, and in an inſtant put an end to her miſeries.

A number of men, women, and children, ſecreted themſelves in a large cave, where they continued for ſome weeks in ſafety. It was the cuſtom for two of the men to go when it was neceſſary, and by ſtealth procure proviſions. Theſe were, however, one day watched, by which the cave was diſcovered, and, ſoon after, a troop of Roman-Catholics appeared before it. The Papiſts that aſſembled upon this occaſion were neighbours, and intimate acquaintances of the Proteſtants in the cave; and ſome of them were even related to each other. The Proteſtants, therefore, came out, and implored them, by the ties of hoſpitality, by the ties of blood, and as old acquaintances and neighbours, not to murder them. But ſuperſtition overcomes every ſenſation of nature and humanity; ſo that the Papiſts, blinded by bigotry, told them, they could not ſhew any mercy to heretics, and, therefore, bad them all prepare to die. Hearing this, and knowing the fatal obſtinacy of the Roman-Catholics, the Proteſtants all fell proſtrate, lifted their hands and hearts to heaven, prayed with great ſincerity and fervency, and then bowing down, put their faces cloſe to the ground, and patiently awaited their fate, which was ſoon decided, for the Papiſts fell upon them with unremitting fury, and having cut them to pieces, committed to the cave their mangled bodies and limbs.

As Giovanni Salvagiot was paſſing by a Roman-Catholic church, for not taking off his hat, he was followed by ſome of the congregation, who fell upon and murdered him; and Jacob Barrel and his wife, having been taken priſoners by the earl of St. Secondo, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, he delivered them up to the ſoldiery, who cut off the woman's breaſts, and the man's noſe, and then ſhot both through the head.

A Proteſtant, named Anthony Guiguo, of a wavering diſpoſition, went to Periero, with an intent to renounce his religion, and embrace Popery. This deſign he communicated to ſome prieſts, who highly commended it, and a day was fixed upon for his public recantation. In the mean time, Anthony grew fully ſenſible of his perfidy, and his conſcience tormented him ſo much, night and day, that he determined not to recant, but to make his eſcape. This he effected, but being ſoon miſſed and purſued, he was taken. The troops on the way did all they could to bring him back to his deſign of recantation; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, they beat him violently on the road, when coming near a precipice, he took an opportunity of leaping down it, and was daſhed to piece-meal.

A Proteſtant, who was a gentleman of conſiderable fortune at Bobbio, being highly provoked by the inſolence of a prieſt, retorted with great ſeverity; and, among other things, ſaid, that the pope was Antichriſt, maſs idolatry, purgatory a farce, and abſolution a cheat. To be revenged, the prieſt hired five deſperate ruffians, who, the ſame evening, broke into the gentleman's houſe, and ſeized upon him in a violent manner. The gentleman was terribly frightened, fell on his knees, and implored mercy; but the deſperate ruffians, without the leaſt heſitation, diſpatched him.

An HISTORICAL SKETCH *of the* PIEDMONTESE WAR.

THE maſſacres and murders already mentioned to have been committed in the vallies of Piedmont, nearly depopulated moſt of the towns and villages. One place only had not been aſſaulted, and that was owing to the difficulty of approaching it: this was the little commonalty of Roras, which was ſituated upon an eminence.

When the work of blood grew ſlack in other places, the earl of Chriſtople, one of the duke of Savoy's officers, determined, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of it; and, with that view, detached three hundred men to ſurpriſe it unawares.

However, the inhabitants of Roras had intelligence of the approach of theſe troops, when captain Joſhua Gianavel, a brave Proteſtant officer, put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of the citizens, and waited in ambuſcade, to attack the enemy in a narrow paſſage.

As ſoon as the troops appeared, and had entered the paſſage, which was the only place by which the town could be approached, the Proteſtants kept up a ſmart and well directed fire againſt them, and ſtill kept themſelves concealed behind buſhes from the ſight of the enemy. A great number of the ſoldiers were killed, and the remainder receiving a continual fire, and not ſeeing any to whom they might return it, thought proper to make a precipitate retreat.

Whereupon the members of this little community ſent a memorial to the marquis of Pianeſſa, one of the duke's general officers, ſetting forth, "That they were ſorry, upon any occaſion, to be under the neceſſity of taking up arms; but that the ſecret approach of a body of troops, without any reaſon aſſigned, or any previous notice ſent of the purpoſe of their coming, had greatly alarmed them; that as it was their cuſtom never to ſuffer any of the military to enter their little community, they had repelled force by force, and ſhould do ſo again; but in all other reſpects, they profeſſed themſelves dutiful, obedient, and loyal ſubjects to their ſovereign, the duke of Savoy."

Now the marquis of Pianeſſa, that he might have the better opportunity of deluding and ſurpriſing the Proteſtants of Roras, ſent them word in anſwer, "That he was perfectly ſatisfied with their behaviour, for they had done right, and even rendered a ſervice to their country, as the men who had attempted to paſs the defile were not his troops, or ſent by him, but a band of deſperate robbers, who had, for ſome time, infeſted thoſe parts, and been a terror to the neighbouring country." To give a greater colour to his treachery, he then publiſhed the following proclamation.

"*To the Inhabitants of all the Towns, Villages, Hamlets, &c. in Piedmont, and the Appendages thereunto belonging; and to the united Troops belonging to, or in the Pay of, his Highneſs the Duke of Savoy, greeting:*

"WHEREAS the inhabitants of Roras have bravely and loyally routed, killed, or expelled, a band of bloody robbers, and deſperate outlaws, and thereby rendered an eſſential ſervice to the country in general. Be it, therefore, known, that all perſons are ſtrictly ordered and commanded, in the duke's name, not to injure, moleſt, or diſturb any of the inhabitants of Roras, but to do them every poſſible ſervice, in return for the benefit which the ſtate hath received from them.

"PIANESSA.

"*Given at the Camp near Villaro.*"

However, the very day after this plauſible proclamation, and ſpecious conduct, the marquis ſent 500 men to poſſeſs themſelves of Roras, while the people, as he thought, were lulled into perfect ſecurity, by his diſſimulation.

But Captain Gianavel was not to be deceived ſo eaſily: he, therefore, laid an ambuſcade for this body of troops, as he had for the former, and compelled them to retire with a loſs very conſiderable.

The marquis Pianeſſa, though foiled in theſe two attempts, determined on a third, which ſhould be ſtill more formidable; but firſt he imprudently publiſhed another proclamation, diſowning any knowledge of the ſecond attempt.

Shortly after, 700 choſen men were ſent upon the expedition, who, in ſpite of the fire from the Proteſtants, forced the defile, entered Roras, and began to murder every perſon they met with, without diſtinction of ſex or age. The Proteſtant captain Gianavel, at the head of a ſmall body, though he had loſt the defile, determined to diſpute their paſſage through a fortified paſs, that led to the richeſt and beſt part of the town. Here he was ſucceſsful, by keeping up a continual fire, and by means of his men being all complete markſmen. The Roman-Catholic commander was greatly ſtaggered at this oppoſition, as he imagined that he had ſurmounted all difficulties. He, however, did his endeavours to force the paſs, but being able to bring up only twelve men in front at a time, and the Proteſtants being ſecured by a breaſt-work, he found he ſhould be baffled by the handful of men who made the oppoſition.

Provoked at the loſs of ſo many of his troops, and fearful of diſgrace if he perſiſted in attempting what appeared ſo impracticable, he thought it the wiſeſt thing to retreat. Unwilling, however, to withdraw his men by the defile at which he had entered, on account of the difficulty and danger of the enterprize, he deſigned to retreat towards Villaro, by another paſs called Piampra, which, though hard of acceſs, was eaſy of deſcent. But in this he met with a diſappointment, for captain Gianavel having poſted his little band here, greatly annoyed the troops as they paſſed, and even purſued their rear till they entered the open country.

Hereupon the marquis of Pianeſſa, finding that all his attempts were fruſtrated, and that every artifice he uſed was only an alarm-ſignal to the inhabitants of Roras, reſolved to act openly, and therefore proclaimed, that ample rewards ſhould be given to any one who would bear arms againſt the obdurate heretics of Roras, as he called them; and that any officer, who would exterminate them, ſhould be conſiderably rewarded.

This ſtimulated captain Mario, a bigoted Roman-Catholic, and a deſperate ruffian, to undertake the enterprize. He, therefore, obtained leave to raiſe a regiment in the following ſix towns: Lucerne, Borges, Famolas, Bobbio, Cavos, and Bagnal.

When he had completed his regiment, which conſiſted of 1000 men, he laid his plan not to go by the defiles, or the paſſes, but to attempt gaining the ſummit of a rock, from whence he imagined he could pour his men into the town, without much oppoſition or difficulty.

Now the Proteſtants ſuffered the Roman-Catholic troops to gain almoſt the ſummit of the rock, without giving them any oppoſition, or ever appearing in their ſight: but when they had almoſt reached the top, they made a moſt furious attack upon them; one party keeping up a well-directed and conſtant fire, and another party rolling down ſtones of a great weight.

By this means the career of the Papiſt troops was ſtopped: many were killed by the muſquetry, and more by the ſtones, which beat them down the precipices. Several fell ſacrifices to their hurry, for by attempting a precipitate retreat, they fell down, and were daſhed to pieces; and captain Mario himſelf narrowly eſcaped with life, for he fell from a craggy place into a river which waſhed the foot of the rock. He was taken up ſenſeleſs, but afterwards recovered, though he was ill of the bruiſes for a long time; and, at length, fell into a decline at Lucerne, where he expired.

There was another body of troops ordered from the camp at Villaro, to make an attempt upon Roras; but theſe were likewiſe defeated, by means of the Proteſtants ambuſh-fighting, and compelled to retreat again to the camp at Villaro.

Captain Gianavel, after each of theſe ſignal victories, made a ſuitable diſcourſe to his men, cauſing them to kneel down, and return thanks to the Almighty for his providential protection; and uſually concluded with the 11th pſalm, where the ſubject is, placing confidence in the Creator.

Still the marquis of Pianeſſa, greatly enraged at being ſo much baffled by the few inhabitants of Roras, determined, at all events, to attempt their expulſion, in ſuch a manner as could hardly fail of ſucceeding.

For this purpoſe he ordered all the Roman-Catholic militia of Piedmont to be raiſed and diſciplined. When theſe orders were completed, he joined to the militia eight thouſand regular troops, and dividing the whole into three diſtinct bodies, he deſigned, that three formidable attacks ſhould be made at the ſame time, unleſs the people of Roras, to whom he ſent an account of his great preparations, would comply with his conditions, which were as follow:

1. " To aſk pardon for taking up arms.
2. " To pay the expences of all the expeditions ſent againſt them.
3. " To acknowledge the infallibility of the pope.
4. " To go to maſs.
5. " To pray to the ſaints.
6. " To wear beards.
7. " To deliver up their miniſters.
8. " To deliver up their ſchool-maſters.
9. " To go to confeſſion.
10. " To pay loans for the delivery of ſouls from purgatory.
11. " To give up captain Gianavel at diſcretion.
12. " To give up the elders of their church at diſcretion."

But the inhabitants of Roras, on being acquainted with theſe conditions, were filled with an honeſt indignation; and, in anſwer, ſent word to the marquis, that ſooner than comply with them they would ſuffer three things, which, of all others, were the moſt obnoxious to mankind, namely,

1. " Their eſtates to be ſeized.
2. " Their houſes to be burnt.
3. " Themſelves to be murdered.

Enraged at this meſſage, the marquis ſent them the following laconic letter.

" *To the obſtinate* HERETICS *inhabiting* RORAS.

" YOU ſhall have your requeſt, for the troops ſent againſt you have ſtrict injunctions to plunder, burn, and kill.

" PIANESSA."

Hereupon the three armies were put into motion, and the attacks ordered to be made thus: the firſt by the rocks of Villaro; the ſecond by the paſs of Bagnol; and the third by the defile of Lucerne.

By the ſuperiority of numbers, the troops forced their way, and having gained the rocks, paſs, and defile, began to make the moſt horrid depredations, and exerciſe the greateſt cruelties. Men they hanged, burnt, racked to death, or cut to pieces; women they ripped open, crucified, drowned, or threw from the precipices; and children they toſſed upon ſpears, minced, cut their throats, or daſhed out their brains. On the firſt day of their gaining the town, one hundred and twenty-ſix ſuffered in this manner.

Purſuant to the marquis of Pianeſſa's orders, they likewiſe plundered the eſtates, and burnt the houſes of the people. Several Proteſtants, however, made their eſcape, under the conduct of captain Gianavel, whoſe wife and children were unfortunately made priſoners, and ſent to Turin under a ſtrong guard.

Upon this the marquis of Pianeſſa wrote a letter to captain Gianavel, and releaſed a Proteſtant priſoner, that he might carry it him. The contents were, that if the captain would embrace the Roman-Catholic religion, he ſhould be indemnified for all his loſſes ſince the commencement of the war; his wife and children ſhould be immediately releaſed, and himſelf honourably promoted in the duke of Savoy's army; but if he refuſed to accede to the propoſals made to him, his wife and children ſhould be put to death; and ſo large a reward ſhould be given to take him, dead or alive, that even ſome of his own confidential friends ſhould, from the greatneſs of the ſum, be tempted to betray him.

The following anſwer to this epiſtle was ſent by the brave Gianavel.

" MY LORD MARQUIS,

"THERE is no torment ſo great, or death ſo cruel, but what I would prefer to the abjuration of my religion:

gion: ſo that promiſes loſe their effects, and menaces only ſtrengthen me in my faith.

"With reſpect to my wife and children, my lord, nothing can be more afflicting to me than the thoughts of their confinement, or more dreadful to my imagination, than their ſuffering a violent and cruel death. I keenly feel all the tender ſenſations of huſband and parent; my heart is replete with every ſentiment of humanity; I would ſuffer any torment to reſcue them from danger; I would die to preſerve them.

"But having ſaid thus much, my lord, I aſſure you that the purchaſe of their lives muſt not be the price of my ſalvation. You have them in your power it is true; but my conſolation is. that your power is only a temporary authority over their bodies: you may deſtroy the mortal part, but their immortal ſouls are out of your reach, and will live hereafter, to bear teſtimony againſt you for your cruelties. I therefore recommend them and myſelf to God, and pray for a reformation in your heart.

"Joshua Gianavel."

When this brave Proteſtant officer had written the above letter, he retired to the Alps, with his followers; and being joined by a great number of other fugitive Proteſtants, he haraſſed the enemy by continual engagements.

One day meeting with a body of Papiſt troops, near Bibiana, he, though inferior in numbers, attacked them with great fury, and put them to the rout without the loſs of a man, though himſelf was ſhot through the leg in the engagement, by a ſoldier who had hid himſelf behind a tree; but Gianavel perceiving from whence the ſhot came, pointed his gun to the place, and diſpatched the perſon who had given the wound.

Now captain Gianavel hearing that a captain Jahier had collected together a conſiderable body of Proteſtants, wrote him a letter, propoſing a junction of their forces. Captain Jahier immediately agreed to the propoſal, and marched directly to meet Gianavel.

When the junction was formed, it was propoſed to attack a town (inhabited by Roman-Catholics) called Garcigliana. The aſſault was given with great ſpirit, but a reinforcement of horſe and foot having lately entered the town, which the Proteſtants knew nothing of, they were repulſed: yet made a maſterly retreat, and only loſt one man in the ſkirmiſh.

The next attempt of the Proteſtant forces was upon St. Secondo, which they attacked with great vigour, but met with a ſtrong reſiſtance from the Roman-Catholic troops, who had fortified the ſtreets, and planted themſelves in the houſes, from whence they poured muſquet-balls in prodigious numbers. The Proteſtants, however, advanced, under cover of a great number of planks, which ſome held over their heads, to ſecure them from the ſhot of the enemy from the houſes, while others kept up a well-directed fire; ſo that the houſes and intrenchments were ſoon forced, and the town taken without much difficulty.

They found a prodigious quantity of plunder in the town, which had been taken from the Proteſtants at various times, and different places, and which were ſtored up in the warehouſes, churches, dwelling-houſes, &c. This they removed to a place of ſafety, to be diſtributed among the ſufferers with as much juſtice as poſſible.

With ſuch ſkill and ſpirit this ſucceſsful attack was made, that it coſt very little to the conquering party; the Proteſtants having only 17 killed, and 26 wounded; while the Papiſts ſuffered a loſs of no leſs than 450 killed, and 511 wounded.

Now the following five Proteſtant officers, Gianavel, Jahier, Laurentio, Genolet, and Benet, laid a plan to ſurpriſe Briqueras. To this end they marched in five reſpective bodies, and, by agreement, were to make the attack at the ſame time. The captains Jahier and Laurentio paſſed through two defiles in the woods, and came to the place in ſafety, under cover; but the other three bodies made their approaches through an open country, and, conſequently, were more expoſed to an attack.

As ſoon as the Roman-Catholics took the alarm, a great number of troops were ſent to relieve Briqueras, from Cavors, Bibiana, Fenile, Campiglione, and ſome other neighbouring places. When theſe were united, they determined to attack the three Proteſtant parties, that were marching through the open country.

When the Proteſtant officers perceived the intent of the enemy, not being at a great diſtance from each other, they joined their forces with the utmoſt expedition, and formed themſelves in order of battle.

The captains Jahier and Laurentio had, in the mean time, aſſaulted the town of Briqueras, and burnt all the out-houſes, to make their approaches with the greater eaſe; but not being ſupported as they expected by the other three Proteſtant captains, they ſent a meſſenger, on a ſwift horſe, towards the open country, to inquire the reaſon of ſuch neglect.

In a ſhort time the meſſenger returned, and informed them that it was not in the power of the three Proteſtant captains to ſupport their proceedings, as they were themſelves attacked by a very ſuperior force in the plain, and could ſcarce ſuſtain the unequal engagement.

On receiving this intelligence, the captains Jahier and Laurentio determined to diſcontinue the aſſault on Briqueras, and to proceed, with all poſſible expedition, to the relief of their friends on the plain. This deſign proved to be of the moſt eſſential ſervice, for juſt as they arrived at the ſpot where the two armies were engaged, the Papiſt troops began to prevail, and were on the point of flanking the wing, commanded by captain Gianavel. The arrival of theſe troops turned the ſcale in favour of the Proteſtants; and the Papiſt forces, though they fought with a moſt obſtinate intrepidity, were totally defeated. A great number were killed and wounded on both ſides, and very conſiderable baggage, military ſtores, &c. were taken by the Proteſtants.

Now captain Gianavel, having information that three hundred of the enemy were to convoy a great quantity of ſtores, proviſions, &c. from La Torre to the caſtle of Mirabac, determined to attack them on the way. He, accordingly, began the aſſault at Malbec, though with a very inadequate force. The conteſt was long and bloody, but the Proteſtants, at length, were obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of numbers, and compelled to make a retreat, which they did with great regularity, and no conſiderable loſs.

Captain Gianavel advanced to an advantageous poſt, ſituated near the town of Villaro, and then ſent the following information and commands to the people thereof.

1. "That he ſhould attack the town in twenty-four hours.

2. "That with reſpect to the Roman-Catholics who had borne arms, whether they belonged to the army or not, he ſhould act by the law of retaliation, and put them to death, for the numerous depredations, and many cruel murders, they had committed.

3. "That all women and children, whatever their religion might be, ſhould be ſafe.

4. "That he commanded all male Proteſtants to leave the town, and join him.

5. "That all apoſtates, who had, through weakneſs, abjured their religion, ſhould be deemed enemies, unleſs they renounced their abjuration.

6. "That all who returned to their duty to God, and themſelves, ſhould be received as friends."

The majority of Proteſtants immediately left the town, and joined captain Gianavel with great ſatisfaction, and the few, who through weakneſs or fear had abjured their faith, recanted their abjuration, and were received into the boſom of the church. As the marquis of Pianeſſa had removed the army, and encamped in quite a different part of the country, the Roman-Catholics in Villaro thought it would be folly to pretend to defend the place with the ſmall force they had. They, therefore, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving the town, and moſt of their property, to the diſcretion of the Proteſtant invaders.

Now when the Proteſtant commanders had called a council of war, they reſolved to make an attempt upon the town of La Torre, for the four following reaſons:

1. "Becauſe it was a place of great importance.

2. "Becauſe it contained a great quantity of military ſtores and proviſions.

3. "Becauſe the inhabitants had been ſome of the moſt rigid of all the perſecutors of the Proteſtants.

4. "Becauſe it was garriſoned by troops drafted from the Iriſh brigades, who were the moſt cruel of all the troops to the Proteſtants whom they took priſoners."

As ſoon as the Papiſts were apprized of the deſign, they detached ſome troops to defend a defile, through which the Proteſtants muſt make their approach; but theſe were defeated, compelled to abandon the paſs, and forced to retreat to La Torre.

Now the Proteſtants proceeded on their march, and the troops of La Torre, on their near approach, made a furious ſally, but were repulſed with great loſs, and compelled to ſeek ſhelter in the town. The governor, it ſeems, only thought of defending the place, which the Proteſtants began to attack in form; but after many brave attempts, and furious aſſaults, the commanders determined to abandon the enterpriſe for ſeveral reaſons, particularly, becauſe they found the place itſelf too ſtrong, their own number too weak, and their cannon not adequate to the taſk of battering down the walls thereof.

When this reſolution was taken, the Proteſtant commanders began a maſterly retreat, and conducted it with ſuch regularity, that the enemy did not chuſe to purſue them, or moleſt their rear, which they might have done, as they paſſed the defiles.

On the next day they muſtered, reviewed the army, and found the whole to amount to four hundred and ninety-five men. They then held a council of war, and planned an eaſier enterprize: this was to make an attack upon the commonalty of Cruſol, a place inhabited by a number of the moſt bigoted Roman-Catholics, and who had exerciſed the moſt unheard-of cruelties on the Proteſtants during the perſecutions.

The inhabitants of Cruſol, hearing of the deſign againſt them, fled to a neighbouring fortreſs, ſituated on a rock, where the Proteſtants could not come at them, for a very few men could render it inacceſſible to a numerous army. Thus they ſecured their perſons, but were in too much hurry to ſecure their property, the principal part of which, indeed, had been plundered from the Proteſtants, and now luckily fell again to the poſſeſſion of the right owners. It conſiſted of many rich and valuable articles, and what, at that time, was of much more conſequence, viz. A great quantity of military ſtores, four hundred head of cattle, ſix hundred ſheep and goats, a greater number of cheeſes, many ſacks of flour, good ſtore of raiſins, and ſeveral butts of wine.

The day after the Proteſtants were gone with their booty, eight hundred troops arrived to the aſſiſtance of the people of Cruſol, having been diſpatched from Lucerne, Briqueras, Cavors, &c. But finding themſelves too late, and that a purſuit would be in vain, not to return empty handed, they began to plunder the neighbouring villages, though what they took was from their friends. After collecting a tolerable booty, they began to divide it, but diſagreeing about the different ſhares, they fell from words to blows, plundered each other, and thus did a great deal of miſchief to themſelves.

Likewiſe, on the very ſame day in which the Proteſtants were ſo ſucceſsful at Cruſol, ſome Papiſts marched with a deſign to plunder and burn the little Proteſtant village of Rocappiatta, but by the way they met with the Proteſtant forces belonging to the captains Jahier and Laurentio, who were poſted on the hill of Angrognia. A trivial engagement enſued, for the Roman-Catholics, on the very firſt attack, retreated in great confuſion, and were purſued with much ſlaughter. After the purſuit was over, ſome of the ſtraggling Papiſt troops meeting with a poor peaſant, who was a Proteſtant, tied a cord round his head, and ſtrained it till his ſkull was quite cruſhed.

The captains Gianavel and Jahier now concerted a deſign together, to make an attack upon Lucerne; but captain Jahier not bringing his forces at the time appointed, captain Gianavel determined to attempt the enterprize alone.

Accordingly, by a forced march, he proceeded towards that place during the whole night, and was cloſe to it by break of day. His firſt care was to cut the pipes that conveyed water into the town, and then to break down the bridge, by which alone proviſions from the country could be conveyed.

Captain Gianavel then aſſaulted the place, and ſpeedily poſſeſſed himſelf of two of the out-ports; but finding he could not make himſelf maſter of the place, he prudently retreated with very little loſs, blaming, however, captain Jahier, for the failure of the enterprize.

As ſoon as the Papiſts were informed that captain Gianavel was at Angrognia, with only his own company, they determined, if poſſible, to ſurpriſe him. With this view, a great number of troops were detached from La Torre, and other places: one party of theſe got on the top of a mountain, beneath which he was poſted; and the other party intended to poſſeſs themſelves of the gate of St. Bartholomew.

Now the Papiſts thought themſelves ſure of taking captain Gianavel and every one of his men, as they conſiſted but of three hundred, and their own force was two thouſand five hundred. Their deſign, however, was providentially fruſtrated, for one of the Popiſh ſoldiers imprudently blowing a trumpet before the ſignal for attack was given, captain Gianavel took the alarm, and poſted his little company ſo advantageouſly at the gate of St. Bartholomew, and at the defile by which the enemy muſt deſcend from the mountains, that the Roman-Catholic troops failed in both attacks, and were repulſed with a loſs very conſiderable.

Imemediately after, captain Jahier came to Angrognia, and joined his forces to thoſe of captain Gianavel, giving ſufficient reaſons to excuſe his already-mentioned failure. Captain Jahier now made ſeveral ſecret excurſions with great ſucceſs, ſelecting always ſome of the moſt active troops, belonging both to Gianavel and himſelf. One day he had put himſelf at the head of only forty-four men, to proceed upon an expedition, when entering a plain near Oſſac, he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a large body of horſe. Captain Jahier, and his men, fought deſperately, though oppreſſed by odds, and killed the commander in chief, three captains, and fifty-ſeven private men, of the enemy. But captain Jahier himſelf being killed, with thirty-five of his men, the reſt ſurrendered. One of the ſoldiers cut off captain Jahier's head, and carrying it to Turin, preſented it to the duke of Savoy, who gave him ſix hundred ducatoons as a reward.

The much lamented death of this gentleman was a ſignal loſs to the Proteſtants, as he was a real friend to, and champion of, the reformed church. He poſſeſſed a moſt undaunted ſpirit, ſo that no difficulties could deter him from undertaking an enterprize, or dangers terrify him in it's execution. He was pious without affectation, and humane without weakneſs; bold in the field, meek in a domeſtic life, of a penetrating genius, active in ſpirit, and in all his undertakings reſolute.

To complete the affliction of the Proteſtants, captain Gianavel was, ſoon after, wounded in ſuch a manner that he was obliged to keep his bed. They, however, took new courage from misfortunes, and determining not to let their ſpirits droop, attacked a body of Popiſh troops with great intrepidity; the Proteſtants were much inferior in numbers, but fought with more reſolution than the Papiſts, and at length routed them, with conſiderable ſlaughter. During the action, a ſerjeant, named Michael Bertino, was killed; when his ſon, who was cloſe behind him, leaped into his place, and ſaid, "I have loſt my father; but courage, fellow-ſoldiers, God is a father to us all."

There were ſeveral other ſkirmiſhes between the troops of La Torre and Tagliaretto, and the Proteſtant forces, which in general terminated in favour of the latter.

Andrion, a Proteſtant gentleman, raiſed a regiment of horſe, and took the command of it himſelf. The ſieur John Leger perſuaded a great number of Proteſtants to form themſelves into volunteer companies; and an excellent officer, named Michelin, inſtituted ſeveral bands of light troops. Theſe being all joined to the remains of the veteran Proteſtant troops (for great numbers had been loſt in the various battles, ſkirmiſhes, ſieges, &c.) compoſed a reſpectable army, which the officers thought proper to encamp near St. Giovanni.

Alarmed at the formidable appearance, and increaſed ſtrength of the Proteſtant forces, the Roman-Catholic commanders, determined, if poſſible, to diſlodge them from their encampment. With this view they collected together a large force, conſiſting of the principal part of the garriſons of the Roman-Catholic towns, the draft from the Iriſh brigades, a great number of regulars ſent by the marquis of Pianeſſa, the auxiliary troops, and the independent companies.

When theſe had formed a junction, they encamped near the Proteſtants, and ſpent ſeveral days in calling councils of war, and diſputing on the moſt proper mode of proceeding. Some were for plundering the country, in order to draw the Proteſtants from their camp; others were for patiently waiting till they were attacked; and a third party were for aſſaulting the Proteſtant camp, and trying to make themſelves maſters of every thing therein.

The laſt of them prevailed, and the morning after the reſolution had been taken was appointed to put it into execution. The Roman Catholic troops were accordingly ſeparated into four diviſions, three of which were to make an attack in different places; and the fourth to remain as a body of reſerve to act as occaſion might demand.

Previous to the attack, one of the Roman-Catholic officers harangued his men in the following manner.

"Fellow ſoldiers, you are now going to enter upon a great action, which will bring you fame and riches. The motives for your acting with ſpirit are likewiſe of the moſt important nature; namely, the honour of ſhewing your loyalty to your ſovereign, the pleaſure of ſpilling heretic blood, and the proſpect of plundering the Proteſtant camp. So, my brave fellows, fall on, give no quarter, kill all you meet, and take all you come near."

When this inhuman ſpeech was made, the engagement began, and the Proteſtant camp was attacked in three places with inconceivable fury. The fight was maintained with great obſtinacy and perſeverance on both ſides, continuing without intermiſſion for the ſpace of four hours; for the ſeveral companies on both ſides relieved each other alternately, and by that means kept up a continual fire during the whole engagement.

In the mean time a detachment was ſent from the body of reſerve to attack the poſt of Caſtelas, which, if the Papiſts had carried, it would have given them the command of the vallies of Peroſa, St. Martino, and Lucerne; but they were repulſed with great loſs, and compelled to return to the body of reſerve, from whence they had been detached.

In a ſhort time after the return of this detachment, the Roman-Catholic troops, being hard preſſed in the main battle, ſent for the body of reſerve to come to their ſupport. Theſe immediately marched to their aſſiſtance, and for ſome time longer held the event doubtful, but at length the valour of the Proteſtants prevailed, and the Papiſts were totally defeated, with the loſs of upwards of three hundred men killed, and many more wounded.

As ſoon as the ſyndic of Lucerne, who was indeed a Papiſt, but not a ſuperſtitious one, ſaw the great number of wounded men brought into that city, he exclaimed, Ah! I thought the wolves uſed to devour the heretics, but now I ſee the heretics eat the wolves. This expreſſion being reported to M. Marolles, the Roman-Catholic commander in chief at Lucerne, he ſent a very ſevere and threatening letter to the ſyndic, who was ſo terrified, that the fright threw him into a fever, and he died in a few days after he received it.

This memorable battle was fought juſt before the harveſt was got in; when the Papiſts, exaſperated at their diſgrace, and reſolved on any kind of revenge, ſpread themſelves by night in detached parties over the fineſt corn fields of the Proteſtants, and ſet them on fire in ſundry places. Some of theſe ſtraggling parties, however, ſuffered for their conduct; for the Proteſtants, being alarmed in the night by the blazing of the fire among the corn, purſued the fugitives early in the morning, and overtaking many put them to death. The Proteſtant captain Bellin, likewiſe, by way of retaliation, went with a body of light troops, and burnt the ſuburbs of La Torre, making his retreat afterwards with no great loſs.

Soon after, captain Bellin, with a much ſtronger body of troops, attacked the town of La Torre itſelf, and making a breach in the wall of the convent, his men entered, driving the garriſon into the citadel, and burning both town and convent. After having effected this, they made a regular retreat, as, for want of cannon, they could not reduce the citadel.

A full and particular Account of the PERSECUTIONS *of* MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, *a Native of* SPAIN.

MICHAEL DE MOLINOS, a Spaniard of a rich and honourable family, entered, when young into prieſt's orders, but would not accept of any preferment in the church. He poſſeſſed great natural abilities, which he dedicated to the ſervice of his fellow-creatures, without any view of emolument to himſelf. His courſe of life was pious and uniform; nor did he exerciſe thoſe auſterities which are common among the religious orders of the Romiſh church.

As he was of a contemplative turn of mind, he purſued the track of the myſtical divines, and having acquired great reputation in Spain, and being deſirous of propagating his ſublime mode of devotion, he left his own country, and ſettled at Rome. Here he ſoon connected himſelf with ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the literati, who ſo approved of his religious maxims, that they concurred in aſſiſting him to propagate them; and, in a ſhort time, he obtained a great number of followers, who, from the ſublime mode of their religion, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Quietiſts.

Molinos publiſhed a book, in 1675, entitled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, to which were ſubjoined recommendatory letters from ſeveral great perſonages. One of theſe was by the archbiſhop of Reggio; a ſecond by the general of the Franciſcans; and a third by father Martin de Eſparſa, a Jeſuit, who had been divinity-profeſſor both at Salamanca and Rome.

As ſoon as the book was publiſhed, it was greatly read, and highly eſteemed, both in Italy and Spain: this ſo raiſed the reputation of the author, that his acquaintance was coveted by the moſt reſpectable characters. Letters were written to him from numbers of people, ſo that a correſpondence was ſettled between him, and thoſe who approved of his method, in different parts of Europe. Some ſecular prieſts, both at Rome and Naples, declared themſelves openly for it, and conſulted him, as a ſort of oracle, on many occaſions. But thoſe who attached themſelves to him with the greateſt ſincerity, were ſome of the fathers of the Oratory; in particular three of the moſt eminent, namely, Coloredi, Ciceri, and Petrucci. Many of the cardinals alſo courted his acquaintance, and thought themſelves happy in being reckoned among the number of his friends. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of them was the cardinal d'Eſtrees, a man of very great learning, who ſo highly approved of Molinos's maxims, that he entered into a cloſe connection with him. They converſed together daily, and notwithſtanding the diſtruſt a Spaniard has naturally of a Frenchman, yet Molinos, who was ſincere in his principles, opened his mind without reſerve to the cardinal; and by this means a correſpondence was ſettled between Molinos and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in France.

Thus, whilſt Molinos was labouring to propagate his religious mode, father Petrucci wrote ſeveral letters and treatiſes relative to a contemplative life; but he mixed in them ſo many rules for the devotions of the Romiſh church, as mitigated that cenſure he might have otherwiſe

wiſe incurred. They were written chiefly for the uſe of the nuns, and therefore the ſenſe was expreſſed in a ſtyle the moſt eaſy and familiar.

By this time Molinos had acquired ſuch reputation, that the Jeſuits and Dominicans began to be greatly alarmed, and determined to put a ſtop to the progreſs of this new method. To do this it was neceſſary to decry the author of it; and as hereſy is an imputation that makes the ſtrongeſt impreſſion at Rome, Molinos and his followers were given out to be heretics. Books were alſo written by ſome of the Jeſuits againſt Molinos and his method; but they were all anſwered by Molinos with great and becoming ſpirit.

However, theſe diſputes occaſioned ſuch a diſturbance in Rome, that the whole affair was taken notice of by the inquiſition. Molinos and his book, and father Petrucci with his treatiſes and letters, were brought under a ſevere examination; and the Jeſuits were conſidered as the accuſers. One of the ſociety had, indeed, approved of Molinos's book: but the reſt took care he ſhould not be again ſeen at Rome. In the courſe of the examination both Molinos and Petrucci acquitted themſelves ſo well, that their books were again approved, and the anſwers which the Jeſuits had written were cenſured as ſcandalous and unbecoming.

The conduct of Petrucci on this occaſion was ſo highly approved, that it not only raiſed the credit of the cauſe, but his own emolument; for he was ſoon after made biſhop of Jeſis, which was a new declaration made by the pope in their favour. Their books were now eſteemed more than ever, their method was more followed, and the novelty of it, with the new approbation given after ſo vigorous an accuſation by the Jeſuits, all contributed to raiſe the credit, and increaſe the number of the party.

Father Petrucci's behaviour in his new dignity greatly contributed to increaſe his reputation, ſo that his enemies were unwilling to give him any further diſturbance; and, indeed, there was leſs occaſion given for cenſure by his writings than thoſe of Molinos. Some paſſages in the latter were not ſo cautiouſly expreſſed, but there was room to make exceptions to them; while, on the other hand, Petrucci ſo fully explained himſelf, as eaſily to remove the objections made to ſome parts of his letter.

Thus the great reputation acquired by Molinos and Petrucci, occaſioned a daily increaſe of the Quietiſts. All who were thought ſincerely devout, or at leaſt affected the reputation of it, were reckoned among the number. If theſe perſons were obſerved to become more ſtrict in their lives and mental devotions, yet there appeared leſs zeal in their whole deportment as to the exterior parts of the church ceremonies. They were not ſo aſſiduous at maſs, nor ſo earneſt to procure maſſes to be ſaid for their friends; nor were they ſo frequently either in proceſſions or at confeſſion.

Notwithſtanding the new approbation given to Molinos's book by the inquiſition had checked the proceedings of his enemies; yet they were ſtill inveterate againſt him in their hearts, and determined if poſſible to ruin him. They inſinuated that he had ill deſigns, and was, in his heart, an enemy to the Chriſtian religion: that under pretence of raiſing men to a ſublime ſtrain of devotion, he intended to eraſe from their minds a ſenſe of the myſteries of Chriſtianity. And becauſe he was a Spaniard, they gave out that he was deſcended from a Jewiſh, or Mohometan race, and that he might carry in his blood, or in his firſt education, ſome ſeeds of thoſe religions which he had ſince cultivated with no leſs art than zeal. This laſt calumny gained but little credit at Rome, though it was ſaid an order was ſent to examine the regiſters of the place where Molinos was baptized.

As ſoon as Molinos found himſelf attacked with ſuch great vigour, and unrelenting malice, he took every neceſſary precaution to prevent theſe imputations being credited. He wrote a treatiſe entitled, Frequent and Daily Communion, which was likewiſe approved by ſome of the moſt learned of the Romiſh clergy. This was printed with his Spiritual Guide, in the year 1675; and in the preface to it he declared, that he had not written it with any deſign to engage himſelf in matters of controverſy, but that by the earneſt ſolicitations of many pious people it was drawn from him.

The Jeſuits having failed in their attempts, of cruſhing Molinos's power in Rome, applied to the court of France, when in a ſhort time, they ſo far ſucceeded, that an order was ſent to cardinal d'Eſtrees, commanding him to proſecute Molinos with all poſſible rigour. The cardinal, though ſo ſtrongly attached to Molinos, reſolved to ſacrifice all that is ſacred in friendſhip to the will of his maſter. Finding, however, there was not ſufficient matter for an accuſation againſt him, he determined to ſupply that defect himſelf. He therefore went to the inquiſitors, and informed them of ſeveral particulars, not only relative to Molinos, but alſo Petrucci, both of whom, together with ſeveral of their friends, were put into the inquiſition.

As ſoon as they were brought before the inquiſitors (which was in the beginning of the year 1684) Petrucci anſwered the reſpective queſtions put to him with ſo much judgment and temper, that he was ſoon diſmiſſed; and though Molinos's examination was much longer, it was generally expected he would have been likewiſe diſcharged: but this was not the caſe. Though the inquiſitors had not any juſt accuſation againſt him, yet they ſtrained every nerve to find him guilty of hereſy. They firſt objected to his holding a correſpondence in different parts of Europe; but of this he was acquitted, as the matter of that correſpondence could not be made criminal. They then directed their attention to ſome ſuſpicious papers found in his chamber; but Molinos ſo clearly explained their meaning, that nothing could be made of them to his prejudice. At length, cardinal d'Eſtrees, after producing the order ſent him by the king of France for proſecuting Molinos, ſaid, he could prove againſt him more than was neceſſary to convince them he was guilty of hereſy. To do this he perverted the meaning of ſome paſſages in Molinos's books and papers, and related many falſe and aggravating circumſtances relative to the priſoner. He acknowledged he had lived with him under the appearance of friendſhip, but that it was only to diſcover his principles and intentions: that he had found them to be of a bad nature, and that dangerous conſequences were likely to enſue; but in order to make a full diſcovery, he had aſſented to ſeveral things, which, in his heart, he deteſted; and that, by theſe means, he ſaw into the ſecrets of Molinos; but determined not to take any notice, till a proper opportunity ſhould offer of cruſhing both him and his party.

Molinos, in conſequence of d'Eſtrees's evidence, was cloſely confined in the inquiſition, where he continued for ſome time, during which period all was quiet, and his followers proſecuted their mode without interruption. But on a ſudden the Jeſuits determined to extirpate them, and the ſtorm broke out with the moſt inveterate fury.

The count Veſpiniani and his lady, Don Paulo Rocchi, confeſſor to the prince Borgheſe, and ſome of his family, with ſeveral others, in all ſeventy perſons, were put into the inquiſition, among whom many were highly eſteemed both for their learning and piety. The accuſation laid againſt the clergy was, their neglecting to ſay the breviary; and the reſt were accuſed of going to communion without firſt attending confeſſion. In a word, it was ſaid, they neglected all the exterior parts of religion, and gave themſelves up wholly to inward prayer and ſolitude.

The counteſs Veſpiniani exerted herſelf in a very particular manner on her examination before the inquiſitors. She ſaid, ſhe had never revealed her method of devotion to any mortal but her confeſſor, and that it was impoſſible they ſhould know it without his diſcovering the ſecret; that, therefore, it was time to give over going to confeſſion, if prieſts made this uſe of it, to diſcover the moſt ſecret thoughts intruſted to them; and that ſhe would only make her confeſſion to God for the future.

From this ſpirited ſpeech, and the great noiſe made in conſequence of the counteſs's ſituation, the inquiſitors thought it moſt prudent to diſmiſs both her and her huſband, leſt the people might be incenſed, and what ſhe ſaid might leſſen the credit of confeſſion. They were, therefore, both diſcharged; but bound to appear whenever they ſhould be called upon.

Such was the inveteracy of the jeſuits againſt the quietiſts, that within the ſpace of a month upwards of two hundred perſons, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were put into the inquiſition; and that method of devotion which had paſſed in Italy as the moſt elevated to which mortals could aſpire, was deemed heretical, and the chief promoters of it confined in a wretched dungeon.

Therefore, to extirpate quietiſm if poſſible, the inquiſitors ſent a circular letter to cardinal Cibo, as the chief miniſter, to diſperſe it through Italy. It was addreſſed to all prelates, informing them, that whereas many ſchools and fraternities were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral parts of Italy, in which ſome perſons, under a pretence of leading people into the ways of the ſpirit, and to the prayer of quietneſs, inſtilled into them many abominable hereſies, therefore a ſtrict charge was given to diſſolve all thoſe ſocieties, and to oblige the ſpiritual guide to tread in the known paths; and, in particular, to take care none of that ſort ſhould be ſuffered to have the direction of the nunneries. Orders were likewiſe given to proceed, in the way of juſtice, againſt thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of theſe abominable errors.

A ſtrict inquiry was made after this into all the nunneries in Rome; when moſt of their directors and confeſſors were diſcovered to be engaged in this new method. It was found that the Carmelites, the nuns of the Conception, and thoſe of ſeveral other convents, were wholly given up to prayer and contemplation; and that, inſtead of their beads, and the other devotions to ſaints, or images, they were much alone, and often in the exerciſe of mental prayer: that when they were aſked, why they had laid aſide the uſe of their beads, and their ancient forms, their anſwer was, their directors had adviſed them ſo to do. Information of this being given to the inquiſition, they ſent orders that all books written in the ſame ſtrain with thoſe of Molinos and Petrucci, ſhould be taken from them, and that they ſhould be compelled to return to their original form of worſhip.

Little effect was produced by the circular letter ſent to cardinal Cibo, for moſt of the Italian biſhops were inclined to Molinos's method. It was intended that this, as well as all other orders from the inquiſitors, ſhould be kept ſecret; but notwithſtanding all their care, copies of it were printed, and diſperſed in moſt of the principal towns in Italy. This gave great uneaſineſs to the inquiſitors, who uſe every method they can to conceal their proceedings from the knowledge of the world. They blamed the cardinal, and accuſed him of being the cauſe of it; but he retorted on them, and his ſecretary laid the fault on both.

In the mean time, Molinos ſuffered great indignities from the officers of the inquiſition; and the only comfort he received was, from being ſometimes viſited by father Petrucci.

Although he had lived in the higheſt reputation in Rome for ſome years, he was now as much deſpiſed as he had been admired, being generally conſidered as one of the worſt of heretics.

The chief part of Molinos's followers, who had been placed in the inquiſition, having abjured his mode, were diſmiſſed; but a harder fate awaited Molinos, their leader.

When he had lain a conſiderable time in priſon, he was at length brought again before the inquiſitors, to anſwer to a number of articles exhibited againſt him from his writings. As ſoon as he appeared in court, a chain was put round his body, and a wax-light in his hand, when two friars read aloud the articles of accuſation. Molinos anſwered each with great ſteadineſs and reſolution; and notwithſtanding his arguments totally defeated the force of all, yet he was found guilty of hereſy, and was condemned to impriſonment for life.

Having left the court he was attended by a prieſt, who had borne him the greateſt reſpect. On his arrival at the priſon he enterred the cell allotted for his confinement with great tranquillity; and on taking leave of the prieſt thus addreſſed him: Adieu, father, we ſhall meet again at the day of judgment, and then it will appear on which ſide the truth is, whether on my ſide, or on your's.

While in confinement he was ſeveral times tortured in the moſt cruel manner, till, at length, the ſeverity of the puniſhments overpowered his ſtrength, and finiſhed his exiſtence.

The followers of Molinos were ſo impreſſed by his melancholy diſſolution, that the greater part of them ſoon abjured his mode; and by the aſſiduity of the jeſuits, quietiſm was totally extirpated throughout the country.

A Full and Particular ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* BOHEMIA *under the* PAPACY.

THE Roman pontiffs having uſurped a power over ſeveral churches, were particularly ſevere on the Bohemians, which occaſioned them to ſend two miniſters, and four lay-brothers to Rome, in the year 977, to obtain redreſs of the pope. After ſome delay their requeſt was granted, and their grievances redreſſed. Two things in particular they were permitted to do, viz. to have divine ſervice performed in their own language, and to give the cup to the laity in the ſacrament.

However the diſputes ſoon broke out again, the ſucceeding popes exerting their whole power to impoſe on the minds of the Bohemians; and the latter, with great ſpirit, aiming to preſerve their religious liberties.

Some zealous friends of the goſpel applied to Charles, king of Bohemia, A. D. 1375, to call an œconomical council, for an inquiry into the abuſes that had crept into the church, and to make a full and thorough reformation. The king, not knowing how to proceed, ſent to the pope for directions how to act; but the pontiff was ſo incenſed at the affair, that his only reply was, Severely puniſh thoſe raſh and profane heretics. The monarch, accordingly, baniſhed every one who had been concerned in the application, and to oblige the pope, laid a great number of additional reſtraints upon the religious liberties of the people.

When John Huſs, and Jerom of Prague, two holy and pious men, were condemned by order of the council of Conſtance, fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interpoſed in their favour. Nevertheleſs they were cruelly burnt, and the pope, in conjunction with the council of Conſtance, ordered the Romiſh clergy, every where, to excommunicate ſuch as adopted their opinions, or commiſerated their fate.

By means of theſe orders great contentions between the papiſts and reformed Bohemians took place, which was the cauſe of a violent perſecution againſt the latter. At Prague the perſecution was extremely ſevere, till, at length, the reformed being driven to deſperation, armed themſelves, attacked the ſenate-houſe, and threw twelve ſenators, with the ſpeaker, out of the ſenate-houſe windows, whoſe bodies fell upon ſpears, which were held up by others of the reformed in the ſtreet, to receive them.

When informed of theſe proceedings, the pope came to Florence, and publicly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; and promiſing, by way of encouragement, full remiſſion of all ſins whatever to the moſt wicked perſon, if he did but kill one Bohemian proteſtant.

A bloody war was the reſult of this, for ſeveral popiſh princes undertook the extirpation, or at leaſt expulſion, of the proſcribed people; and the Bohemians, arming themſelves, prepared to repel force by force, in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner. The popiſh army prevailing againſt the proteſtant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, the priſoners of the reformed were taken to three deep mines near that town, and ſeveral hundreds were cruelly thrown into each, where they periſhed in a miſerable manner.

A merchant of Prague, going to Breſlaw, in Sileſia, happened to lodge in the ſame inn with ſeveral prieſts. Entering into converſation upon the ſubject of religious controverſy, he paſſed many encomiums upon the martyred John Huſs, and his doctrines. The prieſts taking umbrage at this, laid an information againſt him the next morning, and he was committed to priſon as an heretic. Many endeavours were uſed to perſuade him to embrace the Roman catholic faith; but he remained ſtedfaſt to the pure doctrines of the reformed church. Soon after his impriſonment, a ſtudent of the univerſity was committed to the ſame gaol; when, being permitted to converſe with the merchant, they mutually comforted each other. On the day appointed for execution, when the gaoler began to faſten the ropes to their feet, by which they were to be dragged through the ſtreets, the ſtudent appeared quite terrified, and offered to abjure his faith, and turn Roman catholic if he might be ſaved. The offer was accepted, his abjuration was taken by a prieſt, and he was ſet at liberty. A prieſt applying to the merchant to follow the example of the ſtudent, he nobly ſaid, "Loſe no time in hopes of my recantation, your expectations will be vain; I ſincerely pity that poor wretch, who has miſerably ſacrificed his ſoul for a few more uncertain years of a troubleſome life; and, ſo far from having the leaſt idea of following his example, I glory in the very thoughts of dying for the ſake of Chriſt." On hearing theſe words, the prieſt ordered the executioner to proceed; and the merchant being drawn through the city, was brought to the place of execution, and there deſtroyed by fire.

Pichel, a bigoted popiſh magiſtrate, apprehended 24 proteſtants, among whom was his daughter's huſband. As they all owned they were of the reformed religion, he indiſcriminately condemned them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day appointed for the execution, a great concourſe of people attended, among whom was Pichel's daughter. This worthy wife threw herſelf at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and in the moſt pathetic manner, implored him to commiſerate her ſorrow, and pardon her huſband. The obdurate magiſtrate ſternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child, he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which ſhe nobly anſwered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from your's, he is ſtill my huſband, a name which, at a time like this, ſhould alone employ my whole conſideration." Pichel flew into a violent paſſion, and ſaid, "You are mad! cannot you, after the death of this, have a much worthier huſband?" No, ſir, (replied ſhe) my affections are fixed upon this, and death itſelf ſhall not diſſolve my marriage vow. Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the priſoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner to be thrown into the river. As ſoon as this was put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and embracing the body of her huſband, both ſunk together into one watery grave. An uncommon inſtance of conjugal love in a wife, and of an inviolable attachment to, and perſonal affection for, her huſband.

Ferdinand the emperor, whoſe hatred to the Bohemian proteſtants was without bounds, not thinking he had ſufficiently oppreſſed them, inſtituted a high court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquiſition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place, and always to be attended by a body of troops.

The chief number of theſe reformers conſiſted of jeſuits, and from their deciſions there was no appeal, by which it may be eaſily conjectured, that it was a tribunal indeed the moſt dreadful.

This tremendous bloody court, attended by a body of troops, made the tour of Bohemia, in which they ſeldom examined or ſaw a priſoner, ſuffering the ſoldiers to murder the proteſtants as they pleaſed, and then to make a report of the matter afterwards.

An aged miniſter was the firſt victim of their cruelty, whom they killed as he lay ſick in bed; the next day they robbed, and murdered another, and ſoon after ſhot a third, as he was preaching in his pulpit.

A nobleman and a clergyman, who reſided in a proteſtant village, hearing of the approach of the high court of reformers and the troops, fled from the place, and ſecreted themſelves. The ſoldiers, however, on their arrival, ſeized upon a ſchool-maſter, and aſked him where the lord of that place and the miniſter were concealed, and where they had hid their treaſures. The ſchool-maſter replied, he could not anſwer either of the queſtions. They then ſtripped him naked, bound him with cords, and beat him moſt unmercifully with cudgels. This cruelty not extorting any confeſſion from him, they ſcorched him in various parts of his body; when, to gain a reſpite from his torments, he promiſed to ſhew them where the treaſures were hid. The ſoldiers gave ear to this with pleaſure, and the ſchool-maſter led them to a ditch full of ſtones, ſaying, Beneath thoſe ſtones are the riches ye ſeek for. Eager after money, they went to work, and ſoon removed thoſe ſtones, but not finding what they ſought after, beat the ſchool-maſter to death, buried him in the ditch, and covered him with the very ſtones he had made them remove.

Several of the ſoldiers raviſhed the daughters of a worthy proteſtant before his face, and then tortured him to death. A miniſter and his wife they tied back to back, and burnt. Another miniſter they hung upon a croſs beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. A gentleman they hacked into ſmall pieces; and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and ſetting fire to it, blew his head to pieces.

Their principal rage being directed againſt the clergy, they took a pious proteſtant miniſter, and tormented him daily for a month together, in the following manner, making their cruelty regular, progreſſive, and ſyſtematic.

1. They placed him amidſt them, and made him the ſubject of their deriſion and mockery, during a whole day's entertainment, trying to exhauſt his patience, but in vain, for he bore the whole with a true chriſtian fortitude,

2. They ſpit in his face, pulled his noſe, and pinched him in moſt parts of his body.

3. He was hunted like a wild beaſt, till ready to expire with fatigue.

4. They made him run the gantlope between two ranks of them, each ſtriking him with a twig.

5. He was beat with their fiſts.

6. He was beat with ropes.

7. They ſcourged him with wires.

8. He was beat with cudgels.

9. They tied him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood ſtarted out of his noſe, mouth, &c.

10. They hung him up by the right arm till it was diſlocated, and then had it ſet again.

11. The ſame was repeated with his left arm.

12. Burning papers, dipped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes.

13. His fleſh was torn with red hot pincers.

14. He was put to the rack.

15. They pulled off the nails of his right hand.

16. The ſame repeated with his left hand.

17. He was baſtinadoed on his feet.

18. A ſlit was made in his right ear.

19. The ſame repeated on his left ear.

20. His noſe was ſlit.

21. They whipped him through the town upon an aſs.

22. They made ſeveral inciſions in his fleſh.

23. They pulled off the toe nails of his right foot.

24. The ſame repeated with his left foot.

25. He was tied up by the loins, and ſuſpended for a conſiderable time.

26. The teeth of his upper jaw were pulled out.

27. The ſame was repeated with his lower jaw.

28. Boiling lead was poured upon his fingers.

29. The ſame repeated with his toes.

30. A knotted cord was twiſted about his forehead in ſuch a manner, as to force out his eyes.

While theſe horrid cruelties were carried on, particular care was taken that his wounds ſhould not mortify, and not to injure him mortally till the laſt day, when the forcing out of his eyes proved his death.

Various were the other murders and depredations committed by thoſe unfeeling brutes, and ſhocking to humanity were the cruelties which they inflicted on the poor Bohemian proteſtants. The winter being far advanced, however, the high court of reformers, with their infernal band of military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way meeting with a proteſtant paſtor, they could not reſiſt the temptation of feaſting their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty, which had juſt ſuggeſted itſelf to the diabolical imagination of one of the ſoldiers. This was to ſtrip the miniſter naked, and alternately to cover him with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of tormenting a fellow-creature was immediately put in practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which ſeemed to delight his inhuman perſecutors.

Soon after a ſecret order was iſſued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen, who had been principally concerned in ſupporting the proteſtant cauſe, and in nominating Frederic, elector Palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. Theſe, to the number of fifty, were apprehended in one night, and at one hour, and brought from the places where they were taken, to the caſtle of Prague, and the eſtates of thoſe who were abſent from the kingdom were confiſcated, themſelves were made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows, as marks of public ignominy.

After this the high court of reformers proceeded to try the fifty, who had been apprehended, and two apoſtate proteſtants were appointed to examine them. Theſe examinants aſked a great number of unneceſſary and impertinent queſtions, which ſo exaſperated one of the noblemen, who was naturally of a warm temper, that he exclaimed, opening his breaſt at the ſame time, "Cut here, ſearch my heart, you ſhall find nothing but the love of religion and liberty: thoſe were the motives for which I drew my ſword, and for thoſe I am willing to ſuffer death."

Seeing that none of the priſoners would change their religion, or acknowledge they had been in an error, they were all pronounced guilty; but the ſentence was referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and an account of the reſpective accuſations againſt them, he paſſed judgment on all, but in a different manner, as his ſentences were of four kinds, viz. death, baniſhment, impriſonment for life, and impriſonment during pleaſure.

Twenty, who were ordered for execution, were informed they might ſend for jeſuits, monks, or friars, to prepare for the awful change they were to undergo; but that no proteſtants would be permitted to come near them. This propoſal they rejected, and ſtrove all they could to comfort and chear each other upon the ſolemn occaſion.

When the morning of the day appointed for the execution arrived, a cannon was fired as a ſignal to bring the priſoners from the caſtle to the principal marketplace, in which ſcaffolds were erected, and a body of troops were drawn up to attend the tragic ſpectacle.

Notwithſtanding, the priſoners left the caſtle with as much chearfulneſs as if they had been going to an agreeable entertainment, inſtead of a violent death.

Beſides ſoldiers, jeſuits, prieſts, executioners, attendants, &c. a prodigious concourſe of people attended, to ſee the exit of theſe devoted martyrs, who were executed in the following order:

I. LORD SCHILIK.

This nobleman was about fifty years of age, and was poſſeſſed of great natural and acquired abilities. When he was told he was to be quartered, and his parts ſcattered in different places, he ſmiled with great ſerenity, ſaying, The loſs of a ſepulchre is but a trifling conſideration. A gentleman who ſtood by, crying, Courage, my lord: he replied, I have God's favour, which is ſufficient to inſpire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me; formerly I have faced him in fields of battle to oppoſe Anti-Chriſt; and now dare face him on a ſcaffold, for the ſake of Chriſt. Having ſaid a ſhort prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and his head, and then quartered him. His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters diſtributed in different parts of the city.

II. LORD VISCOUNT WINCESLAUS.

This pious and venerable nobleman, who had attained the age of ſeventy years, was equally reſpectable for his learning and hoſpitality. His temper was ſo remarkably patient, that when his houſe was broke open, his property ſeized, and his eſtates confiſcated, he only ſaid, with great compoſure, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Being aſked why he could engage in ſo dangerous a cauſe as that of attempting to ſupport the elector Palatine Frederic, againſt the power of the emperor, he replied, I acted ſtrictly according to the dictates of my conſcience, and, to this day, deem him my king. I am now full of years, and wiſh to lay down life, that I may not be a witneſs of the farther evils which are to attend my country. You have long thirſted for my blood; take it, for God will be my avenger. Then approaching the block, he ſtroked his long grey beard, and ſaid, Venerable hairs, the greater honour now attends ye, a crown of martyrdom is your portion. Then laying down his head, it was ſevered from his body at one ſtroke, and placed upon a pole in a conſpicuous part of the city.

III. LORD HARANT.

This was a gentleman of good ſenſe, great piety, and much experience gained by travel, as he had viſited the principal places in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Hence he was free from national prejudices, and had collected much knowledge.

The accuſations againſt this nobleman were, his being a proteſtant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederic, the elector Palatine of the Rhine, as king of Bohemia. When he came upon the ſcaffold, he ſaid, "I have travelled through many countries, and traverſed various barbarous nations, yet never found ſo much cruelty as at home. I have eſcaped innumerable perils both by ſea and land, and ſurmounted inconceivable difficulties, to ſuffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewiſe ſought by thoſe for whom I, and my forefathers, have hazarded our lives and eſtates; but, Almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do." He then went to the block, kneeled down, and exclaimed, with great energy, Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my ſpirit; in thee have I always truſted; receive me, therefore, my bleſſed Redeemer. The fatal ſtroke was then given, and a period put to the temporary pains of this life.

IV. LORD FREDERIC DE BILE.

This nobleman ſuffered as a proteſtant, and a promoter of the late war: he met his fate with ſerenity, and only ſaid, he wiſhed well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave the enemies who cauſed his death, denied the authority of the emperor in that country, acknowledged Frederic to be the only true king of Bohemia, and hoped for ſalvation in the merits of his bleſſed Redeemer.

V. LORD HENRY OTTO.

When his lordſhip firſt came upon the ſcaffold, he ſeemed greatly confounded, and ſaid, with ſome aſperity, as if addreſſing himſelf to the emperor, "Thou tyrant Ferdinand, your throne is eſtabliſhed in blood; but if you kill my body, and diſperſe my members, they ſhall ſtill riſe up in judgment againſt you." He then was ſilent, and having walked about for ſome time, ſeemed to recover his fortitude, and growing calm, ſaid to a gentleman who ſtood near, I was, a few minutes ſince, greatly diſcompoſed, but now I feel my ſpirits revive; God be praiſed for affording me ſuch comfort; death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but ſeems to invite me to participate of ſome unknown joys. Kneeling before the block, he ſaid, Almighty God! to thee I commend my ſoul, receive it for the ſake of Chriſt, and admit it to the glory of thy preſence. The executioner put this nobleman to conſiderable pain, by making ſeveral ſtrokes before he ſevered the head from the body.

VI. The EARL of RUGENIA.

This nobleman was diſtinguiſhed for his ſuperior abilities, and unaffected piety. On the ſcaffold he ſaid, "We, who drew our ſwords, fought only to preſerve the liberties of the people, and to keep our conſciences ſacred: as we were overcome, I am better pleaſed at the ſentence of death than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that it pleaſes God to have his truth defended, not by our ſwords, but by our blood." He then went boldly to the block, ſaying, "I ſhall now be ſpeedily with Chriſt," and received the crown of martyrdom with great courage.

VII. Sir GASPER KAPLITZ.

This nobleman was 86 years of age. When he came to the place of execution, he addreſſed the principal officer thus: "Behold a miſerable ancient man, who hath often intreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his deſire; for God reſerved me till theſe years to be a ſpectacle to the world, and a ſacrifice to himſelf; therefore God's will be done." One of the officers told him, in conſideration of his great age, that if he would only aſk pardon, he would immediately receive it. "Aſk pardon, exclaimed he, I will aſk pardon of God whom I have frequently offended; but not of the emperor to whom I never gave any offence: ſhould I ſue for pardon, it might be juſtly ſuſpected I had committed ſome crime for which I deſerved this condemnation. No, no, as I die innocent, and with a clear conſcience, I would not be ſeparated from this noble company of martyrs: ſo ſaying, he chearfully reſigned his neck to the block.

VIII. PROCOPIUS DORZECKI.

On the ſcaffold this gentleman ſaid, "We are now under the emperor's judgment; but in time he ſhall be judged, and we ſhall appear as witneſſes againſt him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was ſtruck when the elector Frederic was crowned king of Bohemia, he preſented it to one of the officers; at the ſame time uttering theſe words, "As a dying man, I requeſt, if ever king Frederic is reſtored to the throne of Bohemia, that you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his ſake, I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then chearfully laid down his head, and ſubmitted to the fatal blow.

IX. DIONYSIUS ZERVIUS.

We underſtand this gentleman was brought up a Roman catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion for ſome years. When upon the ſcaffold the jeſuits uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make him recant, and return to his former faith, but he paid not the leaſt attention to their exhortations. Kneeling down he ſaid, "They may deſtroy my body, but cannot injure my ſoul, that I commend to my Redeemer;" and then patiently ſubmitted to martyrdom, being at that time fifty-ſix years of age.

X. VALENTINE COCKAN.

This was a gentleman of conſiderable fortune and eminence, perfectly pious and honeſt, but of trifling abilities; yet his imagination ſeemed to grow bright, and his faculties to improve on death's approach, as if the impending danger refined the underſtanding. Juſt before he was beheaded, he expreſſed himſelf with ſuch eloquence, energy, and preciſion, as greatly amazed thoſe who knew his former deficiency in point of capacity.

XI. TOBIAS STEFFICK.

This perſon was remarkable for his affability and ſerenity of temper. He was perfectly reſigned to his fate, and a few minutes before his death ſpoke in this ſingular manner: "I have received, during the whole courſe of my life, many favours from God; ought I not therefore chearfully to take one bitter cup, when he thinks proper to preſent it? Or rather, ought I not to rejoice, that it is his will I ſhould give up a corrupted life for that of immortality?"

XII. Dr. JESSENIUS.

This was an able ſtudent of phyſic, who was accuſed of having ſpoken diſreſpectful words of the emperor, of treaſon in ſwearing allegiance to the elector Frederic, and of hereſy in being a proteſtant: for the firſt accuſation he had his tongue cut out; for the ſecond he was beheaded; and for the third, and laſt, he was quartered, and the reſpective parts expoſed on poles.

XIII. CHRISTOPHER CHOBER.

As ſoon as this gentleman ſtepped upon the ſcaffold, he ſaid, "I come, in the name of God, to die for his glory; I have fought the good fight, and finiſhed my courſe; ſo executioner, do your office." The executioner obeyed, and he inſtantly received the crown of martyrdom.

XIV. JOHN SHULTIS.

There was no perſon ever lived more reſpected, or died more lamented than this gentleman. The only words he ſpoke, before receiving the fatal ſtroke, were, "The righteous ſeem to die in the eyes of fools, but they only go to reſt. Lord Jeſus! thou haſt promiſed that thoſe who come to thee ſhall not be caſt off. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my ſins, and receive my ſoul."

XV. MAXIMILIAN HOSTIALICK.

This worthy gentleman was famed for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he firſt came on the ſcaffold, he ſeemed exceedingly terrified at the approach of death. The officer taking notice of his agitation, he ſaid, "Ah! ſir, now the ſins of my youth crowd upon my mind; but I hope God will enlighten me, leſt I ſleep the ſleep of death, and leſt mine enemies ſay, We have prevailed." Soon after he ſaid, "I hope my repentance is ſincere, and will be accepted, in which caſe the blood of Chriſt will waſh me from my crimes." He then told the officer he ſhould repeat the ſong of Simeon; at the concluſion of which the executioner might do his duty. He, accordingly, ſaid, "Lord! now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation;" at which words his head was ſevered at one blow from his body.

XVI. JOHN KUTNAUR.

As ſoon as this gentleman came to the place of execution, a jeſuit ſaid to him, "Embrace the Roman catholic faith, which alone can ſave and arm you againſt the terrors of death." To which he replied, "Your ſuperſtitious faith I abhor, it leads to perdition, and I wiſh for no other arms againſt the terrors of death than a good conſcience." The jeſuit turned away, ſaying, ſarcaſtically, The proteſtants are impenetrable rocks. You are miſtaken, ſaid Kutnaur, it is Chriſt that is the rock, and we are firmly fixed upon him.

As this perſon was not born independent, but had acquired a fortune by a mechanical employment, he was ordered to be hanged. Juſt before he was turned off, he ſaid, "I die, not for having committed any crime, but for following the dictates of my conſcience, and defending my country and religion."

XVII. SIMEON SUSSICKEY.

This gentleman was father-in-law to Kutnaur, and, like him, was ordered to be executed on a gallows. He went chearfully to death, and appeared impatient to be executed, ſaying, "Every moment delays me from entering into the kingdom of Chriſt."

XVIII. NATHANIEL WODNIANSKEY.

This gentleman was hanged for having ſupported the proteſtant cauſe, and the election of Frederic to the crown of Bohemia. At the gallows, the jeſuits did all in their power to induce him to renounce his faith. Finding their endeavours ineffectual, one of them ſaid, If you will not abjure your hereſy, at leaſt repent of your rebellion? To which Wodnianſkey replied, "You take away our lives under a pretended charge of rebellion; and, not content with that, ſeek to deſtroy our ſouls: glut yourſelves with blood, and be ſatisfied, but tamper not with our conſciences."

His own ſon then approached the gallows, and ſaid to his father, "Sir, if life ſhould be offered to you on condition of apoſtacy, I intreat you to remember Chriſt, and reject ſuch pernicious overtures." To this the father replied, "It is very acceptable, my ſon, to be exhorted to conſtancy by you; but ſuſpect me not; rather endeavour to confirm in their faith your brothers, ſiſters, and children, and teach them to imitate that conſtancy, of which I ſhall leave them an example." He had no ſooner concluded theſe words, than he was turned off, receiving the crown of martyrdom with great fortitude.

XIX. WENCESLAUS GISBITZKEY.

As this perſon, during his whole confinement, had great hopes of life given him, his friends became very apprehenſive for the ſafety of his ſoul. He, however, continued ſtedfaſt in his faith, prayed fervently at the gallows, and met his fate with uncommon fortitude.

XX. MARTIN FOSTER.

An unfortunate cripple; the accuſations againſt whom were, being charitable to heretics, and lending money to the elector Frederic. His great wealth, however, ſeems to have been his principal crime; and that he might be plundered of his treaſures, he was conſequently ranked among the martyrs of thoſe times.

ACCOUNT *of the General* PERSCUTIONS *in* GERMANY.

THEN ſeveral perſecutions in Germany were principally occaſioned by the doctrines and miniſtry of Martin Luther. Indeed, the pope was ſo terrified at the ſucceſs of that courageous reformer, that he determined to engage the emperor, Charles the Fifth, at any rate, in the ſcheme to attempt their extirpation.

For this purpoſe,

1. He gave the emperor two hundred thouſand crowns in ready money.

2. He promiſed to maintain twelve thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, for the ſpace of ſix months, or during a campaign.

3. He allowed the emperor to receive one half of the revenues of the clergy of the empire, during the war.

4. He permitted the emperor to pledge the abbey-lands for five hundred thouſand crowns, to aſſiſt in carrying on hoſtilities againſt the proteſtants.

Prompted and ſupported thus, the emperor undertook the extirpation of the proteſtants, againſt whom, indeed, he was particularly enraged himſelf; and, for this purpoſe, a formidable army was raiſed in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

In the mean time, the proteſtant princes formed a powerful confederacy, in order to repel the impending blow. A great army was raiſed, and the command given to the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe. The imperial forces were commanded by the emperor of Germany in perſon, and the eyes of all Europe were turned on the event of the war.

The armies at length met, and a deſperate engagement enſued, in which the proteſtants were defeated, and the elector of Saxony, and landgrave of Heſſe, both taken priſoners. This fatal blow was ſucceeded by a horrid perſecution, the ſeverities of which were ſuch, that exile might be deemed a mild fate, and concealment in a diſmal wood paſs for happineſs. In ſuch times a cave is a palace, wild roots delicacies, and a rock a bed of down.

Such as were taken experienced the moſt cruel tortures that infernal imaginations could invent; and by their conſtancy evinced, that a real chriſtian can ſurmount every difficulty, and deſpiſe every danger, to acquire a crown of martyrdom.

Henry Voes and John Eſch, being apprehended as proteſtants, were brought to examination: when Voes, anſwering for himſelf and the other, gave the following anſwers to ſome queſtions aſked by a prieſt, who examined them by order of the magiſtracy.

Prieſt. Were you not both, ſome years ago, Auguſtine friars?

Voes. Yes.

Prieſt. How came you to quit the boſom of the church of Rome?

Voes. On account of her abominations.

Prieſt. In what do you believe?

Voes. In the Old and New Teſtament.

Prieſt. Do you believe in the writings of the fathers, and the decrees of the councils?

Voes. Yes, if they agree with ſcripture.

Prieſt. Did not Martin Luther ſeduce you both?

Voes. He ſeduced us even in the very ſame manner as Chriſt ſeduced the apoſtles; that is, he made us ſenſible of the frailty of our bodies, and the value of our ſouls.

This examination was deemed ſufficient; they were both condemned to the flames, and, ſoon after, ſuffered with that manly fortitude which becomes chriſtians, when they reſign their breath for the truth.

One Henry Sutphen, an eloquent and pious preacher, was taken out of his bed in the middle of the night, and compelled to walk barefoot a conſiderable way, ſo that his feet were terribly cut. He deſired a horſe, but his conductors ſaid, in deriſion, A horſe for an heretic; no, no, heretics may go barefoot. When he arrived at the place of his deſtination, he was condemned to be burnt; but, during the execution, many indignities were offered him, as thoſe who attended, not content with what he ſuffered in the flames, cut and ſlaſhed him in a manner the moſt terrible.

Several were murdered at Halle; Middleburg being taken by ſtorm, all the proteſtants were put to the ſword, and great numbers were burned at Vienna.

There was an officer ſent to put a miniſter to death; who pretended, when he came to the clergyman's houſe, that his intentions were only to pay him a viſit. The miniſter, not ſuſpecting the intended cruelty, entertained his ſuppoſed gueſt in a very cordial manner. As ſoon as dinner was over, the officer ſaid to ſome of his attendants, "Take this clergyman, and hang him." The attendants themſelves were ſo ſhocked, after the civility they had ſeen, that they heſitated to perform the commands of their maſter; and the miniſter ſaid, "Think what a ſting will remain on your conſcience, for thus violating the laws of hoſpitality." The officer, however, inſiſted upon being obeyed, and the attendants, with reluctance, performed the execrable office of executioners.

A pious divine, of the name of Peter Spengler, of the town of Schalet, was thrown into the river, and drowned. Before he was taken to the banks of the ſtream, which was to become his grave, they led him to the market-place, that his crimes might be proclaimed; which were, not going to maſs, not making confeſſion, and not believing in tranſubſtantiation. After this ceremony was over, he made a moſt excellent diſcourſe to the people, which, with a kind of hymn of a very edifying nature, he concluded.

A proteſtant gentleman being ordered to loſe his head for not renouncing his religion, went chearfully to the place of execution. A friar came to him, and ſaid theſe words in a low tone of voice, "As you have a great reluctance publicly to abjure your faith, whiſper your confeſſion into my ear, and I will abſolve your ſins." To this the gentleman loudly replied, "Trouble me not, friar, I have confeſſed my ſins to God, and obtained abſolution through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt." Then turning to the executioner, he ſaid, "Let me not be peſtered with theſe men, but perform your duty." On which at a ſingle blow his head was ſtruck off.

John Huglin, and Wolfgang Scuch, two worthy miniſters, were burned, as was Leonard Keyſer, a ſtudent of the univerſity of Wertemburgh: and George Carpenter, a Bavarian, was hanged for refuſing to recant proteſtantiſm.

The perſecutions in Germany having ſubſided many years, again broke out in 1630, on account of the war between the emperor, and the king of Sweden, for the latter was a proteſtant prince, and conſequently the proteſtants of Germany eſpouſed his cauſe, which greatly exaſperated the emperor againſt thoſe proteſtants.

The imperialiſts having laid ſiege to the town of Paſſewalk, (which was defended by the Swedes) took it by ſtorm, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on the occaſion. They pulled down the churches, burnt the houſes, pillaged the properties, maſſacred the miniſters, put the garriſon to the ſword, hanged the townſmen, raviſhed the women, ſmothered the children, &c. &c.

In the year 1631, a moſt bloody tragedy was tranſacted at Magdeburg. The generals Tilly and Pappenheim, having taken that proteſtant city by ſtorm, upwards of 20,000 perſons, without diſtinction of rank, ſex, or age, were ſlain during the carnage, and 6,000 were drowned in attempting to eſcape over the river Elbe. After this fury ſubſided, the remaining inhabitants were ſtripped naked, ſeverely ſcourged, had their ears cropped, and being yoked together like oxen, were turned adrift.

The town of Hoxter was taken by the popiſh army, and all the inhabitants as well as the garriſon were put to the ſword; when the houſes being ſet on fire, the bodies were conſumed in the flames.

At Griphenburg, when the imperial forces prevailed, they ſhut up the ſenators in the ſenate-chamber, and, ſurrounding it by lighted ſtraw, ſuffocated them.

Franhendal ſurrendered upon articles of capitulation, yet the inhabitants were as cruelly uſed as at other places, and at Heidelburg many were ſhut up in priſon and ſtarved.

The cruelties uſed by the imperial troops, under count Tilly in Saxony, are as follow:

1. Half ſtrangling, and recovering the perſons again repeatedly.

2. Rolling ſharp wheels over the fingers and toes.

3. Pinching the thumbs in a vice.

4. Forcing the moſt filthy things down the throat, by which many were choaked.

5. Tying cords round the head ſo tight that the blood guſhed out of the eyes, noſe, ears, and mouth.

6. Faſtening burning matches to the fingers, toes, ears, arms, legs, and even tongue.

7. Putting powder in the mouth and ſetting fire to it, by which the head was ſhattered to pieces.

8. Tying bags of powder to all parts of the body, by which the perſon was blown up.

9. Drawing cords backwards and forwards through the fleſhy parts.

10. Making inciſions with bodkins and knives in the ſkin.

11. Running wires through the noſe, ears, lips, &c.

12. Hanging proteſtants up by the legs, with their heads over a fire, by which they were ſmoke-dried.

13. Hanging up by one arm till it was diſlocated.

14. Hanging upon hooks by the ribs.

15. Forcing people to drink till they burſt.

16. Baking many in hot ovens.

17. Fixing weights to the feet, and drawing up ſeveral with pullies.

Add to theſe, hanging, ſtifling, roaſting, ſtabbing, frying, racking, raviſhing, ripping open, breaking the bones, raſping off the fleſh, tearing with wild horſes, drowning, ſtrangling, burning, broiling, crucifying, immuring, poiſoning, cutting off tongue, noſe, ears, &c. ſawing off the limbs, hacking to pieces, and drawing by the heels through the ſtreets.

Sure theſe enormous cruelties will be a perpetual ſtain on the memory of count Tilly, who not only permitted, but even commanded his troops to put them in practice. Wherever he came, the moſt horrid barbarities, and cruel depredations, enſued: famine and conflagration marked his progreſs; for he deſtroyed all the proviſions he could not take with him, and burnt all the towns before he left them; ſo that the full reſult of his conqueſts were murder, poverty, and deſolation.

They ſtripped an aged and pious divine naked, tied him on his back upon a table, and faſtened a large fierce cat upon his belly. They then pricked and tormented the cat in ſuch a manner, that the creature with rage tore his belly open, and gnawed his bowels.

There was another miniſter, and his family, who were ſeized by theſe inhuman monſters; when they raviſhed his wife and daughter before his face, ſtuck his infant ſon upon the point of a lance, and then ſurrounding him with his whole library of books, they ſet fire to them, and he was conſumed in the midſt of the flames.

In Heſſe-Caſſel ſome of the troops entered an hoſpital, in which were principally mad women, when ſtripping all the poor wretches naked, they made them run about the ſtreets for their diverſion, and then put them to death.

In Pomerania, ſome of the imperial troops entering a ſmall town, ſeized upon all the young women, and girls of upwards of 10 years, and then placing their parents in a circle, they ordered them to ſing pſalms, while they raviſhed their children, or elſe they ſwore they would cut them to pieces afterwards. They then took all the married women who had young children, and threatened, if they did not conſent to the gratification of their luſts, to burn their children before their faces in a large fire which they had kindled for that purpoſe.

A band of count Tilly's ſoldiers meeting with a company of merchants belonging to Baſil, who were returning from the great market of Straſburg, they attempted to ſurround them: all eſcaped, however, but ten, leaving their properties behind. The ten who were taken begged hard for their lives; but the ſoldiers murdered them, ſaying, You muſt die becauſe you are heretics, and have got no money.

The ſame ſoldiers met with two counteſſes, who, together with ſome young ladies, the daughters of one of them, were taking an airing in a landau. The ſoldiers ſpared their lives, but treated them with great indecency, and having ſtripped them all ſtark naked, bade the coachman drive on.

At laſt, by means and mediation of Great-Britain, peace was reſtored to Germany, and the proteſtants remained unmoleſted for ſeveral years, till ſome new diſturbances broke out in the Palatinate, which were occaſioned in the following manner.

The great church of the Holy Ghoſt, at Heidelburg, had, for many years, been ſhared equally by the proteſtants and Roman catholics, in this manner: the proteſtants performed divine ſervice in the nave or body of the church; and the Roman catholics celebrated maſs in the choir. Though this had been the cuſtom time immemorial, the elector Palatine, at length, took it into his head not to ſuffer it any longer, declaring, that as Heidelburg was the place of his reſidence, and the church of the Holy Ghoſt the cathedral of his principal city, divine ſervice ought to be performed only according to the rites of the church of which he was a member. He then forbad the proteſtants to enter the church, and put the papiſts in poſſeſſion of the whole.

The people thus aggrieved applied to the proteſtant powers for redreſs, which ſo much exaſperated the elector, that he ſuppreſſed the Heidelburg catechiſm. The proteſtant powers, however, unanimouſly agreed to demand ſatisfaction, as the elector, by this conduct, had broke an article of the treaty of Weſtphalia; and the courts of Great-Britain, Pruſſia, Holland, &c. ſent deputies to the elector, to repreſent the injuſtice of his proceedings, and to threaten, unleſs he changed his behaviour to the proteſtants in the Palatinate, that they would treat their Roman catholic ſubjects with the greateſt ſeverity. Many violent diſputes took place between the proteſtant powers, and thoſe of the elector, and theſe were greatly augmented by the following incident: the coach of the Dutch miniſter ſtanding before the door of the reſident ſent by the prince of Heſſe, the hoſt was by chance carrying to a ſick perſon; the coachman took not the leaſt notice, which thoſe who attended the hoſt obſerving, pulled him from his box, and compelled him to kneel: this violence to the domeſtic of a public miniſter was highly reſented by all the proteſtant deputies; and, ſtill more to heighten theſe differences, the proteſtants preſented to the deputies three additional articles of complaint.

1. That military executions were ordered againſt all proteſtant ſhoe-makers who ſhould refuſe to contribute to the maſſes of St. Criſpin.

2. That the proteſtants were forbid to work on popiſh holidays, even in harveſt time, under very heavy penalties, which occaſioned great inconveniences, and conſiderably prejudiced public buſineſs.

3. That ſeveral proteſtant miniſters had been diſpoſſeſſed of their churches, under pretence of their having been originally founded, and built by Roman catholics.

BRITISH MUSEUM
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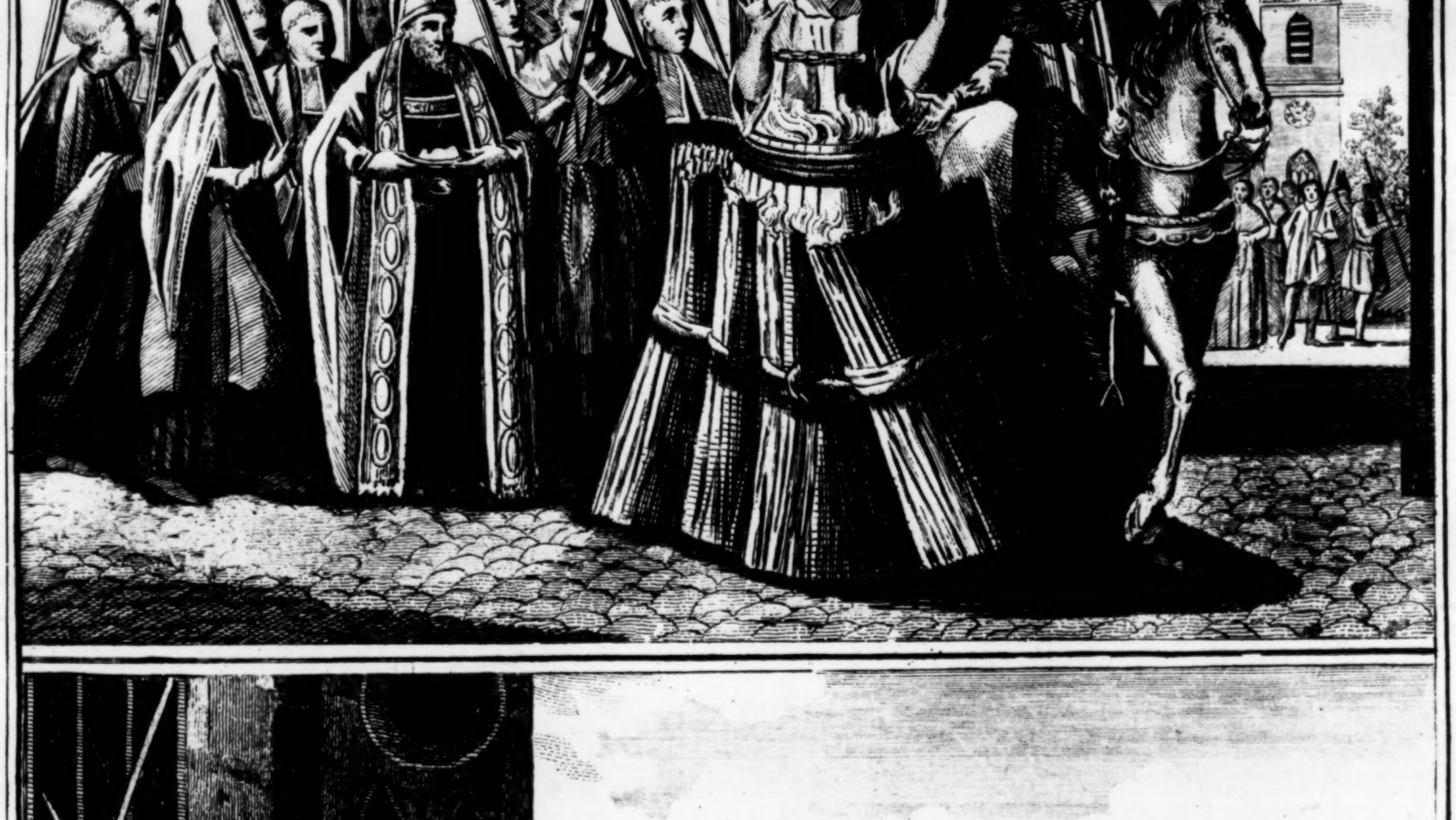
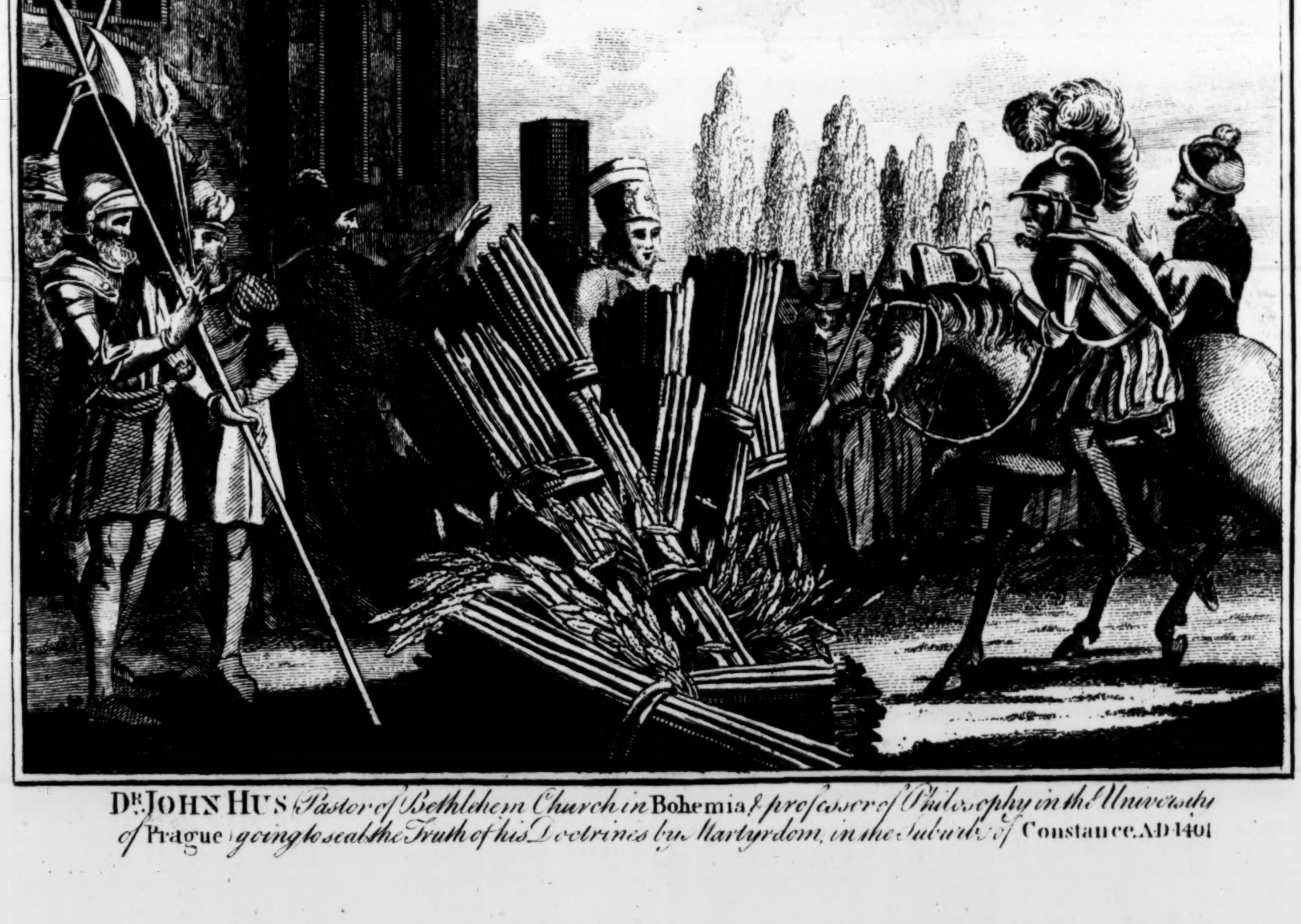
The MARTYRDOM *of* M^r. JOHN BADBY *in* Smithfield, *where (while the* Prior *of S^t. Bartholomew's attended with twelve Torches borne before him) Prince Henry son of* Edward IV. *exhorted the Godly Martyr to recant.*





D^r. JOHN HUS *(Pastor of Bethlehem Church in* Bohemia *& professor of Philosophy in the University of* Prague*) going to seal the Truth of his Doctrines by Martyrdom, in the Suburbs of* Constance. AD 1401

10. R. 3^d. page.

At length the proteſtant deputies became ſo ſerious, as to intimate to the elector, that force of arms ſhould compel him to do the juſtice he denied to their repreſentations. This menace brought him to reaſon, as he well knew the impoſſibility of carrying on a war againſt the powerful ſtates who threatened him. He, therefore, agreed, that the uſe of the body of the church of the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be reſtored to the proteſtants. He reſtored the Heildelburg catechiſm, put the proteſtant miniſters again in poſſeſſion of the churches of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed, allowed the proteſtants to work on popiſh holidays; and ordered, that no perſon ſhould be moleſted for not kneeling when the hoſt paſſed by.

All theſe things he did through fear; but to ſhew his reſentment to his proteſtant ſubjects, in other circumſtances where proteſtant ſtates had no right to interfere, he totally abandoned Heidelburg, removing all the courts of juſtice to Manheim, which was intirely inhabited by Roman catholics. He likewiſe built a new palace there, making it his place of reſidence; and, being followed by the Roman catholics of Heidelburg, Manheim became a flouriſhing place.

In the mean time the proteſtants of Heidelburg ſunk into poverty, and many of them became ſo diſtreſſed, as to quit their native country, and ſeek an aſylum in proteſtant ſtates. A great number of theſe coming into England, in the time of queen Anne, were cordially received here, and met with a moſt humane aſſiſtance, both by public and private donations.

In 1732, above 30,000 proteſtants were, contrary to the treaty of Weſtphalia, driven from the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg. They went away in the depth of winter, with ſcarce cloaths to cover them, and without proviſions, not having permiſſion to take any thing with them. The cauſe of theſe poor people not being publicly eſpouſed by ſuch ſtates as could obtain them redreſs, they emigrated to various proteſtant countries, and ſettled in places where they could enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, without hurting their conſciecnes, and live free from the trammels of popiſh ſuperſtition, and the chains of papal deſpotiſm.

A Circumſtantial Account *of the* LIFE, SUFFERINGS, *and* MARTYRDOM, *of* JOHN HUSS, *who was* BURNT *to* DEATH *at* Constance *in* Germany, *for maintaining the* Doctrines *of* Wickliffe, *the* English Reformist.

THIS man was born at Huſſenitz, a village in Bohemia, about the year 1380. His parents gave him the beſt education their circumſtances would admit: and having acquired a tolerable knowledge of the claſſics at a private ſchool, he was removed to the univerſity of Prague, where he ſoon gave ſtrong proofs of his mental powers, and was remarkable for his diligence and application to ſtudy.

Huſs commenced bachelor of divinity in 1408, and was after ſucceſſively choſen paſtor of the church of Bethlehem, in Prague, and dean and rector of the univerſity. In theſe ſtations he diſcharged his duties with great fidelity, and became at length ſo conſpicuous for his preaching, (which was in conformity with the doctrines of Wickliffe) that it was not likely he could long eſcape the notice of the pope, and his adherents, againſt whom he inveighed with no ſmall degree of aſperity and rage.

Wickliffe the Engliſh reformiſt had ſo kindled the light of reformation, that it began to illumine the darkeſt corners of popery and ignorance. His doctrines ſpread into Bohemia, and were well received by great numbers of people, but by none ſo particularly as John Huſs, and his zealous friend and fellow-martyr, Jerom of Prague.

The archbiſhop of Prague, finding the reformiſts daily increaſing, iſſued a decree to ſuppreſs the farther ſpreading of Wickliffe's writings: but this had an effect quite different to what he expected, for it ſtimulated the friends of theſe doctrines to greater zeal, and almoſt the whole univerſity united in propagating them.

Huſs had conſiderable influence in the univerſity, not only on account of his learning, eloquence, and exemplary life, but alſo on account of ſome valuable privileges he had obtained from the king in behalf of the Bohemians in that ſeminary, by which many Germans had been obliged to leave it, and retire to Leipſic, who afterwards became, on that account, his moſt inveterate enemies.

Now ſtrongly attached to the doctrines of Wickliffe, Huſs violently oppoſed the decree of the archbiſhop, who, however, at length obtained a bull from the pope, giving him commiſſion to prevent the publiſhing of Wickliffe's doctrines in his province. By virtue of this bull, the archbiſhop condemned the writings of Wickliffe: he alſo proceeded againſt four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, notwithſtanding their privileges, to preach to any congregation. Dr. Huſs, with ſome other members of the univerſity, proteſted againſt theſe proceedings, and entered an appeal from the ſentences of the archbiſhop.

When this affair was made known to the pope, he granted a commiſſion to Cardinal Colonna, to cite John Huſs to appear perſonally at the court of Rome, to anſwer the accuſations laid againſt him, of preaching both errors and hereſies. Dr. Huſs deſired to be excuſed from a perſonal appearance, and was ſo greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Winceſlaus, the queen, the nobility, and the univerſity, deſired the pope to diſpenſe with ſuch an appearance; as alſo that he would not ſuffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accuſation of hereſy, but permit them to preach the goſpel with freedom, in their places of worſhip.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Huſs before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuſe his abſence, and ſaid, they were ready to anſwer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Huſs contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the proceſs: theſe commiſſioners confirmed the former ſentence, and extended the excommunication, not only to Huſs, but to all his friends and followers.

Huſs, from this unjuſt ſentence, appealed to a future council, but without ſucceſs; and, notwithſtanding ſo ſevere a decree, and an expulſion in conſequence from his church in Prague, he retired to Huſſenitz, his native place, where he continued to promulgate his new doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote at this time were very numerous; and he compiled a treatiſe, in which he maintained, that reading the books of proteſtants could not be abſolutely forbidden. He wrote in defence of Wickliffe's book on the trinity; and boldly declared againſt the vices of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy of thoſe corrupt times. He cauſed a writing to be fixed on the church of Bethlehem, charging the Roman catholic clergy with the following errors:

1. Of ſaying that we ought to pay adoration to the pope.
2. That the prieſts can remit the pain and guilt of ſin.
3. That every one muſt obey his ſuperiors, whether their commands are juſt or unjuſt.
4. That every excommunication, juſt or unjuſt, binds the excommunicated.

Beſides theſe, he wrote many other books, all of which were penned with ſuch ſtrength of argument, as greatly to facilitate the ſpreading of his doctrines.

The perſecutions againſt the proteſtants in England had been carried on for ſome time, and the moſt cruel ſcenes were exhibited. They now extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, where Dr. Huſs, and Jerom of Prague, were particularly marked out to ſuffer death in the cauſe of religion.

In the month of November, in the year 1414, a general council was aſſembled at Conſtance, in Germany, in order, as was pretended, for the ſole purpoſe of determining a diſpute then depending between three perſons who contended for the papacy; but the real motive was, to cruſh the progreſs of the reformation.

Now John Huſs was ſummoned to appear at this council; and to encourage him, the emperor ſent him a ſafe-conduct, giving him permiſſion freely to come to, and return from the council. When Huſs received this information, he told the perſons who delivered it, "That he deſired nothing more than to purge himſelf publicly of the imputation of hereſy; and that he eſteemed himſelf happy in having ſo fair an opportunity of it, as at the council to which he was ſummoned to attend."

Huſs, about the latter end of November, ſet out on his journey to Conſtance, accompanied by two Bohemian noblemen, who were among the moſt eminent of his diſciples, and who followed him merely through reſpect and affection. He cauſed ſome placarts, or writings, to be fixed upon the gates of the churches of Prague, in which he declared, that he went to the council to anſwer all allegations that might be made againſt him. He alſo declared, in all the cities through which he paſſed, that he was going to vindicate himſelf at Conſtance, and invited all his adverſaries to be preſent for this purpoſe.

The compliments, and even reverence, which Huſs met with on his journey, were beyond imagination. The ſtreets, and ſometimes the very roads, were lined with people, whom reſpect, rather than curioſity, had brought together. He was uſhered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be ſaid, that he paſſed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expreſſing his ſurpriſe at the treatment he received: "I thought (ſaid he) I had been an outcaſt. I now ſee my worſt friends are in Bohemia."

When Huſs arrived at Conſtance, he immediately took lodgings in a remote part of the city. A ſhort time after his arrival, came one Stephen Paletz, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended proſecution againſt him. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Caſſis, on the part of the court of Rome. Theſe two declared themſelves his accuſers, and drew up a ſet of articles againſt him, which they preſented to the pope, and the prelates of the council.

We have already obſerved, that the attendance of Dr. Huſs, at Conſtance, was, by the emperor's own requeſt, who gave him a ſafe-conduct; notwithſtanding which, according to the maxim of the council, that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," when it was known that he was in the city, he was immediately arreſted, and committed priſoner to a chamber in the palace.

Now this violation of common law and juſtice was particularly noticed by one of Huſs's friends, who urged the imperial ſafe-conduct; but the pope replied, he never granted any ſafe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor.

During Huſs's confinement, the council acted the part of inquiſitors. They condemned the doctrines of Wickliffe, and even ordered his remains to be dug up, and burnt to aſhes; which orders were ſtrictly complied with.

In the interim the nobility of Bohemia and Poland ſtrongly interceded for Huſs; and ſo far prevailed as to prevent his being condemned unheard, which had been reſolved on by the commiſſioners appointed to try him.

As ſoon as he was brought before the council, the articles exhibited againſt him were read: they were upwards of forty in number, and chiefly extracted from his writings.

His examination being finiſhed, he was taken from the court, and a reſolution was formed by the council, to burn him as an heretic if he would not retract. He was then committed to a filthy priſon, where, in the day time, he was ſo laden with fetters on his legs, that he could hardly move; and every night he was faſtened by his hands to a ring againſt the walls of the priſon.

Having continued ſome days in this ſituation, many noblemen of Bohemia interceded in his behalf. They drew up a petition for his releaſe, which was preſented to the council by ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobles of Bohemia; notwithſtanding which, ſo many enemies had Huſs in that court, that not the leaſt attention was paid to it, and the wretched and perſecuted reformer was compelled to bear with the puniſhment inflicted on him by that mercileſs tribunal.

Some ſhort time after the petition was preſented, four biſhops, and two lords, were ſent by the emperor to the priſon, in order to prevail on Huſs to make a recantation. But he called God to witneſs, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conſcious of having preached, or written, any thing againſt the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then repreſented the great wiſdom and authority of the council: to which Huſs replied, "Let them ſend the meaneſt perſon of that council, who can convince me by argumentt from the word of God, and I will ſubmit my judgment to him." This chriſtian and pious anſwer had no effect, becauſe he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon truſt, without the leaſt ſhadow of an argument offered. The deputies, therefore, finding they could not make any impreſſion on him, departed, greatly aſtoniſhed at the ſtrength of his reſolution.

Dr. Huſs was brought on the fourth of July for the laſt time, before the council. After a long examination he was deſired to abjure, which he refuſed without the leaſt heſitation. The biſhop of Lodi then preached a bloody perſecuting ſermon, (concerning the deſtruction of heretics) the prologue to his intended puniſhment. After the cloſe of the ſermon his fate was determined, his vindication diſregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were condemned, and he was declared a manifeſt heretic: he was convicted of having taught many hereſies and pernicious errors; of having deſpiſed the keys of the church and eccleſiaſtical cenſures; of having ſeduced and given ſcandal to the faithful by his obſtinacy, and having raſhly appealed to the tribunal of Chriſt. The council therefore cenſured him for being obſtinate and incorrigible, and ordained, "That he ſhould be degraded from the prieſtood, his books publicly burnt, and himſelf delivered to the ſecular power."

This ſentence Huſs received without the leaſt emotion. At the cloſe of it he kneeled down with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and, with all the magnanimity of a primitive martyr, thus exclaimed: "May thy infinite mercy, O my God! pardon this injuſtice of mine enemies. Thou knoweſt the injuſtice of my accuſations: how deformed with crimes I have been repreſented; how I have been oppreſſed with worthleſs witneſſes, and a falſe condemnation; yet O my God! let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can expreſs, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs."

But theſe excellent ſentences were eſteemed as ſo many expreſſions of treaſon, and tended to inflame his adverſaries. Accordingly, the biſhops appointed by the council ſtripped him of his prieſtly garments, degraded him, and put a paper mitre on his head, on which were painted devils, with this inſcription: "A ringleader of heretics."

The heroic martyr received this mock mitre with an air of unconcern, which ſeemed to give him dignity rather than diſgrace. A ſerenity, nay even a joy appeared in his looks, which indicated that his ſoul had cut off many ſtages of a tedious journey in her way to the realms of everlaſting peace and happineſs.

When the ceremony of degradation was over, the biſhops delivered Huſs to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gates of the church; and on the 6th of July he was led to the ſuburbs of Conſtance, to be burnt alive.

When he had reached the place of execution, he fell on his knees, ſung ſeveral portions of the Pſalms, looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, and repeated theſe words: "Into thy hands, O Lord! do I commit my ſpirit: thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt good and faithful God!"

As ſoon as the chain was put about him at the ſtake, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, "My Lord Jeſus Chriſt

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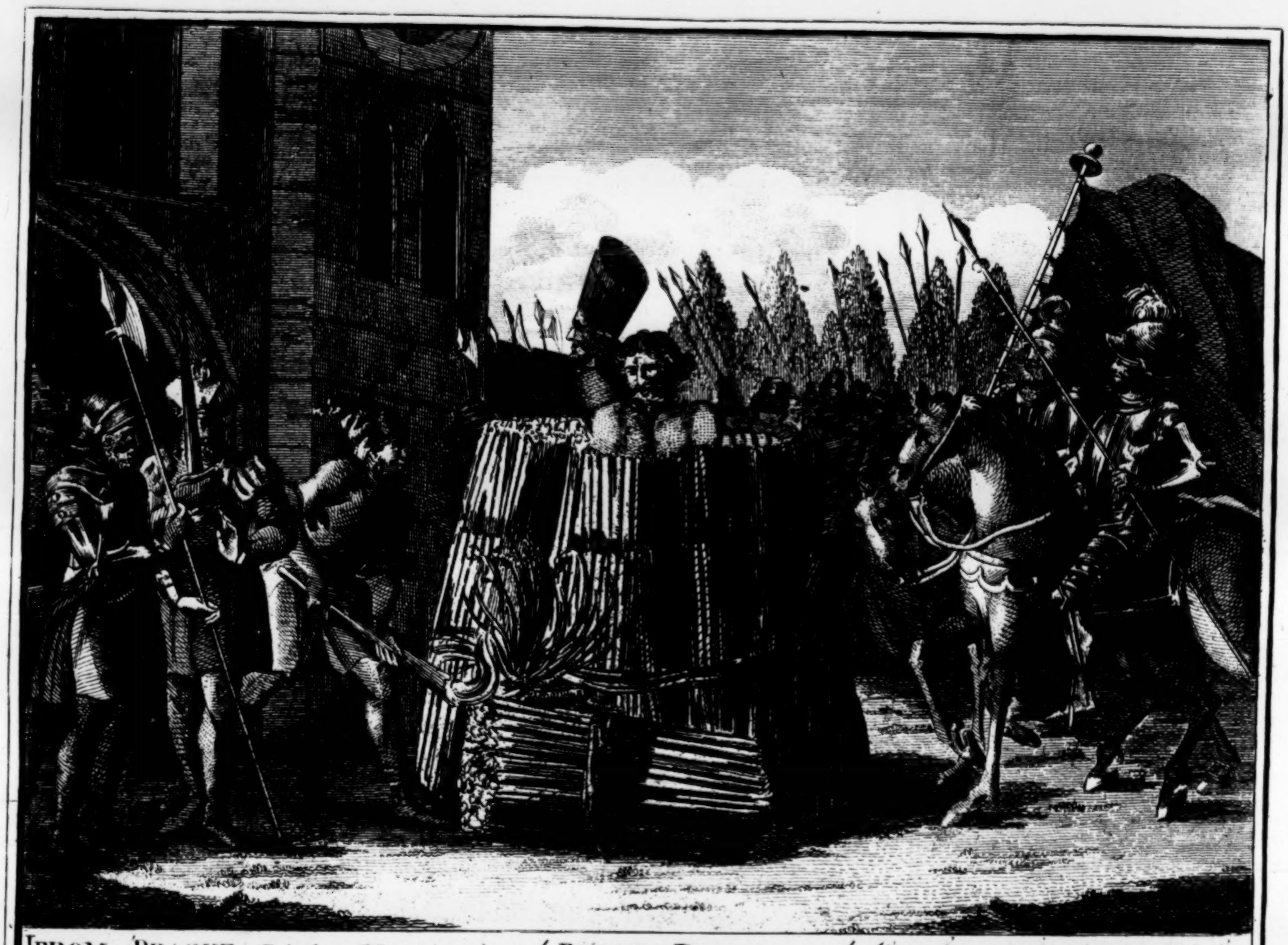
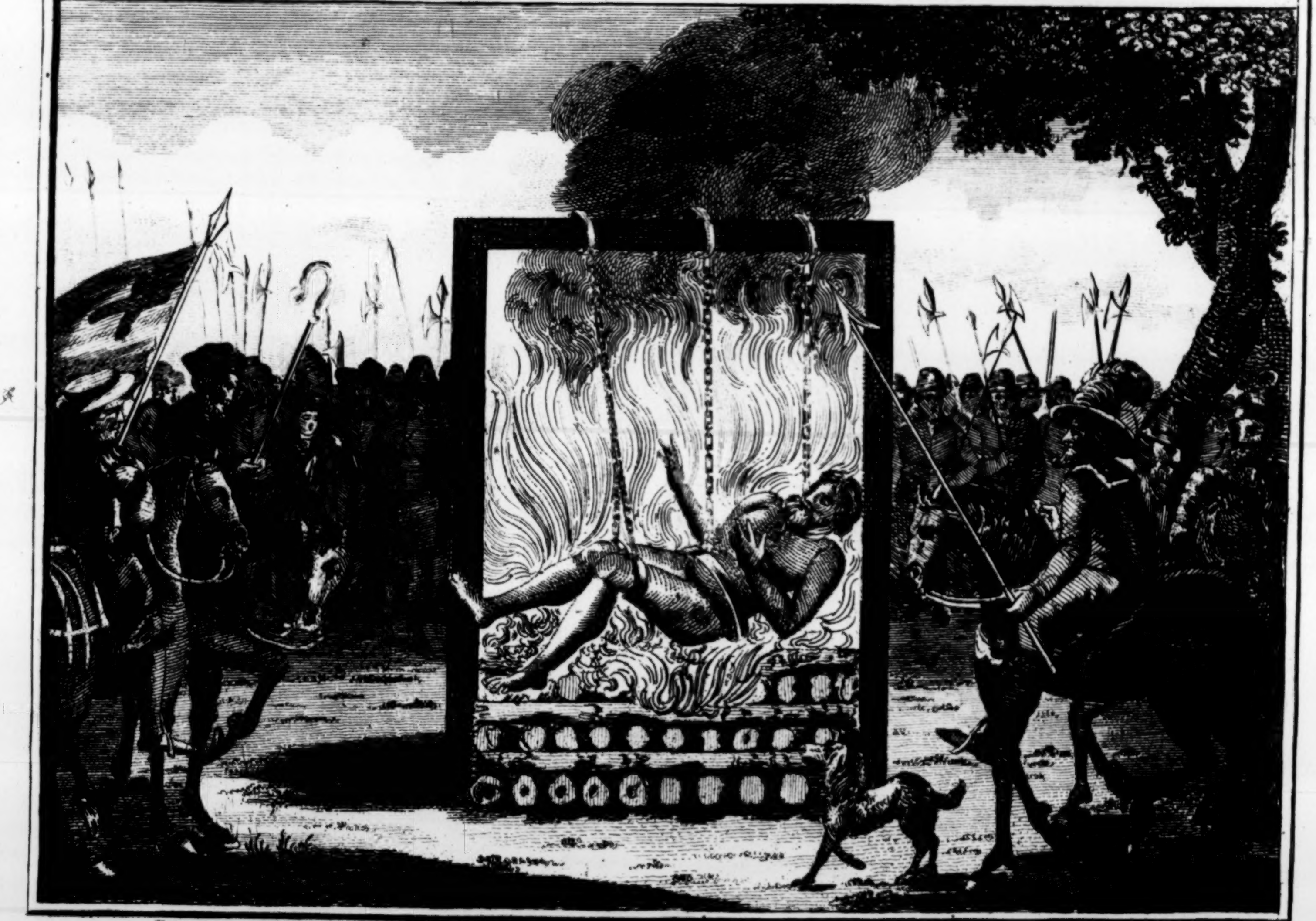


JEROM *of* PRAGUE (a Primitive Martyr) *going to be* BURNT *to* DEATH *(near the City of* Constance *in* Bohemia) *for holding the* Doctrines *of* Wickliff, *in the Year* 1416 *— after which his* Ashes *were cast into the* River Rhine. —



The CRUEL MARTYRDOM *of* SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord Cobham, *during the Reign of* Henry V. *in the Year* — 1417.

Face to S.

Chriſt was bound with a harder chain than this for my ſake, and why then ſhould I be aſhamed of this old ruſty one?"

Even when the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was ſo officious as to deſire him to abjure. "No, (ſaid Huſs) I never preached any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips I now ſeal with my blood." He then ſaid to the executioner, "You are now going to burn a gooſe, (the name of Huſs ſignifying gooſe in the Bohemian language) but in a century you will have a ſwan whom you can neither roaſt nor boil." If he was prophetic, he muſt have meant Martin Luther, who ſhone about an hundred years after, and who had a ſwan for his arms.

As ſoon as the flames were applied to the faggots, our martyr ſung an hymn, with ſo loud and chearful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combuſtibles, and the noiſe of the multitude. At length his voice was interrupted by the ſeverity of the flames, which ſoon put a period to his life.

A Circumſtantial ACCOUNT *of the* LIFE, SUFFERINGS, *and* MARTYRDOM, *of* JEROM OF PRAGUE, *who was* BURNT *to* DEATH *at* CONSTANCE *in* GERMANY, *for maintaining the* DOCTRINES *of* WICKLIFFE, *the* ENGLISH REFORMIST.

JEROM OF PRAGUE, who was the companion of Dr. Huſs, and may be ſaid to be co-martyr with him, was born at Prague, and educated in that univerſity, where he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his great abilities and learning. He likewiſe viſited ſeveral other learned ſeminaries in Europe, particularly the univerſities of Paris, Heidelburg, Cologn, and Oxford. At the latter place he became acquainted with the works of Wickliffe, and being a perſon of uncommon application he tranſlated many of them into his native language, having, with great pains, made himſelf maſter of the Engliſh language.

Upon his return to Prague he profeſſed himſelf an open favourer of Wickliffe, and finding that his doctrines had made a conſiderable progreſs in Bohemia, and that Huſs was the principal promoter of them, he became an aſſiſtant to him in the great work of reformation.

Jerom on the 4th of April, A. D. 1415, arrived at Conſtance, about three months before the death of Huſs. He entered the town privately, and conſulting with ſome of the leaders of his party, whom he found there, was eaſily convinced he could not be of any ſervice to his friend.

Underſtanding that his arrival at Conſtance was publicly known, and that the council intended to ſeize him, he thought it moſt prudent to retire. Accordingly, the next day he went to Iberling, an imperial town, about a mile from Conſtance. From this place he wrote to the emperor, and propoſed his readineſs to appear before the council, if he would give him a ſafe conduct; but this was refuſed. He then applied to the council, but met with an anſwer no leſs unfavourable than that from the emperor.

Thus being diſappointed, Jerom cauſed papers to be put up in all the public places in Conſtance, particularly on the doors of the cardinals houſes, in which he profeſſed his readineſs to appear at Conſtance in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which, he ſaid, had been greatly defamed. He alſo declared, that if any error ſhould be proved againſt him, he would with great readineſs retract it; begging only that the faith of the council might be given for his ſecurity.

As he received no anſwer to theſe papers, he ſet out on his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to take with him a certificate, ſigned by ſeveral of the Bohemian nobility then at Conſtance, teſtifying that he had uſed all prudent means in his power to procure an audit.

However, Jerom did not eſcape thus. He was ſeized at Hirſaw, by an officer belonging to the duke of Sultſbach, who, though unauthorized ſo to act, made little doubt of obtaining thanks from the council for a ſervice ſo acceptable.

Now the duke of Sultſbach, having Jerom in his power, wrote to the council for directions how to proceed. The council, after expreſſing their obligations to the duke, deſired him to ſend the priſoner immediately to Conſtance. The elector palatine met him on the way, and conducted him into the city, himſelf riding on horſeback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters by a long chain; and immediately on his arrival he was committed to a loathſome dungeon.

In the ſame manner as Huſs had been treated ſo, was Jerom, only that he was much longer confined, and ſhifted from one priſon to another. At length, being brought before the council, he deſired that he might plead his own cauſe, and exculpate himſelf: which being refuſed him, he thus gave vent to his indignation:

"What barbarity is this? For three hundred and forty days have I been confined in a variety of priſons. There is not a miſery, there is not a want, which I have not experienced. To my enemies you have allowed the fulleſt ſcope of accuſation: to me, you deny the leaſt opportunity of defence. Not an hour will you now indulge me in preparing for my trial. You have ſwallowed the blackeſt calumnies againſt me. You have repreſented me as an heretic, without knowing my doctrine: as an enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I profeſſed: as a perſecutor of prieſts, before you could have any opportunity of underſtanding my ſentiments on that head. You are a general council: in you center all this world can communicate of gravity, wiſdom, and ſanctity: but ſtill you are men, and men are ſeducible by appearances. The higher your character is for wiſdom, the greater ought your care to be, not to deviate into folly. The cauſe I now plead is not my own cauſe: it is the cauſe of men: it is the cauſe of chriſtians: it is a cauſe, which is to affect the rights of poſterity; however the experiment is to be made in my perſon."

No effect however had this ſpeech: Jerom was obliged to hear his charge read, which was reduced under five heads as follow:

1. That he was a derider of the papal dignity.
2. An oppoſer of the pope.
3. An enemy to the cardinals.
4. A perſecutor of the prelates.
5. An hater of the chriſtian religion.

Jerom to theſe ſeveral charges anſwered with an amazing force of elocution, and ſtrength of argument. "Now, (ſaid he) wretch that I am! whither ſhall I turn me! To my accuſers? My accuſers are as deaf as adders. To you, my judges? You are all prepoſſeſſed by the arts of my accuſers."---After this ſpeech Jerom was immediately remanded to his priſon.

The trial of Jerom was brought on the third day after his accuſation, and witneſſes were examined in ſupport of the charge. The priſoner was prepared for his defence, which appears almoſt incredible, when we conſider he had been three hundred and forty days ſhut up in loathſome priſons, deprived of day-light, and almoſt ſtarved for want of common neceſſaries. But his ſpirit ſoared above theſe diſadvantages, under which a man leſs animated would have ſunk; nor was he more at a loſs for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furniſhed with books of the beſt quality.

Such of the aſſembly as were moſt bigotted were unwilling he ſhould be heard, knowing what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds of the moſt prejudiced. At length, however, it was carried by the majority, that he ſhould have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in ſuch an exalted ſtrain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was ſeen to melt, and the mind of ſuperſtition ſeemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable diſtinction between evidence as reſting upon facts, and as ſupported by malice and calumny. He laid before the aſſembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct. He obſerved that the greateſt and moſt holy men had been known to differ in points of ſpeculation, with a view to diſtinguiſh truth, not to keep it concealed. He expreſſed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cauſe of virtue and truth. He entered upon an high encomium on Huſs; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious track of martyrdom. He then touched upon the moſt defenſible doctrines of Wickliffe; and concluded with obſerving, that it was far from his intention to advance any thing againſt the ſtate of the church of God: that it was only againſt the abuſe of the clergy he complained: and that he could not help ſaying, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpoſe of charity, and univerſal benevolence, ſhould be proſtituted to the pride of the eye, in feaſts, foppiſh veſtments, and other reproaches to the name and profeſſion of religion.

When the trial was over, Jerom received the ſame ſentence, that had been paſſed upon his martyred countryman. In conſequence of this he was, in the uſual ſtile of popiſh affectation, delivered over to the civil power: but as he was a layman, he had not to undergo the ceremony of degradation. They had prepared a cap of paper painted with red devils, which being put upon his head, he ſaid, "Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when he ſuffered death for me a moſt miſerable ſinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his ſake, will wear this cap."

They allowed him two days in hopes that he would recant; in which time the cardinal of Florence uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring him over. But they all proved ineffectual: Jerom was reſolved to ſeal his doctrine with his blood; and he ſuffered death with the moſt diſtinguiſhed magnanimity.

While going to the place of execution he ſung ſeveral hymns; and when he came to the ſpot, which was the ſame where Huſs had been burnt, he kneeled down, and prayed fervently. He embraced the ſtake with great chearfulneſs and reſolution; and when the executioner went behind him to ſet fire to the faggots, he ſaid, "Come here, and kindle it before my eyes; for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had ſo many opportunities of making my eſcape."

When the fire was kindled, he ſung an hymn, but was ſoon interrupted by the flames; and the laſt words he was heard to ſay were,

Hanc animam in flammis offero, Chriſte, tibi!
"This ſoul in flames I offer, Chriſt, to thee!"

A Full and Particular ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in the* NETHERLANDS.

SEEING that the light of the goſpel was now ſucceſsfully ſpread over the Netherlands, the pope inſtigated the emperor to commence a perſecution againſt the proteſtants; when many thouſands fell martyrs to ſuperſtitious malice and barbarous bigotry: among whom the following were the moſt remarkable.

One Wendelinuta, a pious proteſtant widow, was apprehended on account of her religion, when ſeveral monks, unſucceſsfully, endeavoured to perſuade her to recant. As they could not prevail, a Roman catholic lady of her acquaintance deſired to be admitted to the dungeon in which ſhe was confined, and promiſed to exert herſelf ſtrenuouſly towards inducing the priſoner to abjure the reformed religion. When ſhe was admitted to the dungeon, ſhe did her utmoſt to perform the taſk ſhe had undertaken; but finding her endeavours ineffectual, ſhe ſaid, Dear Wendelinuta, if you will not embrace our faith, at leaſt keep the things which you profeſs ſecret within your own boſom, and ſtrive to prolong your life. To which the widow replied, Madam, you know not what you ſay; for with the heart we believe to righteouſneſs, but with the tongue confeſſion is made unto ſalvation. As ſhe poſitively refuſed to recant, her goods were confiſcated, and ſhe was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution a monk held a croſs to her, and bade her kiſs and worſhip God. To which ſhe anſwered, "I worſhip no wooden god, but the eternal God, who is in heaven." She was then executed, but through the before-mentioned Roman catholic lady, the favour was granted, that ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled before the faggots were kindled.

There were two proteſtant clergymen burnt at Colen; a tradeſman of Antwerp, named Nicholas, was tied up in a ſack, thrown into the river, and drowned; and Piſtorius, a learned ſtudent, was carried to the market of a Dutch village in a fool's coat, and committed to the flames.

A proteſtant miniſter was ordered to attend the execution of ſixteen proteſtants who received ſentence to be beheaded. This gentleman performed the function of his office with great propriety, exhorted them to repentance, and gave them comfort in the mercies of their Redeemer. As ſoon as the ſixteen were beheaded, the magiſtrate cried out to the executioner, "There is another ſtroke remaining yet; you muſt behead the miniſter, he can never die at a better time than with ſuch excellent precepts in his mouth, and ſuch laudable examples before him." He was accordingly beheaded, though even many of the Roman catholics themſelves reprobated this piece of treacherous and unneceſſary barbariſm.

One George Scherter, a miniſter of Saltzburg, was apprehended and committed to priſon for inſtructing his flock in the knowledge of the goſpel. While he was in confinement he wrote a confeſſion of his faith; ſoon after which he was condemned, firſt to be beheaded, and afterwards to be burnt to aſhes. In his way to the place of execution he ſaid to the ſpectators, "That you may know I die a true chriſtian, I will give you a ſign." This was indeed verified in a moſt ſingular manner; for after his head was cut off, the body lying a ſhort ſpace of time with the belly to the ground, it ſuddenly turned upon the back, when the right foot croſſed over the left, as did alſo the right arm over the left: and in this manner it remained till it was committed to the fire.

A learned man in Louviana, named Percival, was murdered in priſon; and Juſtus Inſparg was beheaded, for having Luther's ſermons in his poſſeſſion.

Giles Tilleman, a cutler of Bruſſels, was a man of great humanity and piety. Among others he was apprehended as a proteſtant, and many endeavours were made by the monks to perſuade him to recant. He had once, by accident, a fair opportunity of eſcaping from priſon, and being aſked why he did not avail himſelf of it, he replied, "I would not do the keepers ſo much injury, as they muſt have anſwered for my abſence, had I got away." When he was ſentenced to be burnt, he fervently thanked God for granting him an opportunity, by martyrdom, to glorify his name. Perceiving, at the place of execution, a great quantity of faggots, he deſired the principal part of them might be given to the poor, ſaying, a ſmall quantity will ſuffice to conſume me. The executioner offered to ſtrangle him before the fire was lighted, but he would not conſent, telling him, that he defied the flames; and, indeed, he gave up the ghoſt with ſuch compoſure amidſt them, that he hardly ſeemed ſenſible of their effects.

About the years 1543 and 1544, the perſecution was carried on throughout all Flanders in a moſt violent and cruel manner. Some were condemned to perpetual impriſonment, others to perpetual baniſhment: but moſt were put to death either by hanging, drowning, immuring, burning, the rack, or burying alive.

One John de Boſcane, a zealous proteſtant, was apprehended on account of his faith, in the city of Antwerp. On his trial he ſtedfaſtly profeſſed himſelf to be of the reformed religion, which occaſioned his immediate condemnation. The magiſtrate, however, was afraid to put him to death publicly, as he was popular through his great generoſity, and almoſt univerſally beloved for his inoffenſive life, and exemplary piety. A private execution being determined on, an order was given to drown him in priſon. The executioner, accordingly, put him into a large tub; but Boſcane ſtruggling, and getting his head above the water, the executioner ſtabbed him with a dagger in ſeveral places, till at laſt his diſſolution was completed.

Another proteſtant, John de Buiſons, was, about the ſame time, ſecretly apprehended, and privately executed at Antwerp. The number of proteſtants being great in that city, and the priſoner much reſpected, the magiſtrates feared an inſurrection, and for that reaſon ordered him to be beheaded in priſon.

Three perſons were apprehended in Antwerp, A. D. 1568, named Scoblant, Hues, and Coomans. During their confinement they behaved with great fortitude and chearfulneſs, confeſſing that the hand of God appeared in what had befallen them, and bowing down before the throne of his providence. In an epiſtle to ſome worthy proteſtants, they expreſs themſelves in the following words: "Since it is the will of the Almighty that we ſhould ſuffer for his name, and be perſecuted for the ſake of his goſpel, we patiently ſubmit, and are joyful upon the occaſion: though the fleſh may rebel againſt the ſpirit, and hearken to the counſel of the old ſerpent, yet the truths of the goſpel ſhall prevent ſuch advice from being taken, and Chriſt ſhall bruiſe the ſerpent's head. We are not comfortleſs in confinement, for we have faith; we fear not affliction, for we have hope; and we forgive our enemies, for we have charity. Be not under apprehenſions for us, we are happy in confinement through the promiſes of God, glory in our bonds, and exult in being thought worthy to ſuffer for the ſake of Chriſt. We deſire not to be releaſed, but to be bleſſed with fortitude; we aſk not liberty, but the power of perſeverance; and wiſh for no change in our condition, but that which places a crown of martyrdom upon our heads."

Scoblant was firſt brought to his trial; when, perſiſting in the profeſſion of his faith, he received ſentence of death. On his return to priſon, he earneſtly requeſted the gaoler not to permit any friar to come hear him; ſaying, "They can do me no good, but may greatly diſturb me. I hope my ſalvation is already ſealed in heaven, and that the blood of Chriſt, in which I firmly put my truſt, hath waſhed me from mine iniquities. I am now going to throw off this earthly mantle of clay, to be clad in robes of eternal glory, by whoſe celeſtial brightneſs I ſhall be freed from all errors. I hope I may be the laſt martyr to papal tyranny, and the blood already ſpilt found ſufficient to quench the thirſt of popiſh cruelty; that the church of Chriſt may have reſt here, as his ſervants will hereafter." On the day of execution he took a pathetic leave of his fellow-priſoners. At the ſtake he fervently ſaid the Lord's Prayer, and ſung the fortieth Pſalm; then commending his ſoul to God, he was deſtroyed by the flames.

Some ſhort time after, Hues died in priſon; upon which occaſion Coomans wrote thus to his friends: "I am now deprived of my friends and companions; Scoblant is martyred, and Hues dead, by the viſitation of the Lord; yet I am not alone; I have with me the God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of Jacob; he is my comfort, and ſhall be my reward. Pray unto God to ſtrengthen me to the end, as I expect every hour to be freed from this tenement of clay."

This man, on his trial, freely confeſſed himſelf of the reformed religion, anſwered with a manly fortitude to every charge againſt him, and proved the ſcriptural part of his anſwers from the goſpel. The judge told him the only alternatives were, recantation or death; and concluded, by ſaying, "Will you die for the faith you profeſs?" To which Coomans replied, "I am not only willing to die, but to ſuffer the moſt excruciating torments for it: after which my ſoul ſhall receive it's confirmation from God himſelf, in the midſt of eternal glory." Being condemned, he went chearfully to the place of execution, and died with chriſtian reſignation, and manly fortitude.

Alſo one William Naſſau fell a ſacrifice to treachery, being aſſaſſinated in the fifty-firſt year of his age, by Baltazar Gerard, a native of Franche Comté, in the province of Burgundy. This murderer, in hopes of a reward here and hereafter, for killing an enemy to the king of Spain, and an enemy to the catholic religion, undertook to deſtroy the prince of Orange. Having procured fire-arms, he watched him as he paſſed through the great hall of his palace to dinner, and demanded a paſſport. The princeſs of Orange, obſerving that the aſſaſſin ſpoke with an hollow and confuſed voice, aſked who he was? ſaying, ſhe did not like his countenance. The prince anſwered, it was one that demanded a paſſport, which he ſhould have preſently.

Nothing farther paſſed before dinner, but afterwards, on the return of the prince and princeſs through the ſame hall, the aſſaſſin, ſtanding concealed as much as poſſible by one of the pillars, fired at the prince, the balls entering at the left ſide, and paſſing through the right, wounding in their paſſage the ſtomach and vital parts. On receiving the wounds, the prince only ſaid, Lord have mercy upon my ſoul, and upon this poor people, and then immediately expired.

General were the lamentations throughout the United Provinces, on account of the death of the prince of Orange; and the aſſaſſin, who was immediately taken, received ſentence to be put to death in the moſt exemplary manner; yet ſuch was his enthuſiaſm, or folly, that when his fleſh was torn by red-hot pincers, he coolly ſaid, If I was at liberty, I would commit ſuch an action over again.

The funeral of the prince of Orange was the grandeſt ever ſeen in the Low Countries, and perhaps the ſorrow for his death the moſt ſincere, as he left behind him the character he honeſtly deſerved, namely, that of being Father of his people.

In ſhort, multitudes were murdered in different parts of Flanders; in the city of Valence, in particular, fifty-ſeven of the principal inhabitants were butchered in one day, for refuſing to embrace the Romiſh ſuperſtition: and great numbers were ſuffered to languiſh in confinement, till they periſhed through the inclemency of their priſons.

A Full and Particular Account *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* LITHUANIA.

IN 1648 the perſecutions in Lithuania began, and were carried on with great ſeverity by the Coſſacks and Tartars. The cruelty of the Coſſacks was ſuch, that even the Tartars, at laſt, grew aſhamed of it, and reſcued ſome of the intended victims from their hands.

The following were the chief barbarities exerciſed; ſkinning alive, cutting off hands, taking out the bowels, cutting the fleſh open, putting out the eyes, beheading, ſcalping, cutting off feet, boring the ſhin bones, pouring melted lead into the fleſh, ſending to perpetual baniſhment, hanging, ſtabbing, &c. &c.

The Ruſſians taking advantage of the devaſtations which had been made in the country, and of it's incapability of defence, entered it with a conſiderable army, and, like a flood, bore down all before them. Every thing they met with was an object of deſtruction; they razed cities, demoliſhed caſtles, ruined fortreſſes, ſacked towns, burnt villages, and murdered people. The miniſters of the goſpel were peculiarly marked out as the objects of their diſpleaſure, though every worthy chriſtian was liable to the effects of their barbarity.

Whenever Lithuania recovered itſelf after one perſecution, ſucceeding enemies again deſtroyed it. The Swedes, the Pruſſians, and the Courlanders, carried fire and ſword through it, and continual calamities, for ſome years, attended that unhappy diſtrict. It was then attacked by the prince of Tranſylvania, who had in his army, excluſive of his own Tranſylvanians, Hungarians, Moldavians, Servians, Walachians, &c. Theſe, as far as they penetrated, waſted the country, deſtroyed the churches, rifled the nobility, burnt the houſes, murdered the ſick, and enſlaved the healthy.

A clergyman, who wrote an account of the misfortunes of Lithuania, in the ſeventeenth century, ſays, "In conſideration of theſe extremities, we cannot but adore the judgment of God poured upon us for our ſins, and deplore our ſad condition. Let us hope for a deliverance from his mercy, and wiſh for reſtitution in his benevolence. Though we are brought low, though we are waſted, troubled, and terrified, yet his compaſſion is greater than our calamities, and his goodneſs ſuperior to our afflictions. Our neighbours hate us at preſent, as much as our more diſtant enemies did before: they perſecute the remnant of us ſtill remaining, deprive us of our few churches left, baniſh our preachers, abuſe our ſchoolmaſters, treat us with contempt, and oppreſs us in the moſt opprobrious manner. In all our afflictions the truth of the goſpel ſhone among us, and gave us comfort; and we only wiſhed for the grace of Jeſus Chriſt, (not only to ourſelves, but to ſoften the hearts of our enemies) and the ſympathy of our fellow chriſtians."

A Full and Particular ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* POLAND.

EVERY one knows it hath been the fate of many pious people, in all ages of the world, to bear the croſs of Chriſt, and ſuffer perſecutions on account of their opinions; for thoſe who are born after the fleſh have always been enemies to ſuch as are born after the Spirit: accordingly the proteſtants of Poland were perſecuted in a dreadful manner. The miniſters in particular were treated with the moſt unexampled barbarity; ſome having their tongues cut out, becauſe they had preached the goſpel truths; others being deprived of their ſight on account of having read the bible; and great numbers were cut to pieces, for not recanting. Several private perſons were put to death by various methods; the moſt cruel being uſually preferred. Women were murdered without the leaſt regard to their ſex; and the perſecutors even went ſo far as to cut off the heads of ſucking babes, and faſten them to the breaſts of their unfortunate mothers!!!

Not even the ſolemnity of the grave exempted the bodies of proteſtants from the malice of perſecutors; for they ſacrilegiouſly dug up the bodies of many eminent perſons, and either cut them to pieces, and expoſed them to be devoured by birds and beaſts, or hung them up in places the moſt conſpicuous and public.

In this perſecution the city of Leſna particularly ſuffered; for being beſieged and taken, the inhabitants were all deſtroyed.

A Full and Particular ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* CHINA.

THREE Italian miſſionaries, called Roger the Neapolitan, Paſis of Bologne, and Matthew Ricci of Mazerata, in the marquiſate of Ancona, firſt eſtabliſhed chriſtianity in China. Theſe entered China about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, being well circumſtanced to perform their important commiſſion with ſucceſs, as they had previouſly made the Chineſe language their conſtant ſtudy.

The aſſiduity of theſe three miſſionaries in the diſcharge of their duty was very great; but Roger and Paſis returning to Europe in a few years, the whole labour fell upon Ricci, who aimed to eſtabliſh chriſtianity with a degree of zeal that was indefatigable.

This man, though much diſpoſed to indulge his converts as far as poſſible, made great heſitation at their ceremonies, which ſeemed to amount to idolatry. At length after eighteen years conſideration, he began to ſoften his opinion, and tolerated all the parts of thoſe cuſtoms which were ordered by the laws of the empire, but ſtrictly enjoined his Chineſe chriſtians to omit the reſt.

Such was the condition of chriſtianity in China, when the chriſtian church eſtabliſhed there was governed only by Ricci, who, by his moderation, made innumerable converts. In 1630, however, this tranquillity was diſturbed by the arrival of ſome new miſſionaries: theſe being unacquainted with the Chineſe cuſtoms, manners, and language, and with the arguments on which Ricci's toleration was founded, were aſtoniſhed when they ſaw chriſtian converts proſtrate before Confucius and the tables of their anceſtors, and accordingly condemned the cuſtom.

Now a warm controverſy enſued between Ricci, ſeconded by his converts, and the new miſſionaries; and the latter wrote an account of the whole affair to the pope, and the ſociety for the propagation of the chriſtian faith. The ſociety ſoon pronounced, that the ceremonies were idolatrous and intolerable, and the pope confirmed the ſentence. In this both the ſociety and the pope were excuſable, as the matter had been miſrepreſented to them; for the enemies of Ricci had affirmed, the halls, in which the ceremonies were performed, to be temples, and the ceremonies themſelves the ſacrifices of idolatry.

The above-mentioned ſentence was ſent over to China, but treated with contempt, and matters remained as they were for ſome time. At length, a true repreſentation of the matter was ſent over, ſetting forth, that the Chineſe cuſtoms and ceremonies alluded to were entirely free from idolatry, being merely political, and tending only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The pope, finding that he had made himſelf ridiculous, by confirming an abſurd ſentence upon a falſe report, wanted to get rid of the affair, and therefore referred the repreſentation to the inquiſition, which reverſed the ſentence immediately, at the private deſire of the pope, as may be naturally conjectured.

However the chriſtian church, for all theſe diviſions, flouriſhed in China till the death of the firſt Tartar emperor, whoſe ſucceſſor was a minor. During this minority of the young emperor Cang-hi, the regents and nobles conſpired to extirpate the chriſtian religion. The execution of this deſign was begun with expedition, and carried on with ſeverity, ſo that every chriſtian teacher in China, as well as thoſe who profeſſed the faith, were ſtruck with amazement. John Adam Schall, a German eccleſiaſtic, and one of the principals of the miſſion, was thrown into a dungeon in the year 1664, but narrowly eſcaped with his life, being then in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age.

In 1665, the enſuing year, the miniſters of ſtate publicly and unanimouſly reſolved, and made a decree as follows:

1. That the chriſtian doctrines were falſe.
2. That they were dangerous to the intereſt of the empire.
3. That they ſhould not be practiſed under pain of death.

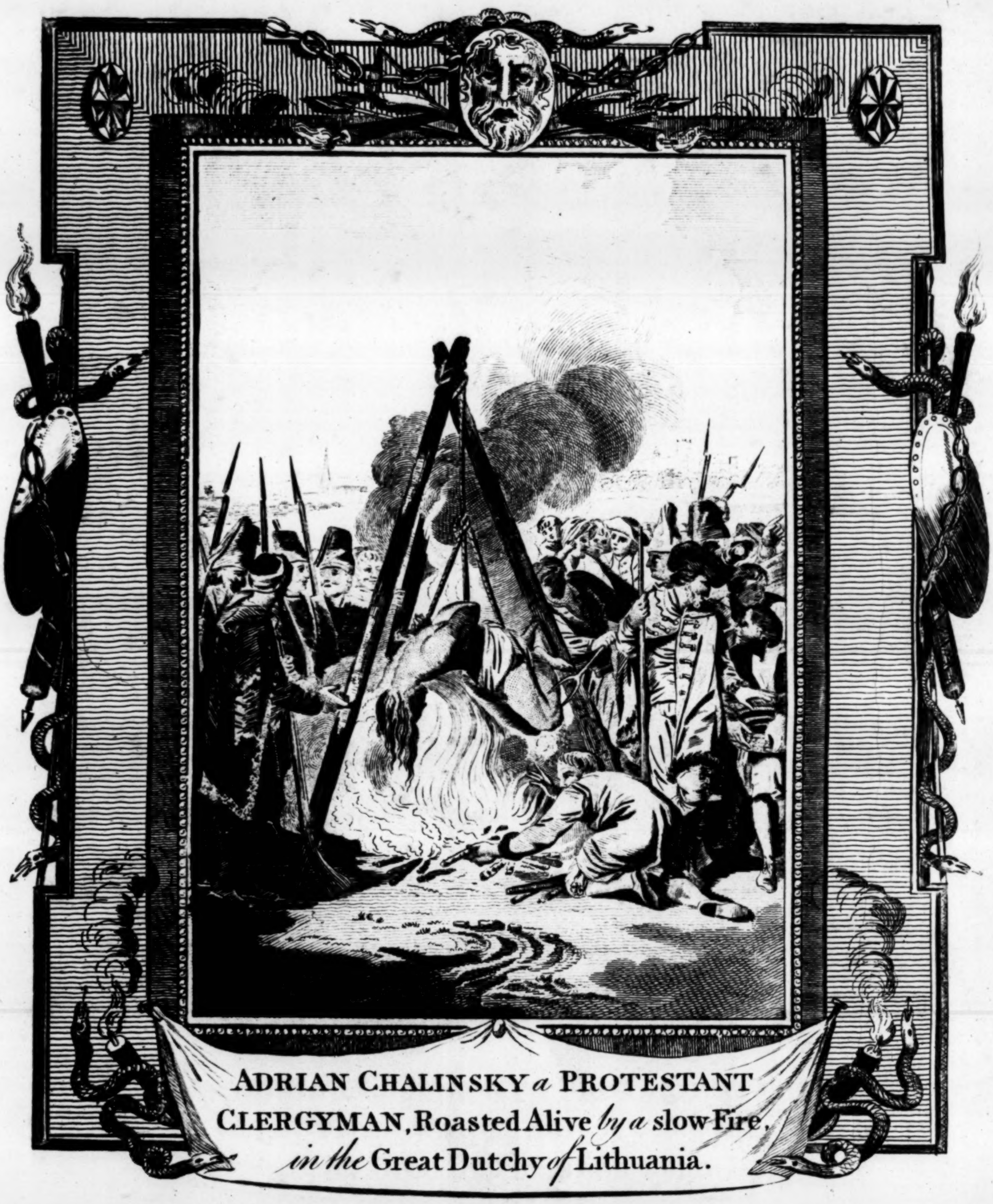
A moſt furious and general perſecution was the reſult of the publication of this decree, in which ſome were put to death, many were ruined, and all were, in ſome manner, oppreſſed. This decree was general, and the perſecution univerſal accordingly throughout the empire; for, previous to this, the chriſtians had been partially perſecuted at different times, and in different provinces.

In four years after, viz. 1669, the young emperor was declared of age, and took the reins of government upon himſelf, when by his order the perſecution immediately ceaſed.

A Full and Particular ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* JAPAN.

CHRISTIANITY was firſt introduced into the idolatrous empire of Japan, by ſome Portugueſe miſſionaries in or about the year of our Lord 1552, and their endeavours in making converts to the light of the goſpel met with a degree of ſucceſs equal to their moſt ſanguine deſires.

This good fortune continued till the year 1616, when the miſſionaries being accuſed of having concerned themſelves in politics, and formed a plan to ſubvert the government, and dethrone the emperor, great jealouſies ſubſiſted till 1622, when the court commenced a dreadful perſecution againſt both foreign and native chriſtians.



ADRIAN CHALINSKY *a* PROTESTANT
CLERGYMAN, Roasted Alive *by a* slow Fire,
in the Great Dutchy *of* Lithuania.

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Such was the rage of this perſecution, that, during the firſt four years, no leſs than 20,570 chriſtians were maſſacred. The public profeſſion of chriſtianity was prohibited under pain of death, and the churches were ſhut up by an expreſs order.

Several who were informed againſt, as privately profeſſing chriſtianity, ſuffered martyrdom with great heroiſm. The perſecution continued many years, when the remnant of the innumerable chriſtians, with which Japan abounded, to the number of 37,000 ſouls, retired to the town and caſtle of Siniabara, in the iſland of Ximo, where they determined to make a ſtand, to continue in their faith, and to defend themſelves to the very laſt extremity of all.

Hereupon the Japaneſe army purſued the chriſtians, and laid ſiege to the place. The chriſtians defended themſelves with great bravery, and held out againſt the beſiegers for the ſpace of three months, but were at length compelled to ſurrender, when men, women, and children, were indiſcriminately murdered; and chriſtianity, in their martyrdoms, entirely extirpated from Japan.

It was on the 12th of April, 1638, that this event took place, ſince which period no chriſtians but the Dutch are allowed to land in the empire, and even they are obliged to conduct themſelves with the greateſt precaution, and to carry on their commerce with the utmoſt circumſpection and care.

SUMMARY *of the* PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *againſt the* CHRISTIANS *in* ABYSSINIA, *or* ETHIOPIA.

ABOUT the concluſion of the fifteenth century, and ſoon after the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, ſome Portugueſe miſſionaries made a voyage to Abyſſinia, and were indefatigable in propagating the Roman catholic doctrine among the Abyſſinians, who profeſſed chriſtianity before the arrival of the miſſionaries.

Now the prieſts, employed in this miſſion, gained ſuch influence at court, that the emperor conſented to aboliſh the eſtabliſhed rites of the Ethiopian church, and to admit thoſe of Rome. He ſoon after conſented to receive a patriarch from Rome, and to acknowledge the pope's ſupremacy.

Several of the moſt powerful lords, and a majority of the people who profeſſed the primitive chriſtianity, as firſt eſtabliſhed in Abyſſinia, oppoſed theſe innovations, and took up arms againſt the emperor. Thus, by the artifices of the court of Rome, and it's emiſſaries, a moſt furious civil war was begun, and the whole empire thrown into commotion. This war was carried on through ſeveral reigns, it's continuance being above 100 years, and the court conſtantly ſiding with the Roman catholics, the primitive chriſtians of Abyſſinia were ſeverely perſecuted, and multitudes periſhed by the moſt inhuman methods.

SUMMARY *of the* PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *againſt the* CHRISTIANS *in* TURKEY.

THE great impoſtor, Mahomet, in the infancy of his new religion, tolerated chriſtianity through a political motive, as he was ſenſible, that even in thoſe early times it had ſeveral powerful eſpouſers among the princes, who were his cotemporaries. As a proof that this was his ſole view, as ſoon as he found his doctrine was eſtabliſhed on a more permanent ſituation, he altered his forbearance to a ſyſtem of the moſt rigid and barbarous perſecution; which diabolical plan he has particularly recommended to his miſguided followers, in that part of his Alcoran, intituled, The Chapter of the Sword; and as proofs of the blind zeal his followers have adopted from his infernal tenets, the many bloody battles of the Turks with the whole of the profeſſors of Chriſt's goſpel, and their cruel maſſacres of them at various periods, ſufficiently evince.

In the year 1453, Conſtantine was beſieged in Conſtantinople, by Mahomet the Second, with an army of 300,000 men, when, after a bloody ſiege of about ſix weeks, on the 29th of May, 1453, it fell into the hands of the infidels, after being an imperial chriſtian city for ſome centuries; and the Turks have, to this day, retained poſſeſſion of it, as well as of the adjoining ſuburb of Pera.

The Turks, on entering Conſtantinople, exerciſed on the wretched chriſtians the moſt unremitting barbarity, deſtroying them by every method the moſt helliſh cruelty could invent, or the moſt unfeeling heart practiſe: ſome they roaſted alive on ſpits; others they flayed alive, and in that horrid manner left to expire with hunger: many were ſawed aſunder, and others torn to pieces by horſes. For full three days and nights the Turks were ſtriving to exceed each other in the exerciſe of their ſhocking carnage, and ſavage barbarity; murdering, without diſtinction of age or ſex, all they met, and brutiſhly violating the chaſtity of women, of every age and diſtinction.

About the year 1529, Solyman the Firſt retook Buda from the chriſtians, and ſhewed the moſt horrible perſecution of the inhabitants; ſome had their eyes torn out, others their hands, ears, and noſes cut off, and the children their privities, the virgins were deflowered, the matrons had their breaſts cut off, and ſuch that were pregnant had their wombs ripped open, and their unborn babes thrown into the flames. Not content with this, he repeated theſe horrid examples all the way on his march to Vienna, which he ineffectually beſieged, during which, this diabolical barbarian, having made a body of chriſtians priſoners, he ſent three of them into the city to relate the great ſtrength of his army, and the reſt he ordered to be torn limb from limb by wild horſes in ſight of their chriſtian brethren, who could only lament by their cries and tears the dreadful fate of theſe poor ſufferers.

The tender children were frequently in ſight of their wretched parents torn to pieces by beaſts, others dragged at horſes heels, ſome famiſhed with hunger, and others buried up to their necks in earth, and in that manner left to periſh. In ſhort, were we to relate the innumerable maſſacres and deplorable tragedies acted by the infidels, the particulars would at leaſt make a volume of themſelves, and from their horrid ſimilarity be not only ſhocking, but diſguſting to any reader of ſenſibility.

The ſeveral PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *in* GEORGIA *and* MINGRELIA.

THE Inhabitants of Georgia are chriſtians, and being very handſome people, the Turks and Perſians perſecute them by the moſt cruel mode of taxation ever invented, viz. in lieu of money, they compel them to deliver up their children for the following motives, viz.

The females to increaſe the number of concubines in the ſeraglios; to ſerve as maids of honour to ſultanas, the ladies of baſhaws, &c. and to be ſold to merchants of different nations, by whom the price is proportioned to the beauty of the purchaſed fair one.

The males are uſed as mutes and eunuchs in the ſeraglio, as clerks in the offices of ſtate, and as ſoldiers in the army.

To the weſt of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewiſe inhabited by chriſtians, who are perſecuted and oppreſſed in the ſame manner as the Georgians by the Turks and Perſians, their children being extorted from them, or they murdered for refuſing to conſent to the ſale.

The ſeveral PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *in the* STATES *of* BARBARY.

THE chriſtians are treated in Algiers with particular ſeverity; as the Algerines are ſome of the moſt perfidious, as well as the moſt cruel of all the inhabitants

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The Turks, on entering Conſtantinople, exerciſed on the wretched chriſtians the moſt unremitting barbarity, deſtroying them by every method the moſt helliſh cruelty could invent, or the moſt unfeeling heart practiſe: ſome they roaſted alive on ſpits; others they flayed alive, and in that horrid manner left to expire with hunger: many were ſawed aſunder, and others torn to pieces by horſes. For full three days and nights the Turks were ſtriving to exceed each other in the exerciſe of their ſhocking carnage, and ſavage barbarity; murdering, without diſtinction of age or ſex, all they met, and brutiſhly violating the chaſtity of women, of every age and diſtinction.

About the year 1529, Solyman the Firſt retook Buda from the chriſtians, and ſhewed the moſt horrible perſecution of the inhabitants; ſome had their eyes torn out, others their hands, ears, and noſes cut off, and the children their privities, the virgins were deflowered, the matrons had their breaſts cut off, and ſuch that were pregnant had their wombs ripped open, and their unborn babes thrown into the flames. Not content with this, he repeated theſe horrid examples all the way on his march to Vienna, which he ineffectually beſieged, during which, this diabolical barbarian, having made a body of chriſtians priſoners, he ſent three of them into the city to relate the great ſtrength of his army, and the reſt he ordered to be torn limb from limb by wild horſes in ſight of their chriſtian brethren, who could only lament by their cries and tears the dreadful fate of theſe poor ſufferers.

The tender children were frequently in ſight of their wretched parents torn to pieces by beaſts, others dragged at horſes heels, ſome famiſhed with hunger, and others buried up to their necks in earth, and in that manner left to periſh. In ſhort, were we to relate the innumerable maſſacres and deplorable tragedies acted by the infidels, the particulars would at leaſt make a volume of themſelves, and from their horrid ſimilarity be not only ſhocking, but diſguſting to any reader of ſenſibility.

The ſeveral PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *in* GEORGIA *and* MINGRELIA.

THE Inhabitants of Georgia are chriſtians, and being very handſome people, the Turks and Perſians perſecute them by the moſt cruel mode of taxation ever invented, viz. in lieu of money, they compel them to deliver up their children for the following motives, viz.

The females to increaſe the number of concubines in the ſeraglios; to ſerve as maids of honour to ſultanas, the ladies of baſhaws, &c. and to be ſold to merchants of different nations, by whom the price is proportioned to the beauty of the purchaſed fair one.

The males are uſed as mutes and eunuchs in the ſeraglio, as clerks in the offices of ſtate, and as ſoldiers in the army.

To the weſt of Georgia is Mingrelia, a country likewiſe inhabited by chriſtians, who are perſecuted and oppreſſed in the ſame manner as the Georgians by the Turks and Perſians, their children being extorted from them, or they murdered for refuſing to conſent to the ſale.

The ſeveral PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *in the* STATES *of* BARBARY.

THE chriſtians are treated in Algiers with particular ſeverity; as the Algerines are ſome of the moſt perfidious, as well as the moſt cruel of all the inhabitants of Barbary. By paying a moſt exorbitant fine, ſome chriſtians are allowed the title of Free Chriſtians; and theſe are permitted to dreſs in the faſhion of their reſpective countries, but the chriſtian ſlaves are obliged to wear a coarſe grey ſuit, and a ſeaman's cap.

The following are the various puniſhments among the Algerines.

1. If they join any of the natives in open rebellion, they are ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring, or hanged on an iron hook.

2. If they ſpeak againſt Mahomet, they muſt either turn Mahometans, or be impaled alive.

3. If they turn chriſtians again, after having changed to the Mahometan perſuaſion, they are roaſted alive, or thrown from the city walls, and caught upon large ſharp hooks, where they hang in a miſerable manner ſeveral days, and expire in the moſt exquiſite tortures.

4. If they kill a Turk, they are burnt.

5. If ever they attempt to eſcape from ſlavery, and are re-taken, they ſuffer death in the following manner, which is equally ſingular and brutal: the criminal is hung naked on a high gallows, by two hooks, the one faſtened quite through the palm of one hand, and the other through the ſole of the oppoſite foot, where he is left till death relieves him from his cruel ſufferings.

The ſeveral other puniſhments, for trifling crimes committed by the chriſtians, are left to the diſcretion of the reſpective judges, who being uſually of malicious and vindictive diſpoſitions, decree tortures the moſt inhuman.

At Tunis, if a chriſtian ſlave is caught in attempting to eſcape, his limbs are all broken; and if he murders his maſter, he is faſtened to the tail of a horſe, and dragged about the ſtreets till he expires.

Fez and Morocco conjointly form an empire, and are together the moſt conſiderable of the Barbary ſtates. In this empire chriſtian ſlaves are treated with the greateſt cruelty: the rich have exorbitant ranſoms fixed upon them; the poor are hard worked, and half ſtarved, and ſometimes murdered by the emperor, or their maſters, for mere diverſion.

Curſory VIEW *of the* PERSECUTIONS *in* SPANISH AMERICA.

THE ſanguine tenets of the Roman catholic perſuaſion, and the cruel diſpoſition of the votaries of that church, cannot be more amply diſplayed, or truly depicted, than by giving an authentic and ſimple narrative of the horrid barbarities exerciſed by the Spaniards on the innocent and unoffending natives of America. Indeed, the barbarities were ſuch, that they would ſcarce ſeem credible from their enormity, and the victims ſo many, that they would ſtartle belief by their numbers, if the facts were not indiſputably aſcertained, and the circumſtances admitted by their own writers, ſome of whom have even gloried in their inhumanity, and, as Roman catholics, deemed thoſe atrocious actions meritorious, which would make a proteſtant ſhudder in reciting.

In 1492, the Weſt-Indies, and the vaſt continent of America, were diſcovered by that celebrated navigator Chriſtopher Columbus. This diſtinguiſhed commander landed firſt in the large Iſland of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, which was at that time exceedingly populous; but this population was of very little conſequence, the inoffenſive inhabitants being murdered by multitudes, as ſoon as the Spaniards gained a permanent footing in the iſland. Blind ſuperſtition, bloody bigotry, and craving avarice, rendered that, in the courſe of years, a diſmal deſart, which, at the arrival of the Spaniards, ſeemed to appear as an earthly paradiſe; ſo that at preſent there is ſcarce remaining a remnant of the ancient natives.

The natives of Guatemala, a country of America, were uſed with great barbarity. They were formerly active and valiant, but from ill-uſage and oppreſſion grew ſlothful, and ſo diſpirited, that they not only trembled at the ſight of fire arms, but even at the very looks of a Spaniard. Some were ſo plunged into diſpair, that after returning home from labouring hard for their cruel taſk-maſters, and receiving only contemptuous language and ſtripes for their pains, they have ſunk down in their cabins, with a full reſolution to prefer death to ſuch ſlavery; and, in the bitterneſs of their anguiſh, having refuſed all ſuſtenance, thus expired.

The vindictive and mercileſs Spaniards by repeated barbarities, and the moſt execrable cruelties, not only depopulated Hiſpaniola, Porto-Rico, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Bahama iſlands, but in the ſpace of 40 years, deſtroyed above 12,000,000 of ſouls upon the continent of America.

Not only innumerable were the cruel methods by which they maſſacred and butchered the poor natives, but likewiſe of the moſt diabolical nature.

Thus the Spaniards ſtripped a large and very populous town of all it's inhabitants, whom they drove to the mines, leaving all the children behind them, without the leaſt idea of providing for their ſubſiſtence, by which inhuman proceeding ſix thouſand helpleſs infants periſhed for want.

As ſoon as the people of any town had the reputation of being rich, an order was immediately ſent, that every perſon in it ſhould turn Roman catholics; if this was not directly complied with, the town was inſtantly plundered, and the inhabitants murdered; and if it was complied with, a pretence was ſoon after made to ſtrip the inhabitants of their treaſure.

One of the Spaniſh governors having ſeized upon a very worthy and amiable Indian prince, in order to extort from him where his treaſures were concealed, cauſed his feet to be burnt till the marrow dropped from his bones, and he expired through the extremity of the torments he underwent.

During the interval, i. e. between the years 1514 and 1522, the governor of Terra Firma put to death, and deſtroyed, 800,000 of the inhabitants of that country.

Alſo between the years 1523 and 1533, five hundred thouſand natives of Nicaragua were tranſported to Peru, where they all periſhed by inceſſant labour in the mines.

During the ſpace of twelve years, from the firſt landing of Cortez on the continent of America, to the entire reduction of the populous empire of Mexico, the amazing number of 4,000,000 of Mexicans periſhed, through the unparallelled barbarity of the Spaniards. To come to particulars, the city of Cholula conſiſted of 30,000 houſes, by which it's great population may be imagined. The Spaniards ſeized on all the inhabitants, who refuſing to turn Roman catholics, as they did not know the meaning of the religion they were ordered to embrace, the Spaniards put them all to death, cutting to pieces the lower ſort of people, and burning thoſe of diſtinction.

C H A P. V.

Containing a Copious ACCOUNT *of the Several* PERSECUTIONS *and* OPPRESSIONS *in* GREAT-BRITAIN *and* IRELAND.

GILDAS, the moſt ancient Britiſh writer extant, who lived about the time that the Saxons left this iſland, has drawn a moſt ſhocking inſtance of the barbarity of thoſe people. This author informs us, that the Saxons, on their arrival, being heathens like the Picts and Scots, deſtroyed the churches and murdered the clergy wherever they came: but they could not deſtroy chriſtianity, for thoſe who would not ſubmit to the Saxon yoke, went and reſided beyond the Severn. Neither have we the names of thoſe chriſtian ſufferers tranſmitted to us, eſpecially thoſe of the clergy.

The maſſacre of the monks of Bangor, A. D. 586, was the moſt dreadful inſtance of barbarity under the Saxon government. Theſe monks were in all reſpects different from thoſe men who bear the ſame name at preſent.

The Danes, a roving crew of barbarians, landed in different parts of Britain, both in England and Scotland, in the 8th century.

They were at firſt repulſed, but in A. D. 857, a party of them landed ſomewhere near Southampton, and not only robbed the people, but murdered the clergy, and burnt down the churches.

Theſe barbarians penetrated into the center of England, and took up their quarters at Nottingham in 868; but the Engliſh, under their king Ethelfrid, drove them from thoſe poſts, and obliged them to retire to Northumberland.

About 870, another body of theſe barbarians landed in Norfolk, and engaged in battle with the Engliſh at Hertford. Victory declared in favour of the pagans, who took Edmund, king of the Eaſt Angles, priſoner, and after treating him with a thouſand indignities, transfixed his body with arrows, and then beheaded him.

They burnt many of the churches, and among the reſt that belonging to the Culdees, at St. Andrew's in Fifeſhire, in Scotland. The piety of theſe men made them objects of abhorrence to the Danes, who, wherever they went, ſingled out the chriſtian prieſts for deſtruction, of whom no leſs than 200 were maſſacred in Scotland.

Thus it was in that part of Ireland now called Leinſter; there the Danes murdered and burnt the prieſts alive in their own churches; they carried deſtruction along with them wherever they went, ſparing neither age nor ſex, but the clergy were the moſt obnoxious to them, becauſe they ridiculed their idolatry, and perſuaded their people to have nothing to do with them.

About the reign of Edward III. the church of England was extremely corrupted with errors and ſuperſtition; and the light of the goſpel of Chriſt was greatly eclipſed and darkened with human inventions, burthenſome ceremonies, and groſs idolatry.

All the followers of Wickliffe, then called Lollards, were become extremely numerous, and the clergy were vexed to ſee them increaſe. Whatever power of influence they might have to moleſt them in an underhand manner, they had no authority by law to put them to death. However, the clergy embraced the favourable opportunity, and prevailed upon the king to ſuffer a bill to be brought into parliament, by which all Lollards who remained obſtinate, ſhould be delivered over to the civil power, and burnt as heretics. This act was the firſt in this iſland for the burning of people for their religious ſentiments; it paſſed in the year 1401, and was ſoon after put into execution.

William Santree or Sawtree, was the firſt perſon who ſuffered in conſequence of this cruel act; he was a prieſt, and was burnt to death in Smithfield.

A ſhort time after this, lord Cobham, in conſequence of his attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe, was accuſed of hereſy, and being condemned to be hanged and burnt, was accordingly executed in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, A. D. 1419.

Thomas Badley, a taylor, and a layman, was the next man who ſuffered under this bloody ſtatute; and a letter having been tendered to him, which he refuſed, he was declared an obſtinate heretic, and tied to the ſtake in Smithfield; where he was burnt alive, rejoicing in the Lord his God.

William Thorpe was the next perſon we read of who was tried upon this abominable ſtatute; he was a man of ſome knowledge, who adhered to all the doctrines taught by Wickliffe. He was brought many times before archbiſhop Arundel, and at laſt committed a cloſe priſoner, where he died, but in what manner cannot now be aſcertained.

At this time 36 perſons, denominated Lollards, ſuffered death in St. Giles's, for no other reaſon than profeſſing their attachment to the doctrines of Wickliffe. They were hung on gibbets, and faggots being placed under them, as ſoon as they were ſuſpended, fire was ſet to them, ſo that they were burnt while hanging. Only one of their names has been tranſmitted to us, which is that of ſir Roger Archer, whom they diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by ſtripping him ſtark naked, and executing him in that indecent manner.

About the ſame time one Richard Turning was burned alive in Smithfield, and ſuffered with all that conſtancy, fortitude, and reſignation, which have ſo much diſtinguiſhed the primitive chriſtians.

Abraham, a monk of Colcheſter, Milburn White, a prieſt, and John Wade, a prieſt, were all three apprehended on a charge of hereſy, in 1428.

A ſhort time after father Abraham ſuffered at Colcheſter, and with him John Whaddon; both of whom died in a conſtant adherence to the truth of the goſpel. Milburn White and John Wade ſuffered alſo about the ſame time in London.

About the year 1430, Richard Ilvedon, a wool-comber, and a citizen of London, was brought before the archbiſhop, and being declared an obſtinate heretic, was burnt alive on Tower-hill, for no other reaſon than that he embraced and profeſſed the doctrines of Wickliffe.

About the year 1431, Thomas Bagley, a prieſt, who had a living near Malden, in Eſſex, was brought before the biſhop of London, and being declared an obſtinate heretic, was condemned and burned alive in Smithfield.

About the year 1439, Richard Wick, a prieſt, was burned alive on Tower-hill, for preaching the doctrines of Wickliffe.

About 1440, ſome of the greateſt perſons in the kingdom were condemned to perpetual impriſonment for hereſy, as being Lollards; among whom was the dutcheſs of Glouceſter, who had long been a follower of Wickliffe. It was otherwiſe, however, with Roger Only, a prieſt, who being condemned as an obſtinate heretic, was burnt alive in Smithfield.

One Thomas Granter was apprehended in London, Auguſt, 1473; he was accuſed of profeſſing the doctrines of Wickliffe, for which he was condemned as an obſtinate heretic. This pious man being brought to the ſheriff's houſe, on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, deſired a little refreſhment, and having eat ſome, he ſaid to the people preſent, "I eat now a very good meal, for I have a ſtrange conflict to engage with before I go to ſupper;" and having eaten, he returned thanks to God for the bounties of his all-gracious providence, requeſting that he might be inſtantly led to the place of execution, to bear teſtimony to the truth of thoſe principles which he had profeſſed. Accordingly he was chained to a ſtake on Tower-hill, where he was burned alive, profeſſing the truth with his laſt breath.

Joan Boughton, a lady of conſiderable rank, was burned in Smithfield for profeſſing the doctrines of Wickliffe, April 28th, 1494. This lady was no leſs than 80 years of age, and a widow.

The king being at Canterbury, in 1498, a prieſt was brought before him, accuſed of hereſy, who was immediately ordered to be burnt alive.

About the year 1499, one Babram, a pious man, was brought before the biſhop of Norwich, having been accuſed by ſome of the prieſts, with holding the doctrines of Wickliffe. He confeſſed he did believe every thing that was objected againſt him. For this, he was condemned as an obſtinate heretic, and a warrant was granted for his execution; accordingly he was brought to the ſtake at Norwich, where he ſuffered with great conſtancy.

One William Tilfery, a pious man, was burned alive at Amerſham, in a cloſe called Stoney-prat, in 1506, and at the ſame time, his daughter, Joan Clarke, a married woman, was obliged to light the faggots that were to burn her father.

Alſo this year one father Roberts, a prieſt, was convicted of being a Lollard before the biſhop of Lincoln, and burnt alive at Buckingham.

One Thomas Norris was burned alive for the teſtimony of the truth of the goſpel, at Norwhich, in 1507. This man was a poor, inoffenſive, harmleſs perſon, but his pariſh prieſt converſing with him one day, conjectured he was a Lollard. In conſequence of this ſuppoſition he gave information to the biſhop, and Norris was apprehended.

One Lawrence Guale, who had been kept in priſon two years, was burnt alive at Saliſbury in 1508, for denying the real preſence in the ſacrament. It appeared, that this man kept a ſhop in Saliſbury, and entertained ſome Lollards in his houſe; for which he was informed againſt to the biſhop; but he abode by his firſt teſtimony, and was condemned to ſuffer as an heretic.

Alſo a pious woman was burnt at Chippen Sudburne, by order of the chancellor, Doctor Whittenham. After ſhe had been conſumed in the flames, and the people were returning home, a bull broke looſe from a butcher, and ſingling out the chancellor from all the reſt of the company, he gored him through the body, and on his horns carried his entrails. This was ſeen by all the people, and it is remarkable, that the animal did not meddle with any other perſon whatever.

William Succling and John Banniſter, who had formerly recanted, returned again to the profeſſion of the faith, and were burned alive in Smithfield, Oct. 18, 1511.

About the year 1517, one John Brown, (who had recanted before in the reign of Henry VII. and borne a faggot round St. Paul's,) was condemned by Dr. Wonhaman, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and burnt alive at Aſhford. Before he was chained to the ſtake, the archbiſhop Wonhaman, and Yeſter, biſhop of Rocheſter, cauſed his feet to be burned in a fire till all the fleſh came off, even to the bones. This was done in order to make him again recant, but he perſiſted in his attachment to the truth till the laſt.

Alſo about this time one Richard Hunn, a merchant taylor of the city of London, was apprehended, having refuſed to pay the prieſt his fees for the funeral of a child; and being conveyed to the Lollards Tower, in the palace of Lambeth, was there privately murdered by ſome of the ſervants of the archbiſhop.

On September 24, 1518, John Stilincen, who had before recanted, was apprehended, brought before Richard Fitz-James, biſhop of London, and on the 25th of October was condemned as an heretic. He was chained to the ſtake in Smithfield amidſt a vaſt crowd of ſpectators, and ſealed his teſtimony to the truth with his blood. He declared that he was a Lollard, and that he had always believed the opinions of Wickliffe; and although he had been weak enough to recant his opinions, yet he was now willing to convince the world that he was ready to die for the truth.

Thomas Mann was burnt in London, in 1519, as was one Robert Celin, a plain honeſt man, for ſpeaking againſt image worſhip and pilgrimages.

Alſo about this time, was executed in Smithfield, in London, James Brewſter, a native of Colcheſter. His ſentiments were the ſame as the reſt of the Lollards, or thoſe who followed the doctrines of Wickliffe; but notwithſtanding the innocence of his life, and the regularity of his manners, he was obliged to ſubmit to papal revenge.

The ſame year, one Chriſtopher, a ſhoemaker, was burned alive at Newbury, in Berkſhire, for denying thoſe popiſh articles which we have already mentioned. This man had got ſome books in Engliſh, which were ſufficient to render him obnoxious to the Romiſh clergy.

Thomas Bernard was burned alive at Norwich in 1521, for denying the real preſence.

In the beginning of the year 1522, Mr. Wrigſham, a glover; Mr. Langdale, a hoſier; Thomas Bond, Robert Harchets, and William Archer, ſhoemaker, with Mrs. Smith, a widow, were apprehended on Aſh Wedneſday, and committed to priſon. After examination, the biſhop of Litchfield declared them to be heretics, and they were all condemned and burned alive at Coventry.

Robert Silks, who had been condemned in the Biſhop's court as an heretic, made his eſcape out of priſon, but was taken two years afterwards, and brought back to Coventry, where he was burned alive. The ſheriffs always ſeized the goods of the martyrs for their own uſe, ſo that their wives and children were left to ſtarve.

Thomas Harding, who, with his wife, had been accuſed of hereſy, was brought before the biſhop of Lincoln in 1532, and condemned for denying the real preſence in the ſacrament. He was then chained to a ſtake, erected for the purpoſe, at Cheſham in the Pell, near Botely; and when they had ſet fire to the faggots, one of the ſpectators daſhed out his brains with a billet. The prieſts told the people, that whoever brought faggots to burn heretics would have an indulgence to commit ſins for forty days.

About the latter end of this year, Worham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, apprehended one Hitten, a prieſt, at Maidſtone; and after he had been long tortured in priſon, and ſeveral times examined by the archbiſhop, and Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, he was condemned as an heretic, and burned alive before the door of his own pariſh church.

One Thomas Bilney, profeſſor of civil law, at Cambridge, was brought before the biſhop of London, and ſeveral other biſhops, in the Chapter-houſe, Weſtminſter, and being ſeveral times threatened with the ſtake and flames, he was weak enough to recant; but he repented ſeverely afterwards.

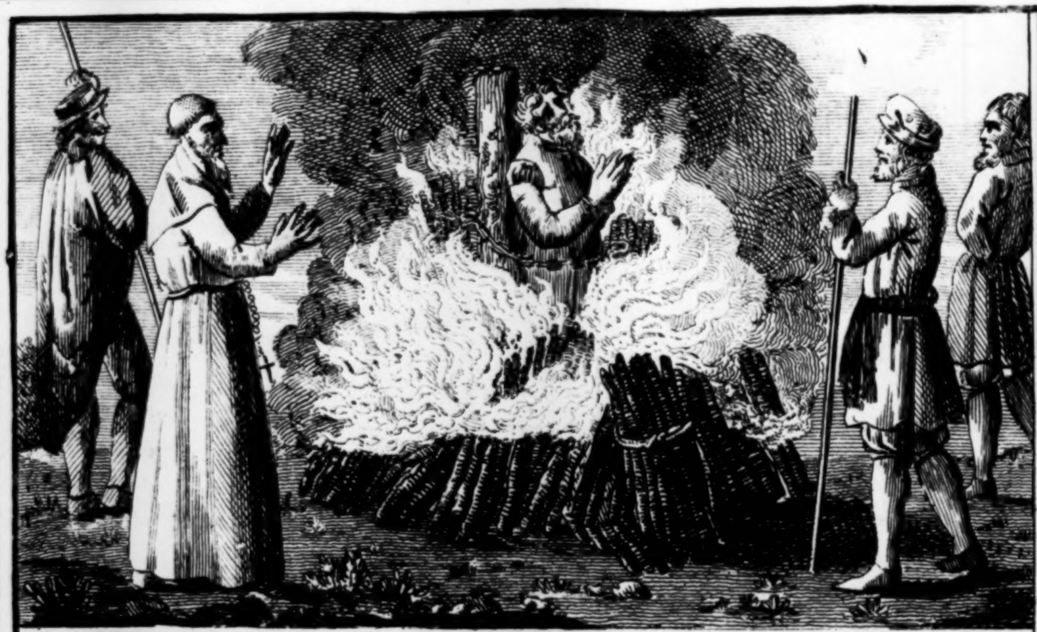
On this account he was brought before the biſhops a ſecond time, and condemned to death. Before he went to the ſtake he confeſſed his adherence to thoſe opinions which Luther held; and, when at it, he ſmiled, and ſaid, "I have had many ſtorms in this world, but now my veſſel will ſoon be on ſhore in heaven. He ſtood unmoved in the flames, crying out, "Jeſus, I believe;" and theſe were the laſt words he was heard to utter.

Some few weeks after Bilney had ſuffered, Richard Byfield was caſt into priſon, and endured ſome whipping, for his adherence to the doctrines of Luther: this Mr. Byfield had been ſome time a monk, at Barnes, in Surry, but was converted, by reading Tindal's verſion of the New Teſtament. The ſufferings this man underwent for the truth were ſo great, that it would require a volume to contain them. Sometimes he was ſhut up in a dungeon, where he was almoſt ſuffocated by the offenſive and horrid ſmell of filth and ſtagnated water. At other times he was tied up by the arms, till almoſt all his joints were diſlocated. He was whipped at the poſt ſeveral times, till ſcarce any fleſh was left on his back; and all this was done to make him recant. He was then taken to the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth palace, where he was chained by the neck to the wall, and once every day beaten in the moſt cruel manner by the archbiſhop's ſervants. At laſt he was condemned, degraded, and burnt in Smithfield.

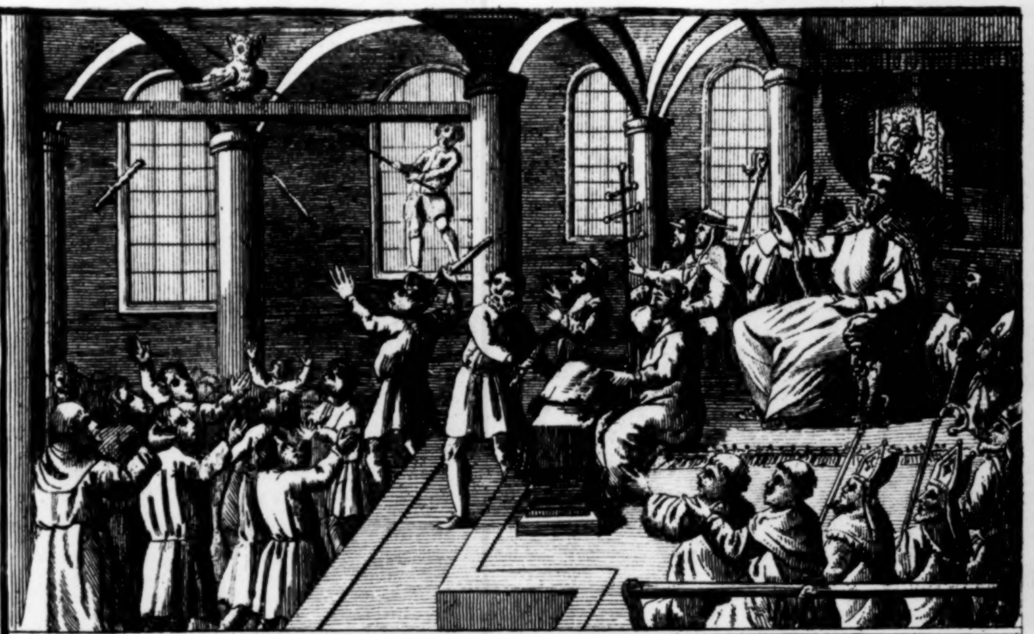
John Tewkſbury was the next perſon that ſuffered. This was a plain ſimple man, who had been guilty of no other offence, againſt what was called the holy mother church, than that of reading Tindal's tranſlation of the New Teſtament. At firſt he was weak enough to abjure, but afterwards repented, and acknowledged the truth. For this he was brought before the biſhop of London, who condemned him as an obſtinate heretic. He ſuffered greatly during the time of his impriſonment, ſo that when they brought him out to execution, he was almoſt dead. He was conducted to the ſtake in Smithfield, where he was burned, declaring his utter abhorrence of popery, and profeſſing a firm belief that his cauſe was juſt in the ſight of God.

About this time Valentine Treeſt, and his wife, were apprehended in Yorkſhire, and having been examined by the archbiſhop, were deemed as obſtinate heretics, and burnt.

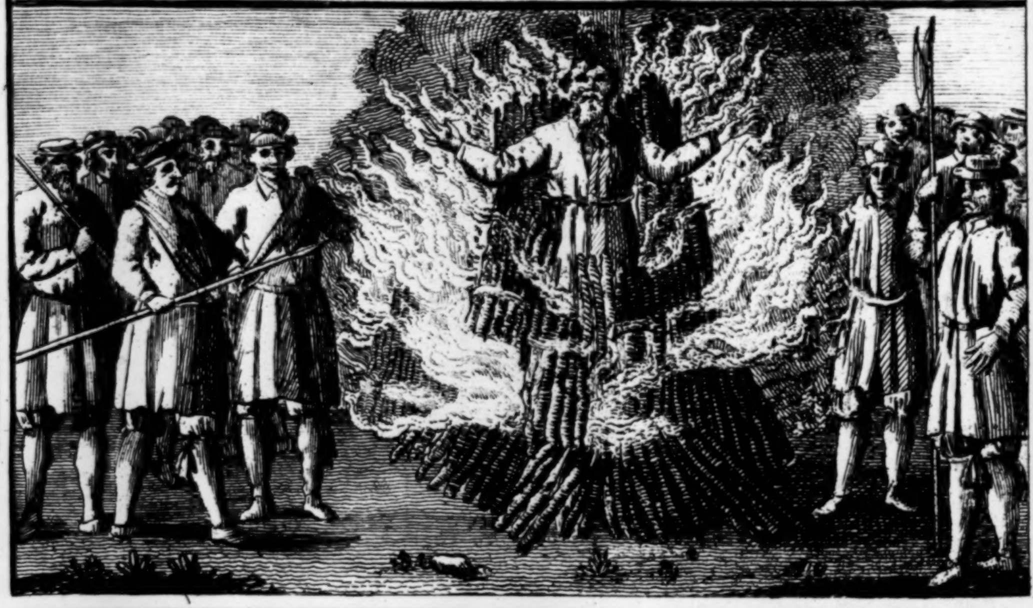
James Baynham was the next perſon that ſuffered in this reign, a reputable citizen in London, who had married the widow of a gentleman in the Temple. When chained to the ſtake he embraced the faggots, and ſaid, Oh,



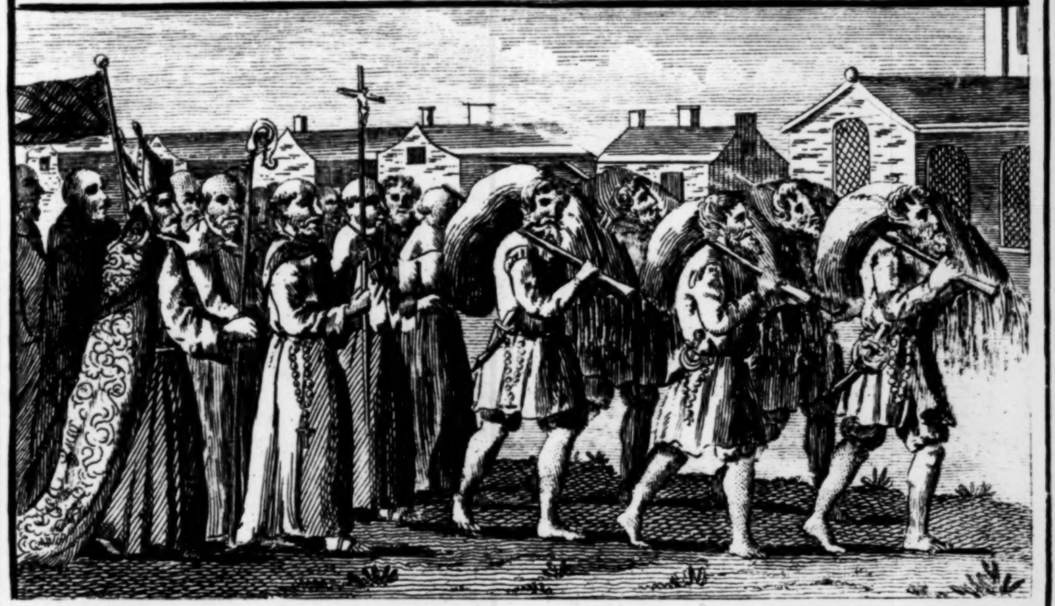
The Burning *of the* Revd. Mr. Brabram, *in* Norfolk.



The Appearance *of a* Monstrous Large Owl, SURPRIZES *the* Pope, *and* all his Clergy, *at the* Council *of* Constance, *A.D.* 1410.



The Martyrdom *of* Mr. Richd. Feuries, *a Goldsmith, at* Lyons, *who after having his* Tongue cut out, *was burnt* alive.



A Representation *of* Poor Men, *who, by* order *of the* Romish Church *are doing* Penance, *by carrying* Straw *on their* Backs, *&c. to keep the* Vulgar *in* Awe.

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"Oh, ye papiſts, behold! ye look for miracles; here now may you ſee a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in bed; for it is as ſweet to me as a bed of roſes." Thus he reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his Redeemer.

A ſhort time after the death of this martyr, one Traxnel, an inoffenſive countryman, was burned alive at Bradford, in Wiltſhire, becauſe he would not acknowledge the real preſence in the ſacrament, nor own the papal ſupremacy over the conſciences of men.

John Frith, a noted martyr, died for the truth, in the year 1553. When he was brought to the ſtake in Smithfield, he embraced the faggots, and exhorted a young man, named Andrew Hewit, who ſuffered with him, to truſt his ſoul to that God who had redeemed it. Both theſe ſufferers endured much torment, for the wind blew the flames away from them, ſo that they were above two hours in agony before they expired.

About the latter end of this year, one Mr. Thomas Bennet, a ſchool-maſter, was apprehended at Exeter, and being brought before the biſhop, refuſed to recant his opinions, for which he was delivered over to the ſecular power, and burned alive near that city.

One Collins, a madman, ſuffered death with his dog in Smithfield, in 1538. The circumſtances were as follow: Collins happened to be in church when the prieſt elevated the hoſt; and Collins, in deriſion of the ſacrifice of the maſs, lifted up his dog above his head. For this crime Collins, who ought to have been ſent to a madhouſe, or whipped at the cart's tail, was brought before the biſhop of London; and although he was really mad, yet ſuch was the force of popiſh power, ſuch the corruption in church and ſtate, that the poor madman, and his dog, were both carried to the ſtake in Smithfield, where they were burned to aſhes, amidſt a vaſt crowd of ſpectators.

This year alſo ſome other perſons ſuffered, of whom we ſhall take notice in the order they lie before us.

There was one Cowbridge ſuffered at Oxford; and although he was reputed to be a madman, yet he ſhewed great ſigns of piety when he was faſtened to the ſtake, and after the flames were kindled around him.

About the ſame time one Purderve was put to death, for ſaying privately to a prieſt, after he had drank the wine, "He bleſſed the hungry people with the empty chalice."

Alſo about the ſame time was condemned William Letton, a monk of great age, in the county of Suffolk, who was burned at Norwich for ſpeaking againſt an idol that was carried in proceſſion; and for aſſerting, that the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered in both kinds.

A ſhort time before the burning of theſe men, Nicholas Peke was executed at Norwich; and when the fire was lighted, he was ſo ſcorched that he was as black as pitch. Dr. Reading ſtanding before him with Dr. Hearne, and Dr. Spragwell, having a long white wand in his hand, ſtruck him upon the right ſhoulder, and ſaid, Peke, recant, and believe in the ſacrament. To this he anſwered, "I deſpiſe thee and it alſo;" and with great violence he ſpit blood, occaſioned by the anguiſh of his ſufferings. Dr. Reading granted forty days indulgence for the ſufferer, in order that he might recant his opinions. But he perſiſted in his adherence to the truth, without paying any regard to the malice of his enemies; and he was burned alive, rejoicing that Chriſt had counted him worthy to ſuffer for his name's ſake.

On July 28, 1540, or 1541, (for the chronology differs) Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, was brought to a ſcaffold on Tower-hill, where he was executed with ſome ſtriking inſtances of cruelty. He made a ſhort ſpeech to the people, and then meekly reſigned himſelf to the axe.

Certainly this nobleman is ranked among the martyrs with great propriety: for although the accuſations preferred againſt him did not relate to any thing in religion, yet had it not been for his zeal to demoliſh popery, he might have to the laſt retained the king's favour. To this may be added, that the papiſts plotted his deſtruction, for he did more towards promoting the reformation, than any man in that age, except the good Dr. Cranmer.

A ſhort time after the execution of Cromwell, Dr. Cuthbert Barnes, Thomas Garnet, and William Jerome, were brought before the eccleſiaſtical court of the biſhop of London, and accuſed of hereſy.

When before the biſhop of London, Dr. Barnes was aſked whether the ſaints prayed for us? To this he anſwered, that he would leave that to God; but (ſaid he) I will pray for you.

Theſe men were brought from the Tower to Smithfield, on the 13th of July, 1541, where they were all chained to one ſtake; and there ſuffered death with a conſtancy that nothing leſs than a firm faith in Jeſus Chriſt could inſpire.

There was one Thomas Sommers, an honeſt merchant, with three others, was thrown into priſon, for reading ſome of Luther's books; and they were condemned to carry thoſe books to a fire in Cheapſide; there they were to throw them into the flames; but Sommers threw his over, for which he was ſent back to the Tower, where he was ſtoned to death.

Horrid perſecutions were at this time carried on at Lincoln, under Dr. Longland, the biſhop of that dioceſe. At Buckingham, Thomas Bainard, and James Moreton, the one for reading the Lord's prayer in Engliſh, and the other for reading St. James's epiſtles in Engliſh, were both condemned, and burned alive.

Anthony Parſons, a prieſt, together with two others, were ſent to Windſor, to be examined concerning hereſy; and ſeveral articles were tendered to them to ſubſcribe, which they refuſed. This was carried on by the biſhop of Saliſbury, who was the moſt violent perſecutor of any in that age, except Bonner. When they were brought to the ſtake, Parſons aſked for ſome drink, which being brought him, he drank to his fellow-ſufferers, ſaying, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts to God; for after this ſharp breakfaſt I truſt we ſhall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Chriſt, our Lord and Redeemer. At theſe words Eaſtwood, one of the ſufferers, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, deſiring the Lord above to receive his ſpirit. Parſons pulled the ſtraw near to him, and then ſaid to the ſpectators, This is God's armour, and now I am a chriſtian ſoldier prepared for battle: I look for no mercy but through the merits of Chriſt; he is my only Saviour, in him do I truſt for ſalvation; and ſoon after the fires were lighted which burned their bodies, but could not hurt their precious and immortal ſouls. Their conſtancy triumphed over cruelty, and their ſufferings will be held in everlaſting remembrance.

One Saitees, a prieſt, was, by order of biſhop Gardiner, hanged in Southwark, in 1546, without a council proceſs; and all that was alledged againſt him was, that of reading Tindal's New Teſtament.

Alſo this year one Kirby was burned at Ipſwich, for the teſtimony of the truth, for denying the real preſence in the ſacrament. When this martyr was brought to the ſtake, he ſaid to one Mr. Wingfield, who attended him, "Ah! Mr. Wingfield, be at my death, and you ſhall ſay, there ſtandeth a chriſtian ſufferer in the fire."

PARTICULARS *of a Horrid* PLOT, *in the* REIGN *of* KING CHARLES II. *concerted by the* PAPISTS, *for Deſtroying the* CITY *of* LONDON *by* FIRE.

PROVOKED by revenge, and prompted by the force of ſuperſtitious principles, the papiſts ſtill dedicated their thoughts to every machination their invention could project, to obtain the wiſhed-for purpoſes, namely, the deſtruction of the proteſtants in this iſland.

At length having failed in ſeveral efforts, they bethought themſelves of a ſcheme for deſtroying the capital of the kingdom, which they flattered themſelves might be productive of facilitating their further intentions of extirpating the proteſtants, and, once more, eſtabliſhing popery in the Engliſh dominions.

Notwithſtanding thir ſcheme, in ſome meaſure, took place, yet it was not productive of the conſequences they hoped and wiſhed for. A great part of the city was, indeed, deſtroyed, the melancholy particulars of which we ſhall copy from the London Gazette, publiſhed a few days after:

"Whitehall, Sept. 8, 1666.

"ON the ſecond inſtant, at one o'clock in the morning, there happened to break out a ſad and deplorable fire, at a baker's, in Pudding-lane, near Fiſh-ſtreet, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town ſo cloſe built with wooden pitched houſes, ſpread itſelf ſo far before day, and with ſuch diſtraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffuſion of it, by pulling down houſes, as ought to have been; ſo that this lamentable fire, in a ſhort time, became too big to be maſtered by any engines, or working near it. It fell out moſt unhappily too, that a violent eaſterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, ſpreading itſelf up to Gracechurch-ſtreet, and downwards to Cannon ſtreet to the water-ſide, as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry.

"The people, in all parts about it, were diſtracted by the vaſtneſs of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods. Many attempts were made to prevent the ſpreading of it, by pulling down houſes, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire ſeizing upon the timber and rubbiſh, and ſo continuing itſelf even through thoſe ſpaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tueſday, notwithſtanding his majeſty's own, and his royal highneſs's indefatigable and perſonal pains to apply all poſſible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unwearied aſſiſting therein, for which they were requited with a thouſand bleſſings from the poor diſtreſſed people.

"By the favour of God, the wind ſlackened a little on Tueſday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was obſerved to loſe it's force on that ſide, ſo that on Wedneſday morning we began to hope well, and his royal highneſs never deſpairing, or ſlackening his perſonal care, wrought ſo well that day, aſſiſted in ſome parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a ſtop was put to it at the Temple church, near Holborn-bridge, Pie-corner, Alderſgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-ſtreet, at the end of Baſinghall-ſtreet, by the Poſtern, at the upper end of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and Leadenhall-ſtreet, at the ſtandard in Cornhill, at the church in Fenchurch-ſtreet, near Clothworkers-hall in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

"On Thurſday, by the bleſſing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguiſhed. But ſo as that evening it unhappily burſt out again afreſh at the Temple, by the falling of ſome ſparks (as is ſuppoſed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his royal highneſs, who watched there that whole night in perſon, by the great labours and diligence uſed, and eſpecially by applying powder, to blow up the houſes about it, before day moſt happily maſtered it.

"His majeſty then ſat hourly in council, and ever ſince hath continued making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and miſchief was the greateſt, till this morning that he hath ſent his grace the duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to aſſiſt him on this great occaſion, to put his happy and ſucceſsful hand to the finiſhing this memorable deliverance."

During the progreſs of this dreadful conflagration, orders were given for pulling down various houſes in the Tower of London, in order to preſerve the grand magazine of gunpowder in that fortreſs; to the preſervation of which, the violent eaſterly wind contributed more than the precaution.

Many thouſands of citizens, who, by this calamity, were deprived of their habitations, retired to the fields, deſtitute of all neceſſaries, and expoſed to the inclemency of the weather, till a ſufficient number of huts could be erected for their relief. In order to mitigate the diſtreſſes of the people, his majeſty ordered a great quantity of naval bread to be diſtributed among them; and iſſued a proclamation, commanding the magiſtrates of the city to encourage the bringing of all kinds of proviſions.

By the certificate of Jonas Moore and Ralf Gatrix, the ſurveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared, that this dreadful fire over-ran 373 acres of ground within the walls, and burnt 13,200 houſes, 89 pariſh churches, beſides chapels; and that only eleven pariſh churches within the walls were left ſtanding.

To this account may alſo be added the magnificent buildings of St. Paul's cathedral, Guildhall, the Royal Exchange, Cuſtom-houſe, and Blackwell-hall; many hoſpitals and libraries, fifty-two halls of the city companies, and a great number of other ſtately edifices; together with three of the city gates, and the priſons of Newgate, the Fleet, the Poultry and Wood-ſtreet Compters; the loſs of which, by the beſt calculation, amounted to upwards of ten millions ſterling. And notwithſtanding all this deſtruction, yet only ſix perſons loſt their lives.

Various were the conjectures of the people on the cauſe of this ſingular calamity: at firſt ſome imagined it to be caſual, but from a train of circumſtances, it afterwards appeared to have been done from the malice and horrid contrivances of the papiſts. Several ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody; but no poſitive proof being produced againſt them, they were diſcharged.

Though this diabolical ſcheme took place, in a great meaſure, to the wiſhes of the wicked contrivers, yet, inſtead of being prejudicial, it was, in the end, productive of the moſt happy conſequences to the metropolis. It certainly, for a time, occaſioned the moſt diſtinguiſhed diſtreſs to the inhabitants, but it afforded an opportunity that never happened before, and, in all human probability, never may again, of reſtoring the city with more uniformity, conveniency, and wholeſomeneſs, than could be expected in a town of progreſſive growth. The ſtreets were before narrow, crooked, and incommodious; the houſes chiefly of wood, dark, cloſe, and ill-contrived; with ſeveral ſtories projecting beyond each other, as they roſe, over the narrow ſtreets. The free circulation of the air was, by theſe means, obſtructed; and the people breathed a ſtagnant unwholeſome element, replete with foul effluvia, ſufficient of itſelf to generate putrid diſorders, and diſpoſed to harbour any peſtilential taint it might receive. All theſe inconveniencies were removed, by the ſtreets being made more open, and the buildings principally formed of brick; ſo that if, either by accident or otherwiſe, a fire ſhould happen in future, it's progreſs would be ſoon ſtopped, and the direful conſequences which generally ariſe from ſuch circumſtances rendered trifling.

Beſides the conveniencies already mentioned, the fire of London was certainly productive of an advantage of the moſt valuable nature, namely, the extirpation of that contagious and deſtructive diſtemper the plague, which, but the year before, had brought thouſands to their graves. This horrid diſeaſe had made great devaſtation among the inhabitants, not only of the metropolis, but different parts of the kingdom, at various periods; but, thank God, it's baneful influence has never taken place here ſince the before-mentioned cataſtrophe, and there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe that the fire materially contributed to the production of ſo happy a circumſtance.

To perpetuate, however, the remembrance of ſo ſingular an occurrence, a monument was erected in that part of the city near which the fire began. It is eſteemed the nobleſt modern column in the world; and may, in ſome reſpects, vie with the moſt celebrated of antiquity, which are conſecrated to the names of Trajan and Antoninus.

A full ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTION *in* SCOTLAND *during the* REIGN *of* KING HENRY VIII.

PATRICK Hamilton was the firſt perſon we meet with who ſuffered in Scotland on the ſcore of religion: he was a gentleman of independent fortune, and deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family.

When he had acquired a liberal education, being deſirous of farther improving himſelf in uſeful knowledge, he left Scotland, and went to the univerſity of Wirtenberg, in Germany, in order to finiſh his ſtudies.

During his reſidence here, he became intimately acquainted with thoſe eminent lights of the goſpel, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon; from whoſe writings and doctrines he ſtrongly attached himſelf to the proteſtant religion.

When the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's (who was a rigid papiſt) heard of Mr. Hamilton's proceedings, he cauſed him to be ſeized, and being brought before him, after a ſhort examination relative to his religious principles, he committed him a priſoner to the caſtle, at the ſame time ordering him to be confined in the moſt loathſome part of the priſon.

Mr. Hamilton the next morning was brought before the biſhop, and ſeveral others, for examination, when the principal articles exhibited againſt him were, his publicly diſapproving of pilgrimages, purgatory, prayers to ſaints, for the dead, &c.

Mr. Hamilton acknowledged theſe articles to be true, in conſequence of which he was immediately condemned to be burnt; and that his condemnation might have the greater authority, they cauſed it to be ſubſcribed by all thoſe of any note who were preſent, and to make the number as conſiderable as poſſible, even admitted the ſubſcription of boys who were ſons of the nobility.

This bigoted and perſecuting prelate was ſo anxious for the deſtruction of Mr. Hamilton, that he ordered his ſentence to be put in execution on the afternoon of the very day it was pronounced. He was accordingly led to the place appointed for the horrid tragedy, and was attended by a prodigious number of ſpectators. The greateſt part of the multitude would not believe it was intended he ſhould be put to death, but that it was only done to frighten him, and thereby bring him over to embrace the principles of the Romiſh religion. But they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken.

As ſoon as he arrived at the ſtake he kneeled down, and, for ſome time, prayed with great fervency. After this he was faſtened to the ſtake, and the faggots placed round him. A quantity of gunpowder having been faſtened under his arms, was firſt ſet on fire, which ſcorched his left hand and one ſide of his face, but did no material injury, neither did it communicate with the faggots. In conſequence of this, more powder and combuſtible matter was brought, which being ſet on fire took effect, and the faggots being kindled, he called out, with an audible voice, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit! How long ſhall darkneſs overwhelm this realm? And how long wilt thou ſuffer the tyranny of theſe men?"

The fire burning ſlow put him to great torment; but he bore it with chriſtian magnanimity. What gave him the greateſt pain was, the clamour of ſome wicked men ſet on by the friars, who frequently cried, "Turn, thou heretic; call upon our lady; ſay, *Salve Regina*, &c." To whom he replied, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, ye meſſengers of ſatan." One Campbel, a friar, who was the ringleader, ſtill continuing to interrupt him by opprobrious language; he ſaid to him, "Wicked man, God forgive thee." After which, being prevented from farther ſpeech by the violence of the ſmoke, and the rapidity of the flames, he reſigned up his ſoul into the hands of him who gave it. This ſtedfaſt believer in Chriſt ſuffered martyrdom in the year 1527.

There was one Henry Foreſt, a young inoffenſive Benedictine, who being charged with ſpeaking reſpectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into priſon; and, in confeſſing himſelf to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was ſentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was ſentenced to be burnt.

A conſultation being held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindſay, one of the archbiſhop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Foreſt in ſome cellar; for, ſaid he, the ſmoke of Patrick Hamilton hath infected all thoſe on whom it blew.

This infamous advice was taken, and the poor victim was rather ſuffocated than burnt.

David Stratton and Norman Gourlay were the next who fell victims for profeſſing the truth of the goſpel.

As ſoon as they arrived at the fatal ſpot, they both kneeled down, and prayed for ſome time, with great fervency. They then aroſe, when Stratton, addreſſing himſelf to the ſpectators, exhorted them to lay aſide their ſuperſtitious and idolatrous notions, and employ their time in ſeeking the true light of the goſpel. He would have ſaid more, but was prevented by the officers who attended.

Their ſentence was then put into execution, and they chearfully reſigned up their ſouls to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious reſurrection to life immortal.—They ſuffered in the year 1534.

The martyrdoms of the two before-mentioned perſons were ſoon followed by that of Mr. Thomas Forret, who, for a conſiderable time, had been dean of the Romiſh church; Killor and Beverage, two blackſmiths; Duncan Simſon, a prieſt; and Robert Forreſter, a gentleman. They were all burnt together, on the Caſtle-hill at Edinburgh, the laſt day of February, 1538.

The year following the martyrdoms of the before-mentioned perſons, viz. 1539, two others were apprehended on a ſuſpicion of hereſy; namely, Jerom Ruſſel, and Alexander Kennedy, a youth about eighteen years of age. Theſe two perſons, after being ſome time confined in priſon, were brought before the archbiſhop for examination. In the courſe of which, Ruſſel, being a very ſenſible man, reaſoned learnedly againſt his accuſers; while they in return made uſe of very opprobrious language.

When the examination was over, and both of them deemed heretics, the archbiſhop pronounced the dreadful ſentence of death, and they were immediately delivered over to the ſecular power in order for execution.

They were led the next day to the place appointed for them to ſuffer; in their way to which, Ruſſel, ſeeing his fellow-ſufferer have the appearance of timidity in his countenance, thus addreſſed him: "Brother, fear not; greater is he that is in us, than he that is in the world. The pain that we are to ſuffer is ſhort, and ſhall be light; but our joy and conſolation ſhall never have an end. Let us, therefore, ſtrive to enter into our Maſter and Saviour's joy, by the ſame ſtrait way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already deſtroyed by him, for whoſe ſake we are now going to ſuffer."

Being arrived at the fatal ſpot, they both kneeled down and prayed for ſome time; after which, being faſtened to the ſtake, and the faggots lighted, they chearfully reſigned their ſouls into the hands of him who gave them, in full hopes of an everlaſting reward in the heavenly manſions.

In the year 1543, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's made a viſitation into various parts of his dioceſe, where ſeveral perſons were informed againſt at Perth for hereſy. Among theſe the following were condemned to die, viz. William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Finlayſon, James Hunter, James Raveleſon, and Helen Stark.

The following were the accuſations laid againſt theſe reſpective perſons, viz.

The four firſt were accuſed of having hung up the image of ſir Francis, nailing rams horns on his head, and faſtening a cow's tail to his rump; but the principal matter on which they were condemned was, having regaled themſelves with a gooſe on a faſt day.

Alſo James Raveleſon was accuſed of having ornamented his houſe with the three crowned diadem of Peter, carved in wood, which the archbiſhop conceived to be done in mockery to his cardinal's cap.

Alſo Helen Stark was accuſed of not having accuſtomed herſelf to pray to the virgin Mary, more eſpecially during the time ſhe was in child-bed.

They were all found guilty on theſe reſpective accuſations, and immediately received ſentence of death; the four men for eating the gooſe to be hanged; James Raveleſon to be burnt; and the woman, with her ſucking infant, to be put into a ſack, and drowned.

The four men, with the woman and child, ſuffered at the ſame time; but James Raveleſon was not executed till ſome days after.

Many others, beſides the above-mentioned perſons, were cruelly perſecuted, ſome being baniſhed, and others confined in loathſome dungeons. Among whom were Mr. John Knox, the celebrated Scottiſh reformiſt; and John Rogers, a pious and learned man, who was murdered in priſon, and his body thrown over the walls into the ſtreet; after which a report was ſpread, that he had met with his death by attempting to make his eſcape.

A full ACCOUNT *of the* LIFE, SUFFERINGS, *and* DEATH, *of* Mr. GEORGE WISHART, *who was ſtrangled, and afterwards burned, in* SCOTLAND, *for profeſſing the* TRUTH *of the* GOSPEL.

THIS gentleman was born in Scotland, and after receiving a grammatical education at a private ſchool, he left that place, and finiſhed his ſtudies at the univerſity of Cambridge.

For the ſake of improving hmſelf as much as poſſible in the knowledge of literature, he travelled into various parts abroad, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his great learning and abilities, both in philoſophy and divinity.

Having been ſome time abroad he returned to England, and took up his reſidence at Cambridge, where he was admitted a member of Bennet college. Having taken up his degrees, he entered into holy orders, and expounded the goſpel in ſo clear and intelligible a manner, as highly to delight his numerous auditors.

Now being deſirous of propagating the true goſpel in his own country, he left Cambridge in 1544, and on his arrival in Scotland he firſt preached at Montroſe, and afterwards at Dundee. In this laſt place he made a public expoſition of the epiſtle to the Romans, which he went through with ſuch grace and freedom, as greatly alarmed the papiſts.

One Robert Miln, in conſequence of this, (at the inſtigation of cardinal Beaton, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's) a principal man of Dundee, went to the church where Wiſhart preached, and in the middle of his diſcourſe publicly told him not to trouble the town any more, for he was determined not to ſuffer it.

Such a ſudden rebuff greatly ſurprized Wiſhart, who, after a ſhort pauſe, looking ſorrowfully on the ſpeaker and the audience, ſaid, "God is my witneſs, that I never minded your trouble but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous to me than it is to yourſelves: but I am aſſured, to refuſe God's words, and to chaſe from you his meſſenger, ſhall not preſerve you from trouble, but ſhall bring you into it: for God ſhall ſend you miniſters that ſhall neither fear burning nor baniſhment. I have offered you the word of ſalvation. With the hazard of my life I have remained among you: now you yourſelves refuſe me; and I muſt leave my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be long proſperous with you, I am not led by the ſpirit of truth: but if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cauſe, and turn to God, who is gracious and merciful. But if you turn not at the firſt warning, he will viſit you with fire and ſword." At the cloſe of this ſpeech he left the pulpit, and retired.

He went after this into the weſt of Scotland, where he preached God's word, which was glady received by many.

Some ſhort time after this Mr. Wiſhart received intelligence, that the plague was broke out in Dundee. It began four days after he was prohibited from preaching there, and raged ſo extremely, that it was almoſt beyond credit how many died in the ſpace of 24 hours. This being related to him, he, notwithſtanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, determined to go there, ſaying, "They are now in troubles, and need comfort. Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence the word of God, which before they lightly eſteemed."

Now he was with joy received by the godly. He choſe the eaſt-gate for the place of his preaching; ſo that the healthy were within, and the ſick without the gate. He took his text from theſe words, He ſent his word, and healed them, &c. In this ſermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that enſue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happineſs of thoſe of his elect, whom he takes to himſelf out of this miſerable world. The hearts of his hearers were ſo raiſed by the divine force of this diſcourſe, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who ſhould then be called, not knowing whether they might have ſuch a comforter again with them.

The plague ſoon after abated; though, in the midſt of it, Wiſhart conſtantly viſited thoſe that lay in the greateſt extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

Having taken his leave of the people of Dundee, he ſaid, "That God had almoſt put an end to that plague, and that he was now called to another place."

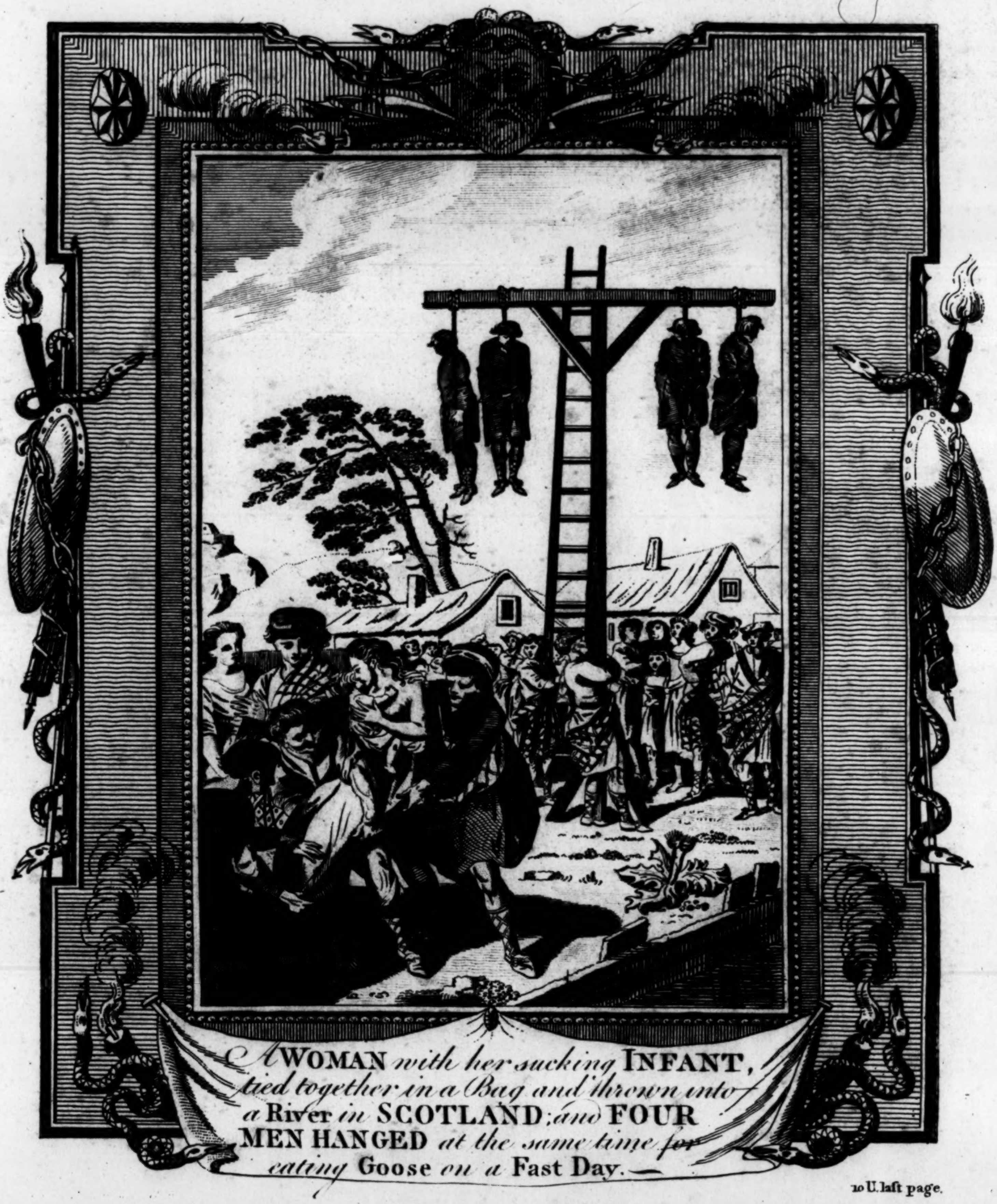
From thence he went to Montroſe, where he ſometimes preached, but ſpent moſt of his time in private meditation and prayer.

Some ſay, that before he left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the ſouls, of thoſe poor afflicted people, cardinal Beaton engaged a deſperate popiſh prieſt, called John Weighton, to kill him; the attempt to execute which was as follows: one day, after Wiſhart had finiſhed his ſermon, and the people departed, the prieſt ſtood waiting at the bottom of the ſtairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr. Wiſhart having a ſharp, piercing eye, and ſeeing the prieſt as he came from the pulpit, ſaid to him, "My friend, what would you have?" and immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The prieſt being terrified, fell on his knees, confeſſed his intention, and craved pardon. A noiſe being hereupon raiſed, and it coming to the ears of thoſe who were ſick, they cried, "Deliver the traitor to us, we will take him by force;" and they burſt in at the gate. But Wiſhart, taking the prieſt in his arms, ſaid, "Whatſoever hurts him ſhall hurt me; for he hath done me no miſchief, but much good, by teaching more heedfulneſs for the time to come." By this conduct he appeaſed the people, and ſaved the life of the wicked prieſt.

Shortly after his return to Montroſe, the cardinal again conſpired his death, cauſing a letter to be ſent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnier, in which he was deſired with all poſſible ſpeed to come to him, becauſe he was taken with a ſudden ſickneſs. In the mean time the cardinal had provided ſixty men armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of Montroſe, in order to murder him as he paſſed that way.

The letter coming to Wiſhart's hand by a boy, who alſo brought him a horſe for the journey, Wiſhart, accompanied by ſome honeſt men, his friends, ſet forward; but ſomething particular ſtriking his mind by the way, he returned back, which they wondering at, aſked him the cauſe; to whom he ſaid, "I will not go; I am forbidden of God; I am aſſured there is treaſon. Let

ſome



A WOMAN with her sucking INFANT, tied together in a Bag and thrown into a River in SCOTLAND; and FOUR MEN HANGED at the same time for eating Goose on a Fast Day.

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ſome of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the diſcovery; and haſtily returning, they told Mr. Wiſhart: whereupon he ſaid, "I know I ſhall end my life by that blood-thirſty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

Some ſhort time after this he left Montroſe, and proceeded to Edinburgh, in order to propagate the goſpel in that city. By the way he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watſon, of Inner-Goury. In the middle of the night he got up, and went into the yard, which two men hearing, they privately followed him.

While in the yard, he fell on his knees, and prayed for ſome time with the greateſt fervency: after which he aroſe, and returned to his bed. Thoſe who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and aſked him where he had been? But he would not anſwer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, ſaying, "Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and ſaw your geſtures."

Upon this he, with a dejected countenance, ſaid, "I had rather you had been in your beds." But they ſtill preſſing upon him to know ſomething, he ſaid, "I will tell you; I am aſſured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I ſhrink not when the battle waxeth moſt hot."

Some ſhort time after, cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, being informed that Mr. Wiſhart was at the houſe of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiſton, in Eaſt-Lothian, he applied to the regent to cauſe him to be apprehended; with which, after great perſuaſion, and much againſt his will, he complied.

The cardinal, in conſequence of this, immediately proceeded to the trial of Wiſhart, againſt whom no leſs than 18 articles were exhibited. Mr. Wiſhart anſwered the reſpective articles with great compoſure of mind, and in ſo learned and clear a manner, as greatly ſurprized moſt of thoſe who were preſent.

The examination being finiſhed, the archbiſhop endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Wiſhart to recant; but he was too firmly fixed in his religious principles, and too much enlightened with the truth of the goſpel, to be in the leaſt moved.

On the morning of his execution there came to him two friars from the cardinal; one of whom put on him a black linen coat, and the other brought ſeveral bags of gunpowder, which they tied about different parts of his body.

When he arrived at the ſtake, the executioner put a rope round his neck, and a chain about his middle; upon which he fell on his knees, and thus exclaimed:

"O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands."

Having thus ſaid, he prayed for his accuſers, ſaying, "I beſeech thee, Father of heaven, forgive them that have, from ignorance, or an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beſeech Chriſt to forgive them, that have ignorantly condemned me."

Then he was faſtened to the ſtake, and the faggots being lighted, immediately ſet fire to the powder that was tied about him, and which blew into a flame and ſmoke.

The governor of the caſtle, who ſtood ſo near that he was ſinged with the flame, exhorted our martyr, in a few words, to be of good cheer, and to aſk pardon of God for his offences. To which he replied, "This flame occaſions trouble to my body, indeed, but it hath in no wiſe broken my ſpirit. But he who now ſo proudly looks down upon me from yonder lofty place (pointing to the cardinal) ſhall ere long be as ignominiouſly thrown down, as now he proudly lolls at his eaſe." Which prediction was ſoon after fulfilled. The executioner then pulled the rope which was tied about his neck with great violence, ſo that he was ſoon ſtrangled; and the fire getting ſtrength, burnt with ſuch rapidity that in leſs than an hour his body was totally conſumed.

One Adam Wallace was the next perſon who fell a martyr to popiſh bigotry; he was of Winton, in Eaſt-Lothian, and having obtained a true knowledge of the goſpel of Chriſt, ſpent the greater part of his time in endeavouring to propagate it among his fellow-creatures.

This gentleman's conduct being noticed by ſome bigoted papiſts, an information was laid againſt him for hereſy, on which he was apprehended, and committed to priſon.

When examined, ſentence of death was paſſed upon him as an heretic; and he was immediately delivered over to the ſecular power, in order for execution.

In the evening of the ſame day, Wallace was viſited by ſeveral Romiſh prieſts, who endeavoured to prevail on him to recant; but he ſtood ſo ſtedfaſt in the faith he profeſſed, and uſed ſuch forcible arguments in vindication of the true goſpel, that they left him with ſome wrath, ſaying, "He was too abandoned to receive any impreſſion."

He was conducted the next morning to the Caſtle-hill at Edinburgh, when, being chained to the ſtake, and the faggots lighted, he chearfully reſigned up his ſoul into the hands of him who gave it, in full aſſurance of receiving a crown of glory in the heavenly manſions.

One Walter Mill was the laſt who ſuffered martyrdom in Scotland, for the cauſe of Chriſt; he was burnt at Edinburgh in the year 1558.

This perſon, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany, and on his return was inſtalled a prieſt of the church of Lunan in Angus; but, on an information of hereſy, in the time of cardinal Beaton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and abſcond. But he was ſoon apprehended, and committed to priſon.

When interrogated by ſir Andrew Oliphant, whether he would recant his opinions, he anſwered in the negative, ſaying, He would ſooner forfeit ten thouſand lives, than relinquiſh a particle of thoſe heavenly principles he had received from the ſuffrages of his bleſſed Redeemer.

Sentence of condemnation was immediately paſſed on him, in conſequence of this, and he was conducted to priſon in order for execution the following day.

This ſtedfaſt believer in Chriſt was 82 years of age, and exceeding infirm; from whence it was ſuppoſed, that he could ſcarcely be heard. However, when he was led to the place of execution, he expreſſed his religious ſentiments with ſuch courage, and at the ſame time compoſure of mind, as aſtoniſhed even his enemies. As ſoon as he was faſtened to the ſtake, and the faggots lighted, he addreſſed the ſpectators as follows:

"The cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner) but only for the defence of the truth as it is in Jeſus Chriſt; and I praiſe God who hath called me, by his mercy, to ſeal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, ſo I willingly offer up to his glory. Therefore, as you would eſcape eternal death, be no longer ſeduced by the lies of the ſeat of antichriſt: but depend ſolely on Jeſus Chriſt, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." And then added, "That he truſted he ſhould be the laſt who would ſuffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account."

In this manner this pious chriſtian chearfully gave up his life, in defence of the truth of Chriſt's goſpel, not doubting but he ſhould be made a partaker of his heavenly kingdom.

A Full ACCOUNT *of the* PERSECUTIONS *againſt the* PROTESTANTS *in* IRELAND, *diſtinguiſhed by the Name of* THE IRISH MASSACRE.

NOtwithſtanding the various attempts made by the Iriſh againſt the Engliſh uſually go under the denomination of rebellion, yet they more properly deſerve the epithet perſecution, as all their deſtructive efforts were particularly levelled at the proteſtants only, whom they were determined, if poſſible, totally to extirpate from the kingdom. They had, indeed, hitherto miſcarried; but they at length hit upon a project that ſucceeded ceded to their wiſhes, and produced a cataſtrophe that will remain in characters of blood to the lateſt poſterity.

That the Romiſh clergy of Ireland were the principal fomenters of the rebellions in that kingdom, already mentioned, is particularly evident from their treacherous and diſloyal behaviour under queen Elizabeth and king James I. they continually urging to the people the lawfulneſs of killing all proteſtants, who ſupported the right of the crown of England to Ireland; and aſſuring them, that all papiſts, who ſhould die fighting againſt the proteſtants, would go immediately to heaven.

Theſe Iriſh eccleſiaſtics, under Charles I. were greatly increaſed by titular Romiſh archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, prieſts, and friars; for which reaſon, in 1629, the public exerciſe of the popiſh rites and ceremonies was forbidden.

Notwithſtanding all this, ſoon after the Romiſh clergy erected a new popiſh univerſity in the city of Dublin. They alſo proceeded to build monaſteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places theſe very Romiſh clergy, and the chiefs of the Iriſh, held frequent meetings; and, from thence, uſed to paſs, to and fro, to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorrain, and Rome; where the deteſtable plot of 1641 was hatching by the family of the O'Neals, and their followers.

Some ſhort time before the horrid conſpiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the papiſts of Ireland had preſented a remonſtrance to the lords-juſtices of that kingdom, demanding the free exerciſe of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houſes of parliament in England ſolemnly anſwered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popiſh religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the papiſts to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the deſtruction of the proteſtants; and it failed not of the ſucceſs wiſhed for by it's malicious and rancorous projectors.

The chief deſign of this horrid conſpiracy was, that a general inſurrection ſhould take place at the ſame time throughout the kingdom; and that all the proteſtants, without exception, ſhould be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid maſſacre was, the 23d of October, 1641, the feaſt of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the jeſuits; and the chief conſpirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the neceſſary preparations for the intended conflict.

That this deteſted ſcheme might the more infallibly ſucceed, the moſt diſtinguiſhed artifices were artfully practiſed by the papiſts; and their behaviour, in their viſits to the proteſtants, at this time, was with more ſeeming kindneſs than they had hitherto ſhewn, which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous deſigns then meditating againſt them.

The execution of this ſavage conſpiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the ſending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richlieu, the French miniſter, had promiſed the conſpirators a conſiderable ſupply of men and money; and many Iriſh officers had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren, as ſoon as the inſurrection appeared.

Now the day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid deſign into execution was arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conſpiracy was diſcovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Iriſhman, for which moſt ſignal ſervice the Engliſh parliament voted him 500l. and a penſion of 200l. during his life.

So very ſeaſonably was this plot diſcovered, even but a few hours before the city and caſtle of Dublin were to have been ſurprized, that the lords-juſtices had but juſt time to put themſelves, and the city, in a proper poſture of defence. The lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were ſeized the ſame evening in the city: and in their lodgings were found ſwords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and ſuch other inſtruments of death as had been prepared for the deſtruction and extirpation of the proteſtants in that part of the kingdom.

The metropolis was thus happily preſerved; but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was paſt prevention. The conſpirators were in arms all over the kingdom early in the morning of the day appointed, and every proteſtant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no ſex, no condition was ſpared. The wife weeping for her butchered huſband, and embracing her helpleſs children, was pierced with them, and periſhed by the ſame ſtroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the ſame fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault: deſtruction was every where let looſe, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourſe had to relations, to companions, to friends: all connections were diſſolved, and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without oppoſition, the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, living in profound peace, and, as they thought, full ſecurity, were maſſacred by their neareſt neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourſe of kindneſs and good offices. Nay, even death was the ſlighteſt puniſhment inflicted by theſe monſters in human form: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguiſh of mind, the agonies of deſpair, could not ſatiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelly derived from no cauſe whatever. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmoſt licence, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in theſe mercileſs barbarians. Even the weaker ſex themſelves, naturally tender to their own ſufferings, and compaſſionate to thoſe of others, here emulated their robuſt companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcaſes of defenceleſs children of the Engliſh.

Neither was the avarice of the Iriſh ſufficient to produce the leaſt reſtraint on their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had ſeized, and by rapine had made their own, were, becauſe they bore the name of Engliſh, wantonly ſlaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned looſe into the woods, there to periſh by ſlow and lingering torments.

All the commodious habitations of the planters were laid in aſhes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had ſhut themſelves up in the houſes, and were preparing for defence, they periſhed in the flames, together with their wives and children.

So great is the general deſcription of this unparallelled maſſacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigoted and mercileſs papiſts had no ſooner begun to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the proteſtants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to ther fury by deaths of the moſt unheard-of nature.

The vain and ignorant Iriſh were more ſtrongly inſtigated to execute the infernal buſineſs by the jeſuits, prieſts, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended, in their prayers, diligence in the great deſign, which they ſaid would greatly tend to the proſperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cauſe. They every where declared to the common people, that the proteſtants were heretics, and ought not to be ſuffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more ſin to kill an Engliſhman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the moſt unpardonable nature.

When the papiſts beſieged the town and caſtle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were proteſtants, ſurrendered on condition of being allowed quarter, the beſiegers, the inſtant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the moſt unmerciful manner, their prieſt, as a ſignal for the reſt to fall on, firſt ripping open the belly of the Engliſh proteſtant miniſter; after which his followers murdered all the reſt,

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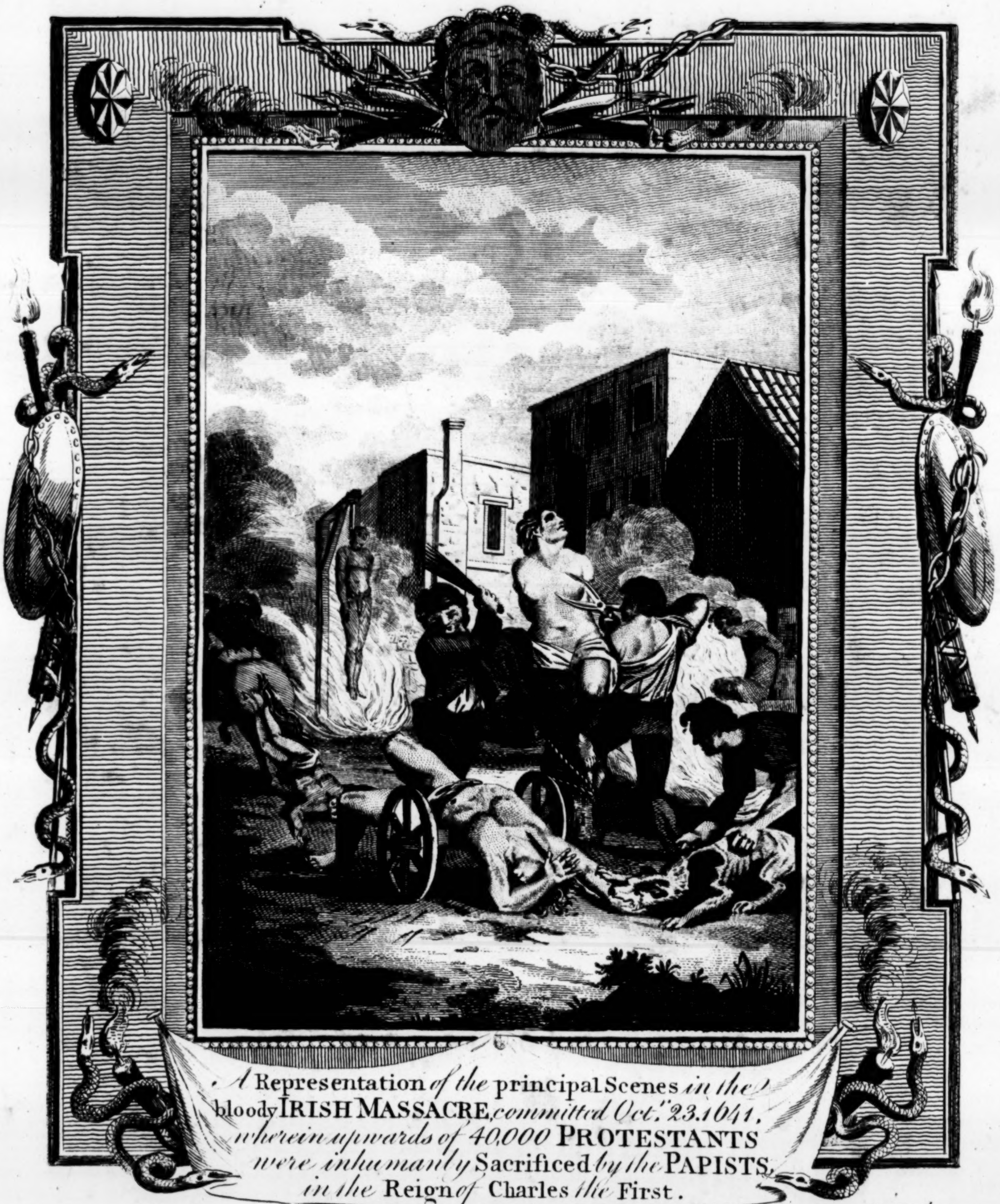

A Representation of the principal Scenes in the bloody IRISH MASSACRE, committed Oct.r 23. 1641, wherein upwards of 40,000 PROTESTANTS were inhumanly Sacrificed by the PAPISTS, in the Reign of Charles the First.

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ſome of whom they hung, others were ſtabbed or ſhot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpoſe.

In like manner the garriſon at Sligo was treated by O'Connor Slygah; who, upon the proteſtants quitting their holds, promiſed them quarter, and to convey them ſafe over the Curlew mountains, to Roſcommon. But he firſt impriſoned them in a moſt loathſome gaol, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when ſome papiſts were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over theſe unhappy creatures, thoſe proteſtants who ſurvived were brought forth by the White-friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a ſwift water, where they were ſoon deſtroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of White-friars went ſome time after, in ſolemn proceſſion, with holy water in their hands, to ſprinkle the river; on pretence of cleanſing and purifying it from the ſtains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate proteſtants who were inhumanly ſlaughtered at this very time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, biſhop of that ſee, had charitably ſettled and ſupported a great number of diſtreſſed proteſtants, who had fled from their habitations to eſcape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papiſts. But they did not long enjoy the conſolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his epiſcopal reſidence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swiney, the popiſh titular biſhop of Kilmore, who ſaid maſs in the church the Sunday following, and then ſeized on all the goods and effects belonging to the perſecuted biſhop.

Immediately after this the papiſts forced Dr. Bedell, his two ſons, and the reſt of his family, with ſome of the chief of the proteſtants whom he had protected, into a ruinous caſtle, called Lochwater, ſituated in a lake near the ſea. Here he remained with his companions ſome weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greateſt part of them were ſtripped naked, by which means, as the ſeaſon was cold, (it being in the month of December) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they ſuffered the moſt ſevere hardſhips.

In this ſituation they continued till the 7th of January, when they were all releaſed. The biſhop was courteouſly received into the houſe of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long ſurvive this kindneſs.

During his reſidence here, he ſpent the whole of his time in religious exerciſes, the better to fit and prepare himſelf and his ſorrowful companions, for their great change, as nothing but certain death was perpetually before their eyes.

At this time he was in the 71ſt year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague caught in his late cold and deſolate habitation on the lake, it ſoon threw him into a fever of the moſt dangerous nature. Finding his diſſolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs juſt haſtening to his crown of glory. After having addreſſed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the moſt pathetic manner, as they ſaw their own laſt day approaching; after having ſolemnly bleſſed his people, his family and his children, he finiſhed the courſe of his miniſtry and life together, on the 7th of February, 1642.

Now his friends and relations applied to the intruding biſhop, for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained; he, at firſt, telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and ſhould be no longer defiled with heretics: however, leave was at laſt granted, and though the church funeral ſervice was not uſed at the ſolemnity, (for fear of the Iriſh papiſts) yet ſome of the better ſort, who had the higheſt veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they diſcharged a volley of ſhot, crying out, *Requieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum*: that is, "May the laſt of the Engliſh reſt in peace." Adding, that as he was one of the beſt, ſo he ſhould be the laſt Engliſh biſhop found among them.

Very extenſive was his learning, and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were ſaved; the papiſts having deſtroyed moſt of his papers, and his library.

He had gathered a vaſt heap of critical expoſitions of ſcripture, all which, with a great trunk full of his manuſcripts, fell into the hands of the Iriſh. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preſerved, and is now in the library of Emanuel-College, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the papiſts, at the inſtigation of their friars, compelled above 40 Engliſh proteſtants, ſome of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling by the ſword, or of drowning in the ſea. Theſe chuſing the latter, were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of their inexorable perſecutors, into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they firſt waded up to their chins, and afterwards ſunk down and periſhed together.

In the caſtle of Liſgool upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the caſtle of Moneah not leſs than 100 were all put to the ſword. Great numbers were alſo murdered at the caſtle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire on condition of having fair quarter; but no ſooner had that baſe villain got poſſeſſion of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people, which was immediately done with the greateſt cruelty.

Several others were put to deaths of the moſt horrid nature, and ſuch as could have been invented only by dæmons inſtead of men.

There were ſome of them laid with the center of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs reſting on the ground on one ſide, and their arms and head on the other. In this poſition one of the ſavages ſcourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another ſet on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their exiſtence.

Several were faſtened to horſes tails, and the beaſts being ſet on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Many were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finiſhed their lives, partly by hanging, and partly by ſuffocation.

Nor did the more tender ſex eſcape the leaſt particle of cruelty that could be projected by their mercileſs and furious perſecutors. Many women, of all ages, were put to deaths of the moſt cruel nature. Some in particular were faſtened with their backs to ſtrong poſts, and being ſtripped to the waiſts, the inhuman monſters cut off their right breaſts with ſhears, which of courſe, put them to the moſt excruciating torments; and in this poſition they were left, till, from the loſs of blood, they expired.

So great was the ſavage ferocity of theſe barbarians, that even unborn infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offſprings were taken from them, and thrown to dogs and ſwine. And to increaſe the horrid ſcene, they would oblige the huſband to be a ſpectator before he ſuffered himſelf.

They hanged above 100 Scottiſh proteſtants at the town of Liſſenſkeath, ſhewing them no more mercy than they did to the Engliſh.

M'Guire, going to the caſtle of that town, deſired to ſpeak with the governor, when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded 1000l. of the governor, which having received, he immediately compelled him to hear maſs, and to ſwear that he would continue ſo to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; beſides maſſacring at leaſt 100 of the inhabitants.

Upwards of 1000 men, women, and children, were driven, in different companies, to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themſelves into the water; and ſuch as attempted to reach the ſhore were knocked on the head.

At the ſame part of the country, at leaſt four thouſand perſons were drowned in different places. The inhuman papiſts, after firſt ſtripping them, drove them like beaſts to the ſpot fixed on for their deſtruction; and if any, through fatigue, or natural infirmities, were ſlack in their pace, they pricked them with their ſwords and pikes; and to ſtrike a farther terror on the multitude, they murdered ſome by the way. Many of theſe poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming to the ſhore; but their mercileſs perſecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by ſhooting them in the water.

At one place one hundred and forty Engliſh, after being driven for many miles ſtark naked, and in the moſt ſevere weather, were all murdered on the ſame ſpot, ſome being hanged, others burnt, ſome ſhot, and many of them buried alive; and ſo cruel were their tormentors, that they would not ſuffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miſerable exiſtence.

They took other companies under pretence of ſafe-conduct, who, from that conſideration, proceeded chearfully on their journey; but when the treacherous papiſts had got them to a convenient ſpot, they butchered them all in the moſt cruel manner.

About one hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of ſir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbel, finding no probability of eſcaping, ſuddenly claſped one of the chief of the papiſts in her arms, and held him ſo faſt, that they were both drowned together.

They maſſacred forty-eight families in Killoman, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one houſe. The reſt were either hanged, ſhot, or drowned.

The inhabitants in Kilmore, which conſiſted of about two hundred families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of them ſat in the ſtocks till they confeſſed where their money was; after which they put them to death. The whole country was one common ſcene of butchery, and many thouſands periſhed, in a ſhort time, by ſword, famine, fire, water, and all other the moſt cruel deaths, that rage and malice could invent.

Theſe bloody villains ſhewed ſo much favour to ſome as to diſpatch them immediately; but they would by no means ſuffer them to pray. Others they impriſoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy bolts on their legs, and keeping them there till they were ſtarved to death.

They put all the proteſtants at Caſel into a loathſome dungeon, where they kept them together, for ſeveral weeks, in the greateſt miſery. At length they were releaſed, when ſome of them were barbarouſly mangled, and left on the highways to periſh at leiſure; others were hanged, and ſome were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the papiſts, to increaſe their miſery, treating them with deriſion during their ſufferings.

They murdered nine hundred and fifty-four proteſtants in the county of Antrim in one morning; and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county.

They forced twenty-four proteſtants into a houſe, at a town called Liſnegary, and then ſetting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in deriſion to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an Engliſh woman, and daſhed out their brains before her face; after which they threw the mother into a river, and ſhe was drowned. They ſerved many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the diſgrace of human nature.

All the proteſtants in Kilkenny, without exception, were put to death; and ſome of them in ſo cruel a manner, as, perhaps, was never before thought of.

An Engliſh woman they beat with ſuch ſavage barbarity, that ſhe had ſcarce a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not ſatisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about ſix years of age, and after ripping up it's belly, threw it to it's mother, there to languiſh till it periſhed.

One man they forced to go to maſs, after which they ripped open his body, and in that manner left him. They ſawed another aſunder, cut the throat of his wife, and after having daſhed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the ſwine, who greedily devoured it.

Having committed theſe, and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of ſeven proteſtants, and among them that of a pious miniſter, all which they fixed up at the market croſs. They put a gag into the miniſter's mouth, then ſlit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did ſeveral other things by way of deriſion, and expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at having thus murdered, and expoſed the unhappy proteſtants.

Impoſſible is it to conceive the pleaſure theſe monſters took in exerciſing their cruelty; and to increaſe the miſery of thoſe who fell into their hands, when they butchered them they would ſay, "Your ſoul to the devil."

One of theſe miſcreants would come into a houſe with his hands imbrued in blood, and boaſt that it was Engliſh blood, and that his ſword had pricked the white ſkins of the proteſtants, even to the hilt.

As ſoon as any one of them had killed a proteſtant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body; after which they left it expoſed to be devoured by dogs; and when they had ſlain a number of them they would boaſt, that the devil was beholden to them for ſending ſo many ſouls to hell.

It is no wonder that they ſhould thus treat the innocent chriſtians, when they heſitated not to commit blaſphemy againſt God, and his moſt holy word.

They burnt two proteſtant bibles in one place, and then ſaid they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerſcourt they burnt the pulpit, pews, cheſts, and bibles belonging to it. They took other bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, daſhed them in the face of the proteſtants, ſaying, "We know you love a good leſſon; here is an excellent one for you; come to-morrow, and you ſhall have as good a ſermon as this."

Many of the proteſtants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they ſtripped and whipped them in the moſt cruel manner, telling them, at the ſame time, "That if they came to-morrow, they ſhould hear the like ſermon."

They put to death ſeveral miniſters in Munſter, in the moſt ſhocking manner. One, in particular, they ſtripped ſtark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with ſwords and darts till he fell down, and expired.

In ſome places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands of the proteſtants, and in that manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miſerable exiſtence.

Many young men they alſo obliged to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned; wives to aſſiſt in hanging their huſbands; and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

They compelled a young man in one place to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a woman to kill her huſband, then obliged the ſon to kill her, and afterwards ſhot him through the head.

At a place called Glaſlow, a popiſh prieſt, with ſome others, prevailed on forty proteſtants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no ſooner done this, than they told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by ſending them out of the world, which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

Upwards of thirty proteſtants, men, women, and children, in the county of Tipperary, fell into the hands of the papiſts, who, after ſtripping them naked, murdered them with ſtones, pole-axes, ſwords, and other inſtruments.

In the county of Mayo about ſixty proteſtants, fifteen of whom were miniſters, were, upon covenant, to be ſafely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burke and his ſoldiers; but that inhuman monſter by the way drew his ſword, as an intimation of his deſign to the reſt, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, ſome of whom they ſtabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and ſeveral were drowned.

Great numbers of proteſtants in Queen's county were put to the moſt ſhocking deaths. Fifty or ſixty were placed together in one houſe, which being ſet on fire, they all periſhed in the flames.

Several were ſtripped naked, and being faſtened to horſes by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired in the greateſt torture.

Several were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles; and left till they periſhed in that wretched poſture.

Some were faſtened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at top. Over this branch hung one arm, which principally ſupported the weight of the body; and one of the legs was turned up, and faſtened to the trunk, while the other hung ſtrait. In this dreadful and uneaſy poſture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleaſing ſpectacles to their blood-thirſty perſecutors.

Seventeen men were buried alive at Clownes; and an Engliſhman, his wife, five children, and a ſervant maid, were all hung together, and their bodies afterwards thrown into a ditch.

Many were hung by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet; and others by the middle, in which poſtures they left them till they expired.

Others were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their ſwords. Some, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood to periſh where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, the latter of whom was hung by the neck with the hair of it's mother's head, and in that manner finiſhed it's ſhort but miſerable exiſtence.

No leſs than three hundred proteſtants were drowned in one day in the county of Tyrone; and many others were hanged, burned, and otherwiſe put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and ſuffered greatly from theſe mercileſs ſavages. This perſon, in his examination, taken upon oath before the king's commiſſioners, declared, that the Iriſh papiſts owned to him, that they, at ſeveral times, had deſtroyed, in one place, 12,000 proteſtants, whom they inhumanly ſlaughtered at Glynwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

The river Bann being not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Iriſh forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed defenceleſs proteſtants, and with pikes and ſwords violently thruſt above one thouſand into the river, where they miſerably periſhed.

The cathedral of Armagh did not eſcape the fury of theſe barbarians, it being maliciouſly ſet on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if poſſible, the very race of thoſe unhappy proteſtants, who lived in or near Armagh, the Iriſh firſt burnt all their houſes, and then gathered together many hundreds of thoſe innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and ſafe conduct to Colerain; when they treacherouſly fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them all.

Similar barbarities were practiſed on the wretched proteſtants in almoſt all parts of the kingdom; and, when an eſtimate was afterwards made of the number who were ſacrificed to gratify the diabolical ſouls of the papiſts, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand. But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

Now theſe deſperate wretches, fluſhed and grown inſolent with ſucceſs, (though by methods attended with ſuch exceſſive barbarities as perhaps not to be equalled) ſoon got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Newry, where the king's ſtores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themſelves maſters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the proteſtants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garriſon of Drogheda was in no condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, notwithſtanding which, as often as the Iriſh renewed their attacks, they were vigorouſly repulſed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful proteſtant citizens under ſir Henry Tichborne, the governor, aſſiſted by the lord viſcount Moore. The ſiege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when ſir Phelim O'Neal, and the Iriſh miſcreants under him, were forced to retreat.

During this time ten thouſand troops were ſent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining proteſtants in Ireland, which being properly divided in the moſt capital parts of the kingdom, happily eclipſed the power of the Iriſh ſavages; and the proteſtants, for a time, lived happy and unmoleſted.

However in the reign of king James II. they were again interrupted, for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 1689, great numbers of the proteſtant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treaſon. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, inveſted in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted papiſt, and an inveterate enemy to the proteſtants. By his orders they were again perſecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were ſeized, and moſt of the churches converted into priſons. And had it not been for the reſolution and uncommon bravery of the garriſons of the city of Londonderry, and the town of Inniſkillin, there had not one place remained for refuge to the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the whole kingdom; but all muſt have been given up to king James, and to the furious popiſh party that governed him.

On the 18th of April, 1689, the remarkable ſiege of Londonderry was opened by twenty thouſand papiſts, the flower of the Iriſh army. The city was not properly circumſtanced to ſuſtain a ſiege, the defenders conſiſting of a body of raw undiſciplined proteſtants, who had fled thither for ſhelter, and half a regiment of lord Mountjoy's diſciplined ſoldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſixty one fighting men.

At firſt the beſieged hoped, that their ſtores of corn, and other neceſſaries, would be ſufficient; but by the continuance of the ſiege their wants increaſed; and theſe became at laſt ſo heavy, that for a conſiderable time before the ſiege was raiſed, a pint of coarſe barley, a ſmall quantity of greens, a few ſpoonfuls of ſtartch, with a very moderate proportion of horſe fleſh, were reckoned a week's proviſion for a ſoldier. And they were, at length, reduced to ſuch extremities, that they eat dogs, cats, and mice.

While their miſeries increaſed with the ſiege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languiſhed away, or fell dead in the ſtreets. And it is remarkable, that when their long expected ſuccours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preſerve their exiſtence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Iriſh, which muſt have infallibly produced their deſtruction.

Moſt happily theſe ſuccours were brought by the ſhip Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phœnix, of Colerain, at which time they had only nine lean horſes left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of war, their ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſixty-one fighting men were reduced to four thouſand three hundred, one-fourth part of whom were rendered unfit for ſervice.

As the calamities of the beſieged were very great, ſo likewiſe were the terrors and ſufferings of their proteſtant friends and relations; all of whom (even women and children) were forcibly driven from the country thirty miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the ſad neceſſity of continuing ſome days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and were thus expoſed to the continual fire both of the Iriſh army from without, and the ſhot of their friends from within.

The ſuccours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the ſiege was raiſed on the 31ſt of July, having been continued upwards of three months before.

The very day before the ſiege of Londonderry was raiſed, the Inniſkilliners engaged a body of ſix thouſand Iriſh Roman catholics, at Newton Butler, or Crown-Caſtle, of whom near five thouſand were ſlain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, diſpirited the papiſts, and they gave up all farther attempts to perſecute the proteſtants.

In the following year, viz. 1690, the Iriſh took up arms in favour of the abdicated prince, king James II. but they were totally defeated by his ſucceſſor king William the Third. That monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to a ſtate of ſubjection, in which they have ever ſince continued; and it is to be hoped will ſo remain as long as time ſhall continue.

In the year 1731, by a report made in Ireland, it appeared, that a great number of eccleſiaſtics had, in defiance of the laws, flocked into that kingdom; that ſeveral convents had been opened by jeſuits, monks, and friars; that many new and pompous maſs-houſes had been erected in ſome of the moſt conſpicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that ſuch ſwarms of vagrant, immoral Romiſh prieſts had appeared, that the very papiſts themſelves conſidered them as an unneceſſary load.

Notwithſtanding all this, the proteſtant intereſt at preſent ſtands upon a much ſtronger baſis than it did a century ago. The Iriſh, who formerly led an unſettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they who in the morning ſeized the prey, and at night divided the ſpoil, have, for many years paſt, become quiet and civilized. They taſte the ſweets of Engliſh ſociety, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities, and are employed in our manufactures. They are received alſo into Engliſh families; and are treated by the proteſtants with great humanity.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Iriſh families, who cruelly oppreſſed and tyrannized over their vaſſals, are now dwindled, in a great meaſure, to nothing; and moſt of the ancient popiſh nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romiſh religion and ſuperſtition.

It is alſo to be hoped, that ineſtimable benefits will ariſe from the eſtabliſhment of proteſtant ſchools in various parts of the kingdom, in which the children of the Roman catholics are inſtructed in religion and reading, whereby the miſt of ignorance is diſpelled from their eyes, which was the great ſource of the cruel tranſactions that have taken place, at different periods, in that country.

For the ſake of preſerving the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland upon a ſolid baſis, it behoves all in whom that power is inveſted, to diſcharge it with the ſtricteſt aſſiduity and attention; for ſhould it once again loſe ground, there is no doubt but the papiſts would take thoſe advantages they have hitherto done, and thouſands might yet fall victims to their malicious bigotry.

MEMOIRS *of* Mr. JOHN FOX, *the original* AUTHOR *of this* COMPLETE BOOK *of* MARTYRS.

THIS ingenious author was born at Boſton, in Lincolnſhire, A.D. 1517; the very year, when Luther, in Germany, began the reformation.

Mr. Fox's father died when he was very young; and, his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law; with whom he dwelt, till the age of ſixteen, at which time he was entered of Braſen-Noſe college, Oxford; and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr. Alexander Nowel, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. Mr. Fox plied his academical ſtudies, with equal aſſiduity, improvement, and applauſe. In 1538, he took the degree of bachelor in arts; and that of maſter, in 1543. The ſame year, he was elected fellow of Magdalen college.

Upon his firſt removal to the univerſity, and for ſome time after, he was ſtrongly attached to the hereſies and ſuperſtitions of popery. To his zeal for theſe, he added a life ſtrictly regular and moral. His indefatigable and profound reſearches into eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and the writings of the primitive fathers; and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the holy ſcripture, in it's original languages, became the means of convincing him, to what an immenſe diſtance the Romiſh church has departed from the faith, practice, and ſpirit, of chriſtianity.

With the intent to make himſelf yet a more competent judge of the controverſies then in debate between proteſtants and papiſts, he ſearched with indefatigable aſſiduity into the ancient and modern hiſtory of the church. And with ſuch zeal and induſtry did Mr. Fox apply himſelf to theſe inquiries, that, before he was 30 years of age, he had read over all the Greek and all the Latin fathers; all the ſcholaſtic writers; together with the acts of all the councils; and, moreover, made himſelf maſter of the Hebrew language. But from this ſtrict and ſevere application, by night as well as by day; from forſaking his old popiſh friends, and courting the moſt ſequeſtered retirement; from the dubious and heſitating manner, in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he ſpoke of religious ſubjects; and, above all, from his ſparing attendance on the public worſhip of the church, which he had, before, been remarkable for ſtrictly and conſtantly frequenting; aroſe the firſt ſurmizes of his being alienated from the reigning ſuperſtitions, and infected with (what the bigoted Romaniſts termed) the "new hereſies."

Thus, we find the humble and benevolent Mr. Fox was not without his enemies; yet through grace, he determined to venture the loſs of all things, for Chriſt's ſake: in conſequence of which, he openly profeſſed the goſpel, and was publicly accuſed of hereſy. His college paſſed judgment on him, as an heretic convicted; and, he ſaw himſelf expelled from the univerſity in a ſhort time after.

This gentleman's troubles ſat the heavier on him, as they loſt him the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to aſſiſt and protect a perſon condemned for a capital offence. His father-in-law, particulary, ſeized this opportunity to with-hold from Mr. Fox the eſtate which his own father had left him; thinking, that he, who ſtood in danger of the law himſelf, would with difficulty find relief by legal means.

Thus forſaken and oppreſſed, Mr. Fox was reduced to great ſtraights; when God raiſed him up an unexpected patron in ſir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickſhire, who received him into his houſe, and made him tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter, of Coventry; and continued in ſir Thomas's family, till his pupils were grown up: after which, he, with ſome difficulty, procured entertainment with his wife's father, at Coventry; from whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII. he removed to London.

Being,

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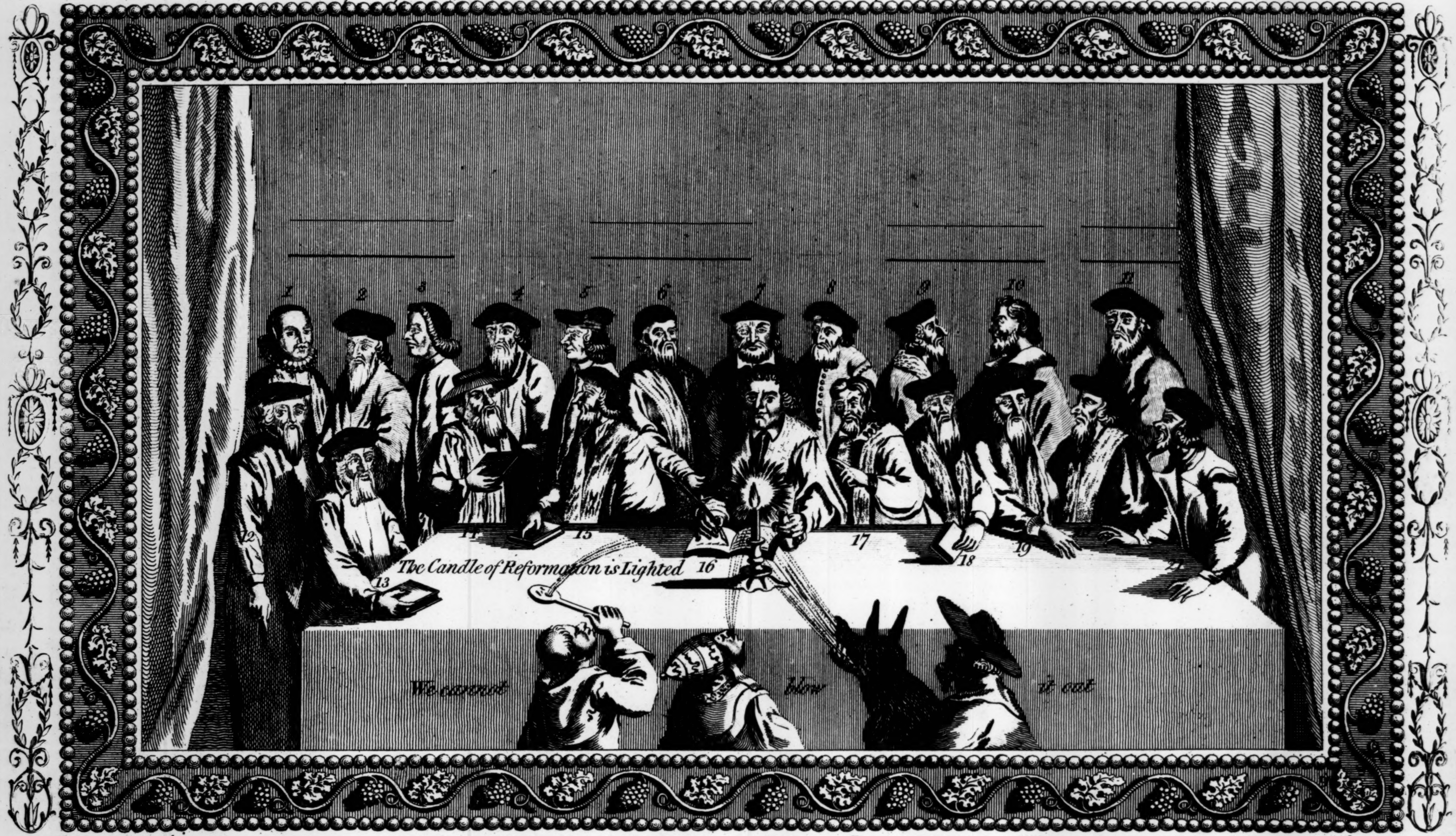
1 Perkins. 2 Prague. 3 Bucer. 4 Martyr. 5 Zuinglius. 6 Knox. 7 Zanchi. 8 Bulinger. 9 Oecolampadius. 10 Buxtorf. 11 Bolton. 12 Arminius. 13 Wickliff. 14 Beza. 15 Calvin. 16 Luther. 17 Melancthon. 18 Aquinus. 19 Molern. 20 **Grotius.** *21 Huss*

The Heads of Bishops Ridley & Latimer with the other most eminent Bishops at the time of the Reformation being given in **No. 2,** *of* **this Work.**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The Candle of Reformation is Lighted
We cannot
blow
it out

The **Portraits** *of the Principal* **PRIMITIVE REFORMERS,** *of* **Various Countries,** *to whom (under* **GOD**) *we are indebted for the Glorious* **Light** *of the* **PROTESTANT RELIGION** *— with* **emblematical Allusions** *to the vain* **attempts** *of the* **Pope,** *the* **Fryer,** *& the* **Devil** *to blow out or extinguish the* **pure** *light of the*

Gospel.

Being, for a conſiderable time after his arrival in the capital without employment or preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. But the Lord's good providence relieved him, at length in the following extraordinary manner. As he was ſitting one day in St. Paul's church, his eyes hollow, his countenance wan and pale, and his whole body emaciated (or, rather, within a little of being literally ſtarved to death); a perſon whom he never remembered to have ſeen before, came and ſat down by him; and, accoſting him familiarly, put a reſpectable ſum of money into his hand, ſaying, Be of good comfort, Mr. Fox;, take care of yourſelf, and uſe all means to preſerve your life; for depend upon it, God will, in a few days, give you a better proſpect, and more certain means of ſubſiſtence. He, afterwards, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to find out the perſon, by whoſe bounty he had been ſo ſeaſonably relieved; but he was never able to gain any diſcovery. However, the prediction was fulfilled; for, within three days from that memorable incident, he was taken into the ducheſs of Richmond's family, to be tutor to her nephew the earl of Surrey's children, who (on the impriſonment of the earl, and of his father the duke of Norfolk, in the tower) were committed for education to the care of the ducheſs.

With this female, Mr. Fox lived at Ryegate, in Surrey, during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, the five years reign of king Edward VI. and part of queen Mary's. Gardiner, the bloody biſhop of Wincheſter, in whoſe dioceſe this good man ſo long lived, would have ſoon brought him to the ſhambles, had he not been protected by one of his noble pupils, then duke of Norfolk. Gardiner always hated Mr. Fox (who, it is ſaid, was the firſt perſon that ventured to preach the goſpel at Ryegate); and ſaw, with deep concern, the heir of one of the nobleſt families in the kingdom, trained up in attachment to proteſtantiſm, under Mr. Fox's influence. The prelate, therefore, formed various deſigns againſt the ſafety of the latter; and ſought, by many artifices and ſtratagems, to work his ruin. The holy man who was no leſs ſuipicious of the biſhop, than the biſhop was of him, found himſelf obliged in prudence (though much againſt the duke's inclination, who loved and revered him as a father) to quit his native land, and ſeek ſhelter abroad. His grace of Norfolk, perceiving that no arguments nor intreaties could induce his honoured tutor to remain in England, took care to provide him with every accommodation requiſite for his voyage. Mr. Fox, accordingly, ſet ſail from Ipſwich haven, accompanied by his wife, who was then pregnant, and by ſeveral other perſons who were leaving their country on a religious account. The veſſel had not been very long at ſea, before a ſtorm aroſe; which, the next day, drove them back into the port from whence they had ſet out. Having, with great difficulty and danger reached the land, Mr. Fox was ſaluted with indubitable information, that biſhop Gardner had iſſued a warrant for apprehending him, and was cauſing the moſt diligent ſearch to be made after him. On this, he made intereſt with the maſter of the ſhip to put to ſea again, without delay; though at evident hazard of their lives, as the tempeſt had not yet ſubſided. Through God's goodneſs, however, they all arrived, in two days, at Nieuport in Flanders; from whence Mr. Fox and his company travelled to Antwerp, and Frankfort; and ſo to Baſil, in Switzerland, whither great numbers of the Engliſh reſorted in thoſe times of domeſtic perſecution and troubles.

About this time the city of Baſil was one of the moſt famous in Europe, for printing; and many of the learned refugees, who retired thither, got their ſubſiſtence by reviſing and correcting the preſs. To this employment Mr. Fox betook himſelf; and it was here, that he laid the firſt plan of his ineſtimable hiſtory and martyrology, intitled, "Acts and Monuments of the Church."

In the month of November, 1558, the bloody Queen Mary died, and, the day before ſhe died in England, Mr. Fox, in a ſermon then preached by him at Baſil, publickly and poſitively predicted, that the day then next enſuing would be the laſt of her life. An event ſo circumſtantially foretold, by one at ſuch a diſtance from the place of Mary's reſidence, and ſo punctually accompliſhed, by the hand of Divine Providence, could only be made known to the predicter, by revelation from the Almighty.

The acceſſion of Elizabeth to the throne, encouraged Mr. Fox to return home: where, on his arrival, he found a faithful and ſerviceable friend, in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk; who hoſpitably and nobly entertained him, at his manor of Chriſt-Church, in London, till his [i. e. till the duke's] death: from which latter period, Mr. Fox inherited a penſion, bequeathed to him by his deceaſed benefactor, and ratified by his ſon the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's ſucceſſes ſtop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her ſecretary of ſtate, the great Cecil; her majeſty gave him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Saliſbury; which was, in a manner, forced upon him; for he brought himſelf with difficulty to accept of it. Dr. Fuller tells us, that archbiſhop Parker ſummoned him to ſubſcribe; in hope, "that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity." But, inſtead of complying with the command, Mr. Fox pulled out of his pocket the New Teſtament in Greek; and, holding it up, ſaid, To this will I ſubſcribe. And, when a ſubſcription to the canons was required of him, he refuſed, ſaying, I have nothing in the church but a prebend at Saliſbury; and if you take it away, from me, much good may it do you. He was however permitted till his death to retain it.

Mr. Fox, on his re-ſettlement here, ſat himſelf to reviſe and enlarge his admirable Martyrology. With prodigious pains, and conſtant ſtudy, he finiſhed that celebrated work in 11 years. For the ſake of greater correctneſs, he never employed any amanuenſis; but wrote every line of this vaſt book with his own hand, and ſearched and tranſcribed all the records and papers himſelf. But, by ſuch exceſſive toil, leaving no part of his time free from ſtudy, nor affording himſelf either the repoſe or recreations which nature required; his health was ſo reduced, and his perſon became ſo emaciated and altered, that ſuch of his friends and relations, as only converſed with him occaſionally, could not recollect him at ſight. Yet, though he grew daily more lean, withered, and exhauſted; his hard ſtudies went on as briſkly as ever, nor would he be perſuaded to leſſen his accuſtomed labours.——The papiſts, foreſeeing how extremely detrimental his hiſtory of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cauſe, exerted their whole art and ſtrength, to leſſen the reputation of his work. This malice of their's was of ſignal ſervice, both to Mr. Fox himſelf, and to the church of God at large: as it eventually made his book more intrinſically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the moſt exact and ſcrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from whence he drew his informations and accounts.

Thus having long ſerved both the church and the world by his miniſtry, by his pen, and by the unſullied luſtre of a beneficent, uſeful, and holy life, he comfortably reſigned his ſoul to Chriſt, on the 18th of April, 1587. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; of which pariſh he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for ſome time, vicar.

The Lord had given him a foreſight of his departure; and ſo fully perſuaded was he, that the time was juſt at hand, when he ſhould quit the body, that (probably, to enjoy unmoleſted communion with God, and to have no wordly interruptions in his laſt hours) he purpoſely ſent his two ſons from home, though he loved them with great renderneſs; and, before they returned, his ſpirit, as he had foreſeen would be the caſe, was flown to heaven.

FINIS.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDERS
OF
FOX's ORIGINAL and COMPLETE BOOK of MARTYRS.

AN ENTIRE NEW EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED.

Embelliſhed with an Entire New Arrangement of Copper-Plates, which muſt be placed as follow:

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I N D E X

TO PART I.

CONTAINING

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